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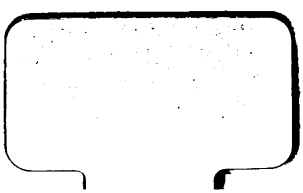

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº XXI. *October* 1880.

Art. I.—THE CATACOMBS OF ROME, AND CERTAIN PREVALENT MISCONCEPTIONS REGARDING THEM.

1. *Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane Primitive.* Da G. Marchi. (Roma, 1844.)
2. *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana.* Dal Commendatore G. B. De Rossi. Tomi i., ii., iii. (Roma, 1864–1877.)
3. *Roma Sotterranea.* By the Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., Canon of Birmingham, and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M.A., Canon of Plymouth. New edition, rewritten and greatly enlarged. 2 vols. (London, 1879.)
4. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* By W. Smith, D.C.L., LL.D., and Samuel Cheetham, M.A. Vols. i. and ii. (London, 1875 and 1880.)
5. *The Archæology of Rome.* By John Henry Parker, C.B. Part xii. *The Catacombs.* (Oxford and London, 1877.)
6. *Katakomben-Buch, oder die Ersten Christen über und unter den Erde.* Von Georg Ott. (Regensburg, 1878.)

The Christian Catacombs, especially those of Rome, are a subject of undying interest to all thoughtful persons. In these gloomy vaults we are brought face to face with unquestioned and unquestionable records of the primitive Church—that 'latebrosa et lucifugax natio,' as the heathen contemptuously called it—and in the mouldering frescoes which look down upon us from the walls and vaults of their burial chapels, the ill-designed sculptures which crowd the face of the sarcophagi which stood in their sepulchral recesses, and above all

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in the rudely-cut and ill-spelt epitaphs, often doing defiance to the most elementary laws of orthography and of grammar, which tell us the names and ages of those who, sixteen or seventeen centuries back, were deposited in their simple *loculi*, we read a clearer testimony to its faith, its doctrines, its discipline, its ruling tone of thought and feeling, its habits of life, the social status of its members, and the ranks of life to which they belonged, and—though these are of rarer occurrence than the somewhat exaggerated statements of some writers would lead us to suppose—to its sufferings under persecution, than is to be gained from the whole circle of early Christian literature.

Since the rediscovery of these Christian cemeteries towards the close of the sixteenth century down to the present day the Roman Catacombs have had a literature of their own, ever growing in accuracy and scientific intelligence. The work of illustration and description was commenced by the indefatigable Antonio Bosio,[1] the 'Columbus of this subterranean world,' as he has been not inaptly termed, whose magnificent folio was published posthumously in 1632, and appeared again in a Latin translation with considerable alterations and omissions in the text from the hands of Aringhi[2] in 1651, and after the lapse of nearly a century was continued by Boldetti,[3] who, however, was more of a polemic than an archæologist, and employed the Catacombs rather as a field for controversy than for scientific research; by Buonarruoti,[4] the first adequate illustrator of the gilded glasses, almost the most curious and instructive class of objects discovered in the Christian cemeteries; and by Bottari,[5] who, in 1737, as his great successor in the work of investigation, Padre Marchi, has sarcastically remarked, 'studying subterranean Rome quite at his ease in his library, not under but above ground,' merely republished Bosio's plates, with some additional remarks of his own, displaying more reading than research, in which he falsely attributes the paintings of a Gnostic sepulchre to Christian artists: a misappropriation which led Raoul Rochette and others to some erroneous theories with regard to the origin of Christian art. After Bottari there is again a blank of nearly a century

[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, Roma, 1632.

[2] *Roma Subterranea*, 2 vols., Romæ, 1651–1659.

[3] *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi Cristiani di Roma*, Roma, 1720.

[4] *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro*, Firenze, 1716.

[5] *Sculture e Pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*, Roma, 3 vols., 1737–1754.

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in the literary history of the Catacombs, none of the Roman archæologists having had the energy to explore for themselves, or even to avail themselves of the fresh discoveries that were continually being made under their own eyes in some part or other of the Christian burial vaults. The French historian of the decline of the fine arts, Seroux d'Agincourt, in his great work, published in 1823,[1] like his precursor Bosio's, posthumously, made the first attempt for two centuries to do more than work up Bosio's materials, and to give to the world the results of any fresh investigations. But D'Agincourt was a mere historian of art. He was entirely deficient in the archæological knowledge, especially on its ecclesiastical side, essential for an intelligent view of the history of the Catacombs, and wisely restricted himself to drawing and describing what he saw. Twenty years more elapsed before the publication of the first work, since that of Bosio, which entered on any large or scientific investigation of the subject. In 1841 the learned Jesuit, Padre Marchi,[2] commenced his great work on the *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, the publication of which forms an epoch in the history of the Catacombs. The projected undertaking was cut short by the political disturbances of the stormy period which speedily ensued, when the Father had barely completed the first section of the first, or architectural, division of his work. In this he had happily completed the description of the plan and construction of the Catacombs, throwing a flood of light on a subject where previously the most extraordinary mistakes were prevalent, even among the learned, and for the first time demonstrating the real history of their formation. Marchi thus laid a solid foundation for the investigations of his brilliant and indomitable scholar and fellow-labourer, the Commendatore De Rossi, of whom, assisted by the practical skill of his brother, the Cavaliere Michele De Rossi, (to quote the appreciative words of Dr. Northcote), 'it were hard to say whether his talent, learning, and industry have done more for the work of discovery in subterranean Rome, or the discoveries he has made have done more for the increase of our knowledge of it.' De Rossi may be not untruly called, if not the rediscoverer of the Catacombs, certainly the first to apply the methods of scientific investigation and historical induction to the subject. De Rossi's contributions to this branch of literature commenced with the first volume of his great work on the *Christian Inscriptions of Rome*. Undertaken in 1842, announced for publication in 1844, adopted by

[1] *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, 6 vols., Paris, 1823.
[2] *Monumenti dell' Arti primitive Cristiane*, Roma, 1844.

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the late Pope, Pius IX., as a public undertaking to be paid for out of his treasury, in 1846, the year of his accession, it was delayed by various causes, public and private, for twenty years, the first volume, which deals only with the chronology of the subject, not appearing till 1864. Sixteen years have passed and we have no tidings of the second volume; and, 'political complications having now added their quota to the many hindrances of the work,'[1] 'misgivings' may well be felt 'lest the magnificent volume published should remain always an *opus imperfectum*.' The same year which saw the publication of the *Inscriptions* also gave to the world the first instalment of the result of De Rossi's researches in the Christian Catacombs, in the first volume of his *Roma' Sotterranea*. The second volume followed after a moderate interval in 1867, and was succeeded after ten years' delay in 1877 by the third volume, to be followed, if life and power last, and the political and religious conditions of Rome interpose no insuperable obstacle, by other volumes on the same scale and plan. The vastness of the work he has proposed to himself—nothing less than the history and description of all the subterranean cemeteries of Rome, to be published in successive volumes as local circumstances permit—and the conviction that we can hardly expect to find the same enthusiasm, knowledge, keenness of insight, and indefatigable patience and power of enduring continuous labour, reunited in another investigator, add an emphasis to the salutation with which the late Dean Milman fifteen years ago took his leave of him at the close of an article we shall often have occasion to refer to in the following pages[2]—'May you live a thousand years!' Certainly considering the extent and variety of his undertakings, the magnificent scale on which these undertakings are conducted, the narrow threescore years and ten to which it has pleased Divine Providence to contract the life of man, that span would seem to offer but insufficient space for the full accomplishment of De Rossi's ambitious schemes.

In these magnificent volumes, following the lines laid down by Padre Marchi, De Rossi has carefully developed the history of the complicated network of galleries—to an untutored eye 'a mighty maze without a plan'—which forms the cemetery of S. Callixtus, and traced its gradual growth, corridor after corridor, story below story, one sepulchral area after another absorbed in the vast necropolis; discerning, with a keenness of observation acquired by an almost daily

[1] *Epitaphs of the Catacombs*, by J. S. Northcote, D.D., p. 13.
[2] Milman's *Essays*, p. 500.

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study of the Catacombs, the dates at which each of the countless 'cubicula' and intricately ramified corridors were excavated, and the successive epochs to which they and the works of art which decorate them belong.

Whatever exceptions may be taken to some of the author's conclusions, the three volumes must be regarded as a marvel of persevering labour, minute research, and accurate observation, directed by keen power of critical discrimination and an ability to generalize from scattered and often obscure data, rendering them by far the most valuable contribution towards our knowledge of the Christian antiquities of Rome that has appeared in modern times.

But with all our appreciation of the mass of archæological information contained in the last, and in some respects most important, volume added by De Rossi to his series of magnificent quartos, we confess that it has caused us considerable disappointment. We had been led to hope that it would have contained in a collected form the result of his investigations into the history of the *Cœmiterium Domitillæ*, which have identified that burying-place beyond all question with the Catacomb of the Tor Marancia near the Ardeatine Way. The monuments and inscriptions discovered in and around this very remarkable cemetery have, in the words of the Bishop of Durham,[1] 'established beyond any reasonable doubt the connexion of this Christian cemetery with the wife of Flavius Clemens, the Emperor Domitian's cousin-german, his colleague in the consulship, and father of the two boys designated by him as successors to the imperial throne—that same Flavia Domitilla, herself the emperor's niece, banished by him to one of the islands, on the same charge for which her husband suffered capitally, which, designated as 'atheism' and 'a tendency to Jewish custom' by Dion Cassius,[2] may almost certainly be identified with the profession of Christianity. The character of the architecture and arrangements and the style of the paintings which decorate its vaulted roofs—quite Pompeian in their exquisite grace—indicate the same early date for the construction of this catacomb, while the publicity of the building which forms its vestibule, 'so unlike the obscure doorways and dark underground passages which lead to other catacombs,' 'seem to justify the belief that it was erected under the protection of some important personage, and during a period of quiet such as intervened between the death of Nero

[1] *The Epistle of S. Clement of Rome*, p. 258.

[2] lxvii. 14: ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν.

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and the persecution of Domitian.' From the extraordinary interest belonging to this catacomb, in its connexion with the fact that 'strange as it may appear, a chief stronghold of Christianity in Rome during the earliest ages was the imperial palace itself,' and that among the first converts of this *exitiabilis superstitio* were near relatives of the emperor, as well as from the unusual character of its construction and decorations, no one of the Roman cemeteries more imperatively calls for description by the same learned and acute pen which has made us acquainted with every innermost recess of the great Cemetery of Callixtus. We earnestly hope that its publication may not be much longer delayed. 'Ars longa, vita brevis.'

We hope on a future occasion to be allowed to call attention to the additions to our scientific acquaintance with the Catacombs of Rome furnished by De Rossi's last volume and other lately published works. Our present object is an humbler and less agreeable one, namely, to clear away some of the popular misconceptions which still prevail somewhat widely, and by which the history and objects of these monuments of primitive Christianity are too much obscured.

This is a work which indeed ought not to be necessary after two centuries and a half of investigation, and the publication of so many learned works on this subject. The erroneous ideas we have in view have been again and again exposed and refuted. But there is nothing endued with more obstinate vitality than a popular error. That averseness to taking pains in the search after truth, and the indolent acquiescence in the generally accepted, of which the great masters of history have so feelingly complained,[1] ensure the most patent falsehoods from a deserved extinction. Refuted a hundred times over, turned inside out and their utter absurdity demonstrated, you fancy them dead and buried. But no. They present themselves with the most unblushing effrontery, and claim to be accepted as unimpeachable facts. Little as such 'foes' are 'worthy of our steel,' and wearisome as it is thus 'thrice to slay the slain,' the ignorance still prevailing in some most unexpected quarters as to the origin and history of the Catacombs renders it essential that the work should be undertaken afresh.

[1] Thucyd. i. 20: *οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.* Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 19: 'Adeo maxima quæque ambigua sunt dum alii quoquo modo audita pro compertis habent; alii vera in contrarium vertunt; et gliscit utrumque posteritate.' Id. *Hist.* iv. 49: 'vulgi . . . indiligentia veri.'

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At the outset, the name *Roma Sotterranea*, which, first given by Bosio, has been handed on by successive writers to our own day, is a misnomer. The Catacombs do not lie beneath Rome—which, indeed, the law of the Twelve Tables, prohibiting intramural interment, renders impossible—but are entirely outside the city, within a radius of about two and a half miles from the Aurelian walls, subjacent to the suburban farms and villas, but in no sense beneath Rome itself. It is too late in the day to attempt to shelve the term; but one wishes it had never been invented, as it is simply misleading.

Again, when we speak of the 'Catacombs,' it is far from being generally known that the word 'Catacomb' was originally nothing more than the name of a locality, and that its present meaning is a derived one; 'catacomb' having in itself no more connection with sepulture than 'academy' with teaching, 'palace' with royalty, 'Newgate' with incarceration, or 'Bedlam' with lunacy. *Catacumbæ* was simply the designation of a piece of low ground adjacent to the well-known tomb of Cæcilia Metella,

'The stern round tower of other days,'

and the Circus of Romulus, on the Appian Way, and not far from the Basilica of S. Sebastiano, and was probably derived from being a bottom or hollow.[1] The cemeteries, as a rule, took their name from their proximity to some well-known place or familiar object. Thus we find one designated 'ad duas lauros,' another 'ad ursum pileatum,' a third 'ad septem columbas' and so on. And in the same way the cemetery beneath the Basilica of S. Sebastian was popularly known as 'Cœmeterium ad catacumbas,' 'near the hollow.' A tradition, accepted as very probable by Dean Milman, asserted that in this cemetery the bodies of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul found a temporary resting place. This gave it a special sanctity, and led to a general familiarity with its name, which, in its shortened form of 'catacumbas,' or 'catacumbæ,' was, writes Dr. Northcote, 'gradually applied to all subterranean cemeteries of a like character—excavations for purposes of burial not only in the neighbourhood of Rome, but also in Naples, Malta, Paris, Sicily, and wherever else

[1] Though unaccepted by De Rossi, whose strength does not lie in etymology, or by his English exponents Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow, there can be little doubt that '*catacomb*' is derived from κατὰ and κύμβη, a '*hollow;*' that widely spread root which we have in the Latin *cymba*, the Celtic *Cwm*, the Anglo-Saxon *Combe*, and the Provençal *comba*. —(Diez, *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages.*) It is connected with the Sanscrit *kumbhas*, 'a pit.'

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similar excavations have been discovered,' and eventually came to be regarded as their proper specific name.

We observe that in his recent enlarged and amended edition of his *Roma Sotterranea*, Dr. Northcote, while he acknowledges that 'the etymology of the word *catacomb* will probably never be satisfactorily ascertained,'[1] defends the view propounded by Father Marchi that the term *catacumbæ* refers to the cemetery alone, and not to the district in which it is situated, and regards as 'not altogether to be despised' the view of that learned author, accepted by De Rossi, that the word 'derives its origin from the same source as *cubiculum*, and that like *bisomus*, *trisomus*, and others, it is a hybrid word, half Latin, half Greek; the latter half coming from the same root as *accumbo*, *recumbo*, &c., and the former being the preposition *κατὰ*, used (as was common in later Latin) instead of *ad*,' and is therefore to be regarded 'as equivalent to *ad cœmiteria Christianorum*.'[2] Passing over the unfortunate selection as a 'hybrid word' of *trisomus*, a pure Greek compound, *τρίσωμος*, exactly corresponding to *τρικέφαλος*, and *τρισκελής*, it may be remarked that the distinctive name of the other cemeteries—such as *ad duas lauros*, *ad clivum cucumeris*, *ad fontes*, *ad nymphas*, &c.—is unquestionably derived from the circumstances of the locality where they were situated, and that there is a complete want of evidence that the word *catacumbæ* was ever used in any other sense than a local one,[3] of which indeed the instances quoted by Dr. Northcote supply most convincing testimony; and that, on the supposition that it was merely a synonym for *cœmiterium*, it is difficult to understand its being employed as a distinctive title of one particular burial place.

That the Catacombs were disused sand quarries, *arenariæ*, adapted to Christian interment, is another popular error of such venerable antiquity, and at one time so unhesitatingly accepted, that it has been difficult to dislodge it altogether; indeed it is hardly yet entirely exploded. Padre Marchi was the first to show the untenableness of the hallucination which, handed on unthinkingly from writer to writer, only needed to be confronted with the facts to be utterly disproved. Not only are the plan and arrangements of the *arenariæ* entirely different from those of the Catacombs—the former displaying

[1] *Rom. Sotterran.* vol. i. p. 262. [2] *Ibid.* p. 7.

[3] The circus, erected by Maxentius, is spoken of in the *Imperia Cæsarum*, a document of the seventh century, printed by Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Med. Aev.* vol. i. p. 31, in these terms—'Maxentius termas in Palatio fecit et circum in *Catecumpas*.'

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an intricate ramification of winding roads with arched sides, running in easy curves, suitable for the passage of a cart and horse; the latter exhibiting long, straight, and narrow corridors with vertical walls, intersecting one another at well-defined angles—but the strata in which they are excavated are different; the layer in which the sand-diggers worked, *pozzolana pura*, being studiously avoided by the catacomb makers, as being too soft and crumbling for their purpose. The two systems were often connected, the catacomb being entered from a sandpit road: for, to quote Mr. J. H. Parker,—to whose diligent investigations, and still more to the perseverance with which, in spite of obstacles which would have daunted a less resolute spirit, he has carried out the plan he was the first to adopt, of furnishing representations of the Catacombs by the means of photography aided by the magnesian light, the archæological world owes so deep a debt of gratitude—'these sandpit roads were admirably calculated to give access to the Catacombs, and to carry away the sand dug out in making them.'[1] Instances also are not wanting in which *arenariæ* have actually been converted into Christian cemeteries. But the perfect distinctness of the two modes of construction, which is apparent on even a superficial examination, is still more fully proved by the alterations found necessary in the cases in which a sand quarry has been adapted to the purposes of burial, so that, in the words of Dr. Northcote,[2] 'although a catacomb might easily be so amplified as to resemble an *arenaria*, nothing could convert an *arenaria* into a catacomb except a process which could plainly tell its own story.'

The romantic fable needs no serious refutation which represents the Catacombs as 'the only dwelling places, the only churches' of the primitive Christians, as not only 'their place of repose after death, but of their actual living,' and describes the Christians themselves as 'for two or three continuous centuries *lucifugæ*, as if always shrouding themselves in darkness from the face of their enemies, as a people constantly and habitually *under the earth*.'[3] We may account for the currency it has obtained and which it so little deserves, by the readiness with which it lends itself to the purposes of the storytellers who, whether Roman or Anglican, 'with one voice, from mistaken devotion or indulgence in poetic phrases, we hope not from wilful deception,' have so fatally falsified Church history, imbuing the minds of the young or half-educated with

[1] *Catacombs*, p. viii.
[2] *Rom. Sott.* vol. i. p. 382.
[3] Milman's *Essays*, p. 478.

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pleasing fictions which it is hard to get rid of. Certainly no one who has personally inspected the Catacombs needs any argument to convince him of the impossibility of a large number of persons maintaining existence for any length of time in those networks of narrow galleries and cramped chambers, almost without ventilation, and entirely without drainage, which the congregation of human beings, with their natural needs, would speedily render not unwholesome merely, but absolutely poisonous. That in times of persecution, which was far more intermittent than is generally supposed, the Christians were driven to take refuge in these vast and unexplored depths, and really made these dens and caves of the earth their sojourning places, may be readily credited. But, as Mr. Parker has truly said,[1] 'the Catacombs were never intended nor fit for dwelling places, and the stories of persons living in them for months are probably fabulous. According to modern physicians, it is impossible to live many days in the caves of *pozzolana*'—he should have said *tufa*—'in which many of the Catacombs are excavated.' It could be only under very exceptional circumstances that they were used as places of general habitation, and then for the briefest possible time.

We pass from the Catacombs as dwelling places to their supposed use as places of worship. Here we are on somewhat different ground. Although the language sometimes employed with reference to the subject, and which is implied in the very title of Dr. Maitland's very pleasing and interesting work, the *Church in the Catacombs*, which was almost the first to popularize any scientific knowledge of these sacred cemeteries in England, is not free from exaggeration, there is more solid foundation for the idea that the Catacombs were used for religious gatherings in times of persecution. This appears so plain to the most recent and searching investigators, that 'to deny,' writes Dr. Northcote, 'in the face of recent discoveries, that some chambers in the Catacombs were designed and used as places of worship during the early ages, would be, in the opinion of De Rossi, "to close one's eyes against the light of the sun at noonday."' Appeal may be made in support of this assertion to the very remarkable series of chambers, link beyond link, running at right angles to the general corridor, brought to light by Padre Marchi in the Cemetery of S. Agnes, or, as it is now more correctly designated, the *Cœmiterium Ostrianum*. The only probable explanation of this unusual arrangement is that it was intended to serve for common

[1] *Catacombs*, p. 26.

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worship. The whole length of this chain of crypts is forty-five feet by nearly seven in width; while its height, more than double that of such chambers usually, indicates a more than ordinary destination. We know that at this epoch the worshippers were separated according to their sexes, and just such a separation meets us here. We find a division presumably for female worshippers on one side of the gallery, and for males on the opposite side. At the end of this latter is what now would be called the chancel or choir, with an episcopal chair hewn out of the rock in the centre, and a low stone bench on either side for the *consessus presbyterorum*. A niche on either side corresponds to the lateral *exedræ* of the primitive churches. Indeed, the general correspondence is so remarkable that De Rossi is justified in saying that 'in this remarkable excavation we have all the essential features of a Basilica.'[1]

The architectural evidence derived from other Catacombs fully confirms the view of the occasional use of the subterranean cemeteries for sacred gatherings. After a careful consideration of the facts, Dean Milman, by no means disposed to accept such hypotheses without searching investigation, acknowledges that 'the Catacombs may, in those dark days of calamity, have become places of worship, even worship of martyrs, whose holy example the pious fugitives might at any time be called upon to follow.'[2] Taking the Cemetery of Callixtus, which has been the chief field of De Rossi's investigations—as intelligent as they are conscientious—as a typical example, we find the earliest *cubicula* or burial chambers (opening out of the *ambulacra* on either side, with all the regularity of the chambers in a long passage of a modern house) of small dimensions, rarely double, unprovided with *luminaria* or air shafts, without any signs of having been intended as places of assembly, but merely as family burial vaults. The later *cubicula*, on the other hand, made about the middle of the third century, are of larger size, and in De Rossi's view were 'manifestly adapted for use as places of meeting.' Those still later, 'belonging to the latter half of the third century and the beginning of the next,' are much more fully developed, forming 'spacious quadrangular chambers not only double but triple, even quadruple, with other lateral appendages.' 'In the Cemetery of S. Soteris, of still later date, they become polygonal with apses and vaulted roofs, and look more like subterranean mausoleums.' When

[1] *Us.* p. 487. [2] Northcote and Brownlow, *R. S.* pp. 229–234.

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we reach the second half of the fourth century, the grandeur of proportions and magnificence of design of these *cubicula* attains its highest degree of perfection, but 'there being no longer any need for such subterranean gathering places, they are not arranged with a view to large assemblies of the faithful for the purposes of religious worship.' The conclusion of De Rossi's investigations is thus clearly stated by Dr. Northcote:—

'Taking this analysis as our guide—and we could hardly have one more sure and trustworthy—it would seem that in the first two centuries the Catacombs were not made with a view to any general congregation of the faithful, and do not contain chambers that could have been conveniently so used; but that this use of them began about the middle of the third century, and became still more frequent as time went on. The fossores having learnt the capabilities of the material they were at work upon, and the demand for increased accommodation to which they were constantly liable, grew more ambitious in their architectural efforts, and at length produced that suite of chambers which has already been described as combining to make a perfect subterranean church. When the necessity for such churches ceased, they became fanciful in their choice of forms, and excavated circular or polygonal mausoleums.'

This result of De Rossi's archæological researches, as epitomized by Dr. Northcote, accords with historical evidence. The first imperial interference with the free use of the Catacombs was that of Decius, A.D. 257, and was aimed expressly against their use as places of assembly, forbidding 'all Christian assemblies and all visits to the places called cemeteries' under the severest penalties.[1] It was of course

'impossible that Christians should acquiesce in this prohibition. Being forbidden to meet in the ordinary places of gathering for worship and the celebration of the sacred mysteries, or to assemble in the *cellæ* or *memoriæ* built above ground over the subterranean cemeteries, they were driven to seek more secret places for their worship. No places could afford a more secure retreat than the Catacombs, where, as soon as suitable provision was made, they accordingly met.'

Pope Sixtus II., A.D. 258, soon paid the penalty of his disobedience[2] to this prohibition, together with his four deacons, in

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11: οὐδαμῶς ἐξέσται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι. *Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani*, c. i. apud Ruinart. p. 261: 'Paternus, Proconsul . . . adjecit . . . ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec cœmiteria ingrediantur. Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre præceptum non observaverit capite plectetur.'

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* 80: 'Xystum in cimiterio animadversum sciatis . . . et cum eo diaconos quatuor.'

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the Catacomb of Prætextatus, nerving S. Cyprian for his own martyrdom at Carthage by the intelligence of the Christian fortitude with which he and his ministers had met their death. With the close of that fearful period, when the enemy of the truth 'had great wrath, knowing that he had but a short time,' and the triumph of the Christian faith under Constantine, the Church resumed, with her other rights and immunities, the possession of her cemeteries: not now, however, as places of assemblage for religious worship and the celebration of the Sacraments of the Church—for which the Basilicas, rising, under the Emperor's patronage, over the resting-places of the more celebrated saints, were affording spacious and magnificent shelter—but for their primary purpose for the interment of the departed and the annual commemorations of the martyrs and the anniversaries of the faithful deceased, with which an Eucharistic celebration was inseparably connected. For such purposes the accommodation provided by the ordinary burial-chapels or *cubicula* was sufficient. To quote Dr. Northcote again,

'For merely partial gatherings, such as the members of a single family at a funeral or an anniversary, the small subterranean chambers which are so abundant through every part of the Catacombs might have sufficed; while for any larger and more general congregations such as might have been expected to assist at the feasts of the martyrs, it was possible to provide additional room in other supplementary chambers in the neighbourhood, whence the worshippers might have gone in person to the chamber in which the actual celebration had taken place, that they might there receive the Bread of Life from 'the president;' or, according to the discipline of those days, it might have been brought to them by the deacons or inferior ministers.'[1]

It may seem cruel to destroy so fair a fabric of romance, and to drag up the early Christians from the picturesque gloom of subterranean hiding-places to the open sunlight, but a calm survey of the facts shows that the idea conveyed by the popular phrase, 'the Church of the Catacombs,' is not borne out by existing evidence, either historical or archæological; and that while there is no reasonable doubt that the subterranean cemeteries were used in times of persecution, both as hiding places from the fury of the enemies of the Faith, and as places of social worship and Eucharistic celebrations, it was certainly only under exceptional circumstances that they were so employed, and that these circumstances were of far rarer occurrence than the highly-

[1] *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i. p. 240.

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coloured language of some writers, drawing more from their imagination than from facts, has depicted. Indeed there is little question that the Christians, though at all times exposed to the outbursts of popular violence, when the cry *Christiani ad leones* was raised to satisfy the demand for victims on whom to wreak their vengeance for military disasters, unfruitful seasons, droughts, famines, earthquakes, and other public calamities, and though liable at any moment to be punished legally for practising an illicit religion, if anybody chose to press the charge against them—'No special edict was required,' writes the calm and philosophic Dean Merivale, 'to drag them before the altar of Jupiter, and invite them to sprinkle it with incense and conceive a vow to the genius of the Emperor'[1]—'were yet,' 'during by far the greater part of the period between the Neronian and the Diocletian persecutions, in general, as free and secure as the other inhabitants of Rome. Their assemblies were no more disturbed than the synagogues of the Jews or the rites of other foreign religions;'[2] while the ordinary laws relating to the burial of the dead secured them in the possession of their funeral *areæ* no less than their pagan fellow-citizens, and protected them from interference in carrying out their obsequies. The notion, so long and so widely prevalent, that the vast network of excavations comprised in the Roman Catacombs could have been carried out secretly and in defiance of existing laws, and that the thousands of corpses reposing in their *loculi* could have been carried to the grave and deposited in their last resting place without the cognizance of the authorities of the city, has been justly designated by Professor Mommsen as 'ridiculous, and reflecting discredit, as unfounded as it is unjust, on the imperial police of the capital.'[3]

In close connexion with this misconception we may mention another, fostered by the official decrees and present practice of the authorities of the Church of Rome, as to the claims of those whose remains repose in the Catacombs to be regarded as martyrs, and the marks by which these claims are supposed to be verified. When we take into consideration the utter disregard for human life, especially slave life, exhibited by the ancient Romans in the wholesale butcheries with which the majesty of offended law was vindicated, as well as the language of Prudentius as to 'the multitude of

[1] Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi. p. 451.
[2] Milman, *History of Christianity*, book iv. c. ii. p. 329, *note* 2.
[3] *Contemporary Review*, May 1871.

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the just' slain by the 'wicked rage of the worshippers of the pagan gods,' and the statements of Eusebius [1] and Lactantius,[2] almost contemporary witnesses, as to the crowds, too great to be executed singly, who sealed their testimony to the Faith with their death, we may be warranted in deeming the conclusions of Dodwell's treatise, *De Paucitate Martyrum* (even though styled by Dean Milman 'unanswered and unanswerable),' as somewhat overstrained, and may hesitate altogether to set aside the traditions of the Church on this point. The 'light of historic truth,' when 'let into the dark jungle of legend which darkens and bewilders the early Christian annals,' [3] dispels many of the highly-coloured and exaggerated fables of the Bollandists and other martyrologies, and seriously reduces the ranks to whom the martyr's palm may be justly assigned; but, in Dr. Northcote's words, 'there seems to be no solid reason for calling in question the truth of what ancient authorities generally have told us, however difficult it may be in this or that particular instance to verify the number recorded.' [4] The case, however, is perfectly different when we turn our attention to particular instances, and come to weigh the precarious evidence by which the graves of supposed martyrs are sought to be identified. The palm branch, incised on the closing slab of the *loculi*, though authoritatively declared by the 'Congregation of Relics' (April 10, 1688) to be an indisputable evidence of a martyr's tomb, has had to yield before the proofs of its being found on tombs for which no such claim could be put forward—*e.g.* those prepared by individuals in their lifetime, of young children, and of a schismatic bishop, as well as of pagans. The supposed instruments of torture, similarly engraved, or in some instances actually found within the *loculus*, are repudiated by De Rossi himself, who remarks that, while we may accept as a certain truth the 'special veneration with which the faithful sought to gather together and bury with the martyr every relic bearing witness to his testimony to the Faith, every object stained with his blood, and testifying to his martyrdom,' the greatest circumspection and attentive examination of the 'facts of the case are required on applying these historical notices to the objects discovered in the tombs of the Catacombs.' [5] Bronze *styli*, apparently piercing martyrs' skulls, prove on examination to be merely hairpins. Horrible scrapers and claws, *ungulæ* or *fidi-*

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 2, 11.
[2] *De Mort. Persec.* c. xv.
[3] Dean Milman, *Essays*, p. 479.
[4] *Rom. Sotter.* vol. i. p. 310.
[5] De Rossi, *Rom. Sotter.* vol. iii. p. 622.

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culæ, long preserved in the Christian Museum at the Vatican and regarded with holy horror, have been removed since it has been proved that they came from a pagan Etruscan tomb. The nails, which are not of unfrequent occurrence within the tombs, or affixed to the plaster at the mouth of the *loculi*, he holds with Buonarruoti to have been fastened up, like the other strangely miscellaneous articles attached to the closing mortar, as 'sign-posts by which the particular *loculus* might be identified by friends who wished to visit the last resting places of their beloved one,' for which purpose they took anything that came to hand, no matter what it was. Whether this theory be accepted, or whether we hold with Raoul Rochette that the practice was merely a survival of the desire, so deep seated in human nature, to connect the life beyond the grave with that in this world by furnishing the graves with the same articles that surrounded the departed while still alive, De Rossi's calm verdict effectually disposes of the notion that these objects have any connexion with martyrdom, or, as Cavedoni has with much ingenuity endeavoured to establish, with Christian symbolism at all. De Rossi's repudiation of the idea that the oyster-shells—such as those with which the Christian rabble at Alexandria scraped Hypatia to death—the tusks and teeth of animals, and other similar objects found stuck into the plaster of the graves, were instruments or even symbols of martyrdom, is a powerful confirmation of the conscientious character of his investigations. No one has done more than this learned archæologist—as accurate as he is acute, and as earnest in his search for truth as he is quick in discovering it—to withdraw the Catacombs and their contents from the domain of romance to that of sober history and scientific investigation. May the time be not far distant when they will be equally withdrawn from the domain of polemics, and cease to be the battle-field of rival theological systems, forcing these silent records to speak a language which, so far as it is distinctively Protestant or distinctively Roman, is equally foreign to their primitive simplicity!

In the ages of unquestioning faith before our present critical epoch, no indication of martyrdom was deemed so certain as the small glass vessel containing a reddish sediment often found pressed into the mortar at the edge of a *loculus*. This was held to have been the receptacle of the martyr's blood, which we know, from the verses of Prudentius, as well as from the Acts of the Martyrs and other records, was eagerly collected in sponges and napkins by the faithful, and preserved as a sacred amulet to guard them and their descendants

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from evil,[1] and which it is assumed was buried with them. We say *assumed;* for though the portions of De Rossi's and Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote's works relating to this controverted point assert, as a fact, that 'the faithful often placed the blood in glass or terra-cotta vessels of different forms and sizes,'[2] and give reports of several discoveries of glass vessels containing a dark liquid, the only ancient authority in support of their statement is that of the late and credulous Nicephorus Callisti (who, it is not always remembered, lived in the reign of our Edward III., and was writing at the same time with Froissart), who mentions the blood of S. Euphemia having been 'taken up and divided in small glass vessels.'[3] In the face of testimony the honesty of which we have no right to impugn, we may accept as a fact that bottles containing a substance in a semi-fluid state have been discovered in the Catacombs—one so recently as 1872 in the Cemetery of S. Saturninus, on the Via Salaria Nuova; but that this fluid or the sediment to which it has been most usually reduced is *blood*, rests at present on evidence far too precarious to be received without the gravest doubt. We had, indeed, believed that this hypothesis had been generally given up by the best and most unprejudiced archæologists even of the Roman Church; and it has been with some feeling of surprise that we have read the *procès verbal*, carefully drawn up by Sig. Michele De Rossi, which appears as an appendix to the most recently published volume of his brother's great work, giving the result of a microscopical and chemical analysis of the contents of the bottle found at S. Saturninus, by which their sanguineous nature is held to be established. We confess that, after a careful examination of the evidence, we cannot regard the point at issue as proved. The proceedings of the workmen by whom the bottle was discovered, who diluted the inspissated contents of the bottle with the fluid most ready to hand, and treated the flask with such carelessness that flies and other insects got into the bottle and were drowned, must be acknowledged to have seriously impaired the integrity of the matter subjected to analysis, and thrown a doubt over its results. The utmost that can be regarded as established by

[1] Prudent. *Peristephan.* v. 341 (of the martyrdom of S. Vincent at Saragossa) :—

'Plerique vestem linteam
Stillante tinguunt sanguine,
Tutamen ut sacrum suis
Domi reservent posteris.'

[2] Northcote, *u.s.* vol. ii. p. 331.

[3] Niceph. *H. E.* xviii. 31.

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this investigation, the perfect honesty of which we are most ready to acknowledge, is that there is no sufficient evidence that the liquid cannot have been blood. We must express some surprise and disappointment that the liquid was not also subjected to optical analysis by the prism. The presence or absence of the marked lines which distinguish the spectrum of blood from any other fluid would have set the question at rest for ever. Is it still too late for this trial to be made? The investigation of Père de Buch, S.J., in his work, *De Phialis Rubricatis*, satisfied that learned writer that the red substance found in the vessels he experimented on was 'the remains of the wine from the Agapæ, or possibly Eucharistic wine, corrupted and dried up.' This hypothesis, we learn from Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote[1]—who with admirable candour are careful to state the evidence that makes against their view as well as that which favours it—has been still further strengthened by the analysis of the contents of an *ampulla* found in the Aliscamp at Arles in 1877, proving the liquid to be unquestionably wine.[2] We cannot, therefore, see on what grounds our learned authors regard 'the supposition that these *ampullæ* may have contained the remains of wine used at the Agapæ' as 'untenable,' and even call in question that these funeral feasts (miscalled *agapæ*) were ever held underground. It is unquestionable that libations of wine were poured on the graves of the departed, nor is there any reason to restrict the practice to graves above ground. As evidence of this practice it will be enough to quote one passage, out of many, from Paulinus of Nola—

> 'Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos
> Perfusis halante mero gaudere sepulchris.'[3]

We observe that there is no attempt on the part of our authors to reduce the contents of all the *ampullæ* to one category. They remark—

'That it is quite in keeping with the customs of the ancient Christians to suppose that some of these phials contained odoriferous oils and balsams, which were extensively used for honouring the faithful departed, sometimes by being placed in the tomb, and sometimes by being burnt in lamps in front of the shrines. . . . But these phials are not to be confounded with those stained with blood.'

Our readers will observe how completely the question is

[1] *U.s.* vol. ii. p. 341.
[2] This analysis has been described by M. Berthelot in the *Revue Archéologique* for June 1877.
[3] Paulin Nolan. *Poemata*, xxvii. v. 566.

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begged in the last sentence: the whole controversy being as to whether *any* are stained with blood, not if *all* are so. May we repeat the hope that spectral analysis may be able to settle the dispute!

Another controversy, which we have not room to discuss fully, is as to the exclusive use of the Catacombs by Christians as burial places.

The Christian *origin* of the Catacombs, which Padre Marchi was the first to enunciate against an almost overwhelming weight of authority, has been confirmed by the patient labours of De Rossi, and may now be regarded as fully established. But some still regard it as a moot point whether none but Christians were allowed to be interred in them, or whether they were used by Christians and pagans in common. This latter notion, which is characterized by De Rossi, whose opinion on such a point deserves the utmost consideration, as 'absurd,' has the support of Mr. J. H. Parker, and to some extent of the learned historian of the *Romans under the Empire*, Dean Merivale. The former relies chiefly for proof of his theory on the number of pagan inscriptions that have been from time to time discovered in the Catacombs, and many of which remain there still. He writes:[1]

'Of the inscriptions found in the seventeenth century in the Catacombs, which are published by Boldetti and others, a large proportion (?) are pagan; and the ingenious attempt to explain away this fact—the assumption that they were all brought there to be engraved on the other side with the names of Christians—is extremely improbable as a general rule. Although it is clear that they *were so engraved in some instances* (*sic*), it does not follow that these Christian inscriptions, called *palimpsests*'—[We must beg leave to correct Mr. Parker's terminology; *opisthographs* is the correct designation of these slabs *re-engraved on the back*, not rubbed down to a fresh surface as in a palimpsest manuscript]—'were actually engraved in the Catacombs themselves, and the probability is quite the other way.'

We must refer our readers for De Rossi's answer to this assertion, either to the third volume of his great work,[2] or to the translation given in Appendix C to the first volume of Messrs Northcote and Brownlow's epitome of the same.[3] Here the learned author shows that, as the previous investigator, Lupi, had remarked of the same slabs, 'the very stones themselves tell their own story, and show that they do not belong to the cemetery, but come from without.' Very many of them

[1] Parker's *Catacombs*, Introduction, p. 13.
[2] De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. iii. pp. 640 ff.
[3] *U.s.* vol. i. p. 407 ff.

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are not sepulchral at all, but manifestly belonged to public monuments; while those that are sepulchral in the majority of instances are proved by the inscriptions they bear to have belonged to a very different class of tombs from those with which they are found connected. The same fact is also established by the precautions taken to prove that they did not originally belong to a Christian cemetery. Either the inscribed side was turned inwards, a new epitaph being engraved on the outer side on which Christian eyes would fall, or the former inscription was carefully concealed by a layer of mortar. The only exception to this rule was when from the mutilated character of the pagan inscription, or from the irregularity of its insertion, either turned upside down or placed sideways, it was at once made clear that 'the presence of the stones was merely material, and that they had no real connexion with the name and epitaph, which properly belonged to the sepulchre.' De Rossi refers to 'hundreds of instances' of stones, either in the Catacombs themselves, or that have been taken thence, exhibiting this precaution against possible error or confusion between pagan and Christian interments, while the examples of apparent exceptions to the rule are few indeed :— 'Not a single such instance in the whole of the vast Cemetery of Callixtus, and barely one or two in all the other cemeteries in the immediate proximity of Rome.' Such examples are of more frequent occurrence in the country cemeteries. Those who were buried there were for the most part illiterate; epitaphs of any kind are rare; nor is it a matter of surprise that in these rural districts 'the untutored *fossores* and the faithful generally failed to examine and correct the pagan stones which they used with the same intelligent care and watchful eye of which there are such clear tokens in the cemeteries belonging to the metropolis.'

A perusal of these pages will, we think, convince the unprejudiced reader that De Rossi has succeeded in proving his points, and that, as a rule, pagans were not interred promiscuously with Christians in the Catacombs, and has accounted satisfactorily for the misleading presence of pagan slabs in the Christian cemeteries.

Christian art, as preserved and exhibited in the Catacombs, offers far too wide and important a field to be entered on in the limited space at our command. We cannot, however, close our article without reference to the widely different views of the date and origin of the Catacomb paintings entertained by De Rossi and his English translators, Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow, on the one hand, and Mr. J. H. Parker on the other,

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and the controversy which has thence arisen. Here again, as in former questions, the victory must undoubtedly be assigned to De Rossi. *Non omnia possumus omnes;* and it is no discredit to that veteran archæologist, whose works on mediæval architecture, especially of England, have formed an epoch in the study of that subject,[1] and whose patient investigations and liberal expenditure of money, aided by a knowledge of construction equalled by few, have thrown a new light on the earliest monuments of the architecture of Rome, if his verdict on questions of pictorial art—a jealous mistress, who suffers no rival near her throne—should be found to be based on insufficient premisses, and to be of somewhat doubtful authority. Mr. Parker's contention is that the paintings in the Catacombs are of much later date than has been usually supposed, and that nearly all of them, if not actually executed in the eighth and ninth centuries, were so largely restored at that period during the strenuous efforts made by successive Popes to revive the ancient reverence and splendour of the cemeteries, after the devastations and sacrileges committed by the Lombards under Astolphus, A.D. 756, as to have lost all claim to being regarded as genuine examples of early Christian art. With a temerity of assertion which contrasts strangely with his former repeated testimonies to De Rossi's fidelity of statement and freedom from all polemical bias, Mr. Parker has[2] been unhappily led to express doubts of that archæologist's perfect honesty. Mr. Parker acknowledges that on more exact information he was induced to cancel the leaves in which, on the authority of a 'Roman Catholic priest, who was a good antiquary on ecclesiastical subjects,' he 'had accused De Rossi of making the restorations;' but he still charges De Rossi with patent untruthfulness in allowing his authority to be used to establish the early date of these frescoes, 'though he himself is careful never to say so, because he knows perfectly well that three-fourths of them are of the eighth and ninth century, about the time when Charlemagne was in Rome,

[1] We refer of course to Mr. Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, which has gradually grown from a thin pamphlet to three octavo volumes, and is awaiting a new and enlarged edition; his edition of Rickman's *History of Architecture*, with its abundant illustrations, and carefully drawn up series of dated examples; and, above all, his history of *Domestic Architecture*, which has elevated that branch of the study into an exact science. May the venerable author live to complete his Appendix to Rickman, which is intended to do for the cathedrals and churches of England what the last-named volumes have done for its houses and castles!

[2] *Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute*, No. 136, vol. xxxiv. p. 432.

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when so many of these tombs were restored by the Popes.' To this extraordinary statement, more damaging to its author than its subject, De Rossi, through Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow, gives the most unqualified contradiction, couched, let us say to his honour, in language more temperate and courteous than such an accusation might have not unnaturally called forth. He remarks, with the serene calmness of conscious rectitude, that such a statement 'can only be accounted for by supposing that Mr. Parker has confounded in his own mind two classes of paintings that are entirely distinct, and has then reversed their relative proportions.'[1] He makes no attempt to deny that the Catacomb frescoes are of very various dates, and have been subjected at various periods to extensive restorations, or rather renovations. But he carefully distinguishes between these later works and those of the first three centuries, the age of the martyrdoms, and supplies tests by which they may be accurately discriminated. He writes:

'I have thoroughly explained in my *Roma Sotterranea* what paintings in the historical crypts (which underwent new changes even down to the eighth and ninth centuries) were—not restored but—executed *de integro* at that time; and their style enables us immediately to distinguish them from those of more ancient ages and of classical art. Some paintings were contemporaneous with the sepulchres which they adorn; others were made and often cancelled, and others substituted for them at successive periods, but only in those crypts which we call historical, which were frequented and cared for till the time when the subterranean sanctuaries were abandoned in consequence of the translation of the relics of all the more celebrated martyrs.'[2]

Dr. Northcote justly adds that—

'It ought not to have been necessary to make this explanation afresh, for, in truth, De Rossi has spoken plainly enough from the very first, and in all his published works; his judgment not being founded on any view of Christian theology, nor on any arbitrary theory as to the probable origin and development of Christian art in general, nor even on an examination of an indefinite number of examples considered individually, but on a very wide and careful induction, the result of his own and his brother's scientific determination of the chronology of every part of the Catacombs.'[3]

It is highly satisfactory to observe that the accuracy of De Rossi's conclusions has been fully accepted by such a master of historic methods, and one of such calm judicial mind, as the great German historian, Dr. Mommsen. After observing

[1] Northcote, *R. S.*, vol. ii. p. 8.
[2] Northcote and Brownlow, *u.s.* p. 8. [3] *Ibid.* p. 11.

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that the means of investigation adopted by De Rossi in the Cemetery of Callixtus enable us to trace 'the successive execution of the individual parts of the plan in decades,' he continues:

'By this means it has become possible to obtain a chronological precision, not only with regard to epigraphy, *but also to painting*, and many other branches of archæology, such as it would be impossible to arrive at in any other field of archæological research. And, though some of De Rossi's assertions cannot fail to call forth some opposition, there can be no doubt that he has in a general way laid down fundamental principles and rules which will prove a lasting acquisition to science.'[1]

The general conclusion arrived at—which, notwithstanding Mr. Parker's reassertion of his conviction of the late date of the majority of the Catacomb paintings, may, we think, be safely acquiesced in—is that the decorations are, as a rule, of the same date as the chambers themselves, and that, the antiquity of these chambers having been decided by historical and archæological evidence, the paintings, if they do not offer any unmistakable marks of a later age, may be unhesitatingly referred to the same period; that restoration in the modern sense was of the rarest occurrence; and that, even when it took place, there was never any renewal or change of the subject, but only the old decaying outlines were marked out afresh by stronger and coarser contours, leaving the original picture in all essential respects, though artistically impaired, the same as before; and that the only cases where any renewal of the decorative paintings was carried out were those of the *cubicula* which had acquired a special sanctity as the resting places of celebrated martyrs.

'Experience,' writes Dr. Northcote, 'teaches us that nothing is more apt to be neglected than the sepulchral monuments of private individuals. After the lapse of a certain time when the immediate descendants of the deceased have passed away it is not uncommon to see them sacrificed altogether, if need be, to satisfy new necessities, or even new whims and caprices. And just so we find painting after painting in every part of the Catacombs—in some parts, *e.g.* in the Cemetery of S. Soteris, every painting without exception—pierced through and spoilt in order to make room for more recent graves. This does not look as if there had been any care taken to preserve them, or any system of renewing them when they fell into decay.'[2]

We do not know whether the evidence will be sufficient to convince Mr. Parker, and to cause him to modify his opinions,

[1] In *Neuen Reich.* 1871. *Chronik der Winckelmannsfeste*, p. 184, quoted in *R. S.* p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*

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but it cannot fail to lead him to be more cautious in ascribing anything approaching to intentional dishonesty—either the *suppressio veri*, or the *suggestio falsi*—to a brother archæologist of such acknowledged eminence as the Commendatore De Rossi, or to those who claim to be his exponents to English readers, Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow. It is an evil sign for the spread of truth when such investigations are carried on in a controversial and polemic spirit, or when personal feeling or religious prejudice is allowed to intrude on the ground of pure scientific investigation. All experience, however, shows, in the words of Dr. Northcote—which he, as well as his antagonist, may do well to lay to heart—'how necessary it is for all writers, whether Catholic or Protestant, to keep strict watch over themselves in handling this topic, lest their religious prejudices should unconsciously warp their judgment.' We cannot better conclude our article than in the words of De Rossi:

'I consider that honesty and scrupulous severity in the proving of facts is the first duty of every writer who handles a subject so likely to raise religious controversy as that of the Early Christian monuments. I hope that my best title to the esteem and sympathy with which I am honoured by the most competent and impartial judges is the confidence with which I have inspired them by thirty years of assiduous explorations and researches, and by a complete and conscientious account of all that they have brought to light.'

O si sic omnes!

ART. II.—THE PAGAN REACTION UNDER THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

1. *The Emperor Julian—Paganism and Christianity—being the Hulsean Essay for the Year* 1876. By GERALD HENRY RENDALL, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, 1879.)
2. *Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser Julians gegen die Christliche Kirche.* Von FRIEDRICH RODE. (Jena, 1877.)
3. *Julien l'Apostat et sa Philosophie du Polythéisme.* Par H. ADRIEN NAVILLE. (Paris, 1877.)

IT may be taken as a sign of the different characteristics of English and foreign, especially of German, scholarship, that while nothing is commoner in Germany than monographs on the lives of representative historical persons, in England they

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are very rare. Our historians have preferred the more ambitious but more hazardous task of writing general histories of whole nations or periods, and have left to the more patient labour of the Germans the microscopic investigation of the lives of those who made the nations or characterized the periods. This is remarkably true with regard to ecclesiastical history. While we have many excellent works, such as Milman's *Latin Christianity*, or Canon Robertson's *Church History*, which give us a general survey of the subjects dealt with, Mr. Stephens' *Life and Times of S. Chrysostom* stands almost alone as a study of one of the great names of the Church, selected as the central figure of an epoch. In Germany, on the other hand, such monographs are frequent, and are most useful to the historical student. It is to be hoped that this example may find imitators amongst us. Biographical monographs are more humble productions, indeed, than universal and philosophical histories, but they are more interesting, and, possibly, less misleading. The fact is exemplified by the case of the Emperor Julian, who is certainly one of the most interesting of historical characters, and would, it might be thought, have found many biographers in England. And yet, as Mr. Rendall tells us in his preface, it would seem as if Gibbon's 'masterly narration of Julian's successes and failures' had prevented his countrymen from trying to get a clearer and fuller view of his life and character than was possible in the vast extent of the greatest of all histories. So we are especially grateful to the Hulsean foundation at Cambridge for having been the means of producing such a work as Mr. Rendall's, which is a worthy successor to Mr. Mason's essay on *Diocletian's Persecution*, and Mr. Cunningham's monograph on the *Epistle of Barnabas*. If, as Mr. Rendall hints in his preface, the 'gentle violence' and 'external impulse' of the Hulsean prize is necessary for the production of such studies, we hope that those who administer this and similar benefactions will continue to stimulate the energies of historical aspirants in the direction of special biographical investigation, for there can be no doubt of the value of such a work as Mr. Rendall's. Julian has been the subject of many interesting works both in Germany and France, two of the latest of which stand at the head of our article; but Mr. Rendall's is the first original English book on the subject since the curious political discussion which was started by 'Julian Johnson' in 1681, and which was more concerned with the Divine right or wrong of the Kings of England than with the insignificant question of Paganism and

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Christianity in the fourth century. Mr. Rendall has well supplied the want. As far as thoroughness of research goes, not even German industry could surpass the completeness of his work, and it shows an appreciation of character which gives life to the whole, and contrasts very favourably with Dr. Rode's patient and piecemeal delineation. On the other hand, it does not, by any undue fluency of generalization, put us on our guard against anticipated inaccuracies and omissions, as too many French writers do; not, however, M. Naville, whose admirable study of Julian's philosophy is a most valuable contribution to the subject. At the same time we cannot say that Mr. Rendall's work is faultless, though as to errors of detail or mistakes in actual matters of fact, we must own that we have detected hardly any. But there are two points in Mr. Rendall's method and general treatment of the subject that might, we think, be altered with advantage.

And in the first place we will be very bold, considering that we are writing in the nineteenth century, and say at once that it would have been better had Mr. Rendall been less tolerant, or perhaps we should say less impartial. We are far, indeed, from wishing that any modern historian should falsify facts, or omit any element essential to the truth, in order thereby to justify his own prejudices; such a method of writing history has, we may hope, been at length discarded. Let us have all possible light thrown upon the actual facts, every means used to discover them and to estimate their due proportion; this is surely the *sine qua non* of historical work. But there is something more required, especially in biography: and that is to present the personages of history as they really lived, to bring them before our eyes as they appeared to their contemporararies, to explain and justify the opinion of their own age concerning them by the very description given of them. A large part, and probably far the most important part, of their historical significance consists in the influence they exerted on those with whom they dealt; and this influence greatly depended upon the opinions, good or bad, which those who knew them formed of them. The biographer, then, if he wishes to give us, not perhaps a living, but even merely a true, picture of his subject, cannot leave out of account the actual impression which the person makes upon our feelings, for that impression is, in all probability, just what was made upon his contemporaries: it is part of the historical character just as much as the actions and sayings recorded of him; and if it is omitted, if, that is, the biographer tries to be completely impartial, not only

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vigour and life, but truth itself will be sacrificed. To be impartial in judging the truth of the facts related is one thing, to be impartial in judging a character is another. In the first case impartiality is necessary for ascertaining truth; in the second it is not too much to say that we cannot be true unless we are partial: for, as far as history is concerned, the meaning of a character is the impression made upon the feelings of other men; and a mere recital of actions and sayings, leaving out the feelings of repulsion or attraction with which the character inspires us, is no more true history than it would be if essential facts were omitted from the account. It would seem, therefore, that the modern reaction from the violent intolerance and false partiality of former historians has a danger of its own; and the careful balancing of facts against each other, the judicial monotony of accent, the nervous shrinking from any expression of praise or blame, tend to produce a dead level of narration, and a finally distorted view of the subject, which may be scientific, but is certainly not history. No doubt in the case of Julian there are strong inducements to a modern writer to fear partiality, for few characters have been the subject of such partisan animus on each side; but also in no case is it more necessary to allow our feelings of sympathy or antipathy free scope than in this. One great cause of Julian's failure was surely his lack of power to influence others, and this in its turn was due to the dislike and contempt which were clearly felt for him by those with whom he came in contact. The worthy soldier-historian Ammianus, though very fully recording Julian's merits and good qualities, fails to conceal his contempt for the superstitious sacrificer, and for the talkative judge who could not restrain his curiosity as to the religion of the suitors who appeared before him.[1] And the natural hatred of the Christians for the Emperor who tried to reanimate Paganism is mingled with a derision and contempt which are certainly incompatible with any power of either attracting or influencing others. Hence his efforts were not so much feared as laughed at, even by the Pagans themselves; his personal following was small, and the effect of his example in observing the rites of his religion almost *nil*, wherever, as in Antioch, there was a strong Christian feeling already existing. When Mr. Rendall, therefore, so carefully avoids all expression of his own feelings towards Julian, and is so ostentatiously impartial as, for instance, in his last

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 10, xxv. 4, xxii. 7.

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chapter, he is really giving us a false idea of the character he has to describe. Julian was gifted with great powers; he was learned, he was clever, he was probably a great general, he was unwearied in industry; but—he was ridiculous and unpopular, and a true historical portrayal should emphasize and justify his unpopularity. In many parts of his book, indeed, Mr. Rendall has avoided this fault, and the very vigour and liveliness of his style are witnesses that his subject is to him a real living person, and not the mere theme for discussion to which Dr. Rode reduces poor Julian. But where he has most aimed at impartiality and complete toleration, there he at once fails to give us a real and true impression of the character.

This would have been less important had he not handled his subject in the way on which, in the second place, we wish to animadvert. Mr. Rendall, it seems to us, has been led away by the common mistake of making too much of his hero and too little of the circumstances in which he was placed. He treats the important historical fact of the definite Pagan reaction too much in connection with Julian, and would lead us to believe that without him it would not have occurred. Therefore, nearly all his book is occupied with Julian himself, and very little stress is laid upon the popular feeling of the time, except in so far as it was hostile to Julian and his Hellenic schemes. Now this seems to us unwarranted both by the general course of history and by the particular circumstances of the case. It is not in the power of one man, however great, to bring about a reaction, however slight; and Julian was certainly not the man to do what far more powerful persons than he was have failed to accomplish. Mr. Rendall adopts the words of a writer who, perhaps, was, as he says, 'calm and generous,' but certainly not unprejudiced, and whose book is singularly one-sided in its support of a preconceived theory. M. Beugnot,[1] who wishes to show that under Constantine and Constantius there was little or no Christian attack on Paganism, and, consequently, no reaction under Julian, says, as quoted by Mr. Rendall, 'Julian's life was an accident, and at his death events reverted to their natural channel.' By endorsing this Mr. Rendall throws the whole responsibility of the reaction on Julian's shoulders, and thereby justifies his own method of making a study of Julian's character the subject of his book, instead of a full estimate of the positions held by the two parties in the middle

[1] *Histoire de la Destruction de Paganisme en Occident*, i. 221.

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of the fourth century. He gives us, indeed, a summary, accurate, so far as it goes, of the religious history of the years between the Edict of Milan and Julian's accession; but for a complete explanation of the facts of the reaction far more prominence should, it seems to us, have been given to the anti-Pagan legislation and popular feeling on the one side, and, on the other, to the great numerical superiority of the Pagan party, and its hold upon the masses of the people, under Constantine and his successor. Julian's life, from this point of view, was no accident, but rather the natural result of the forces which were at work in the Empire; the 'natural channel' of events is no unbroken straight course, but an alternation of depths and shallows, rocks and headlands, which produce eddies and under-currents, and render it difficult at any one moment to pronounce upon the ultimate direction of the stream. Reaction is only produced by previous action, and is only, therefore, explained by reference to preceding events.

It is not easy to describe shortly the relative positions of Christians and Pagans during the earlier part of the fourth century. The subject is complicated not only by the difficulty of extracting the elements of truth from the rhetoric of writers like S. Gregory Nazianzen on the one side, and Libanius on the other, but by the great difference that existed between the East and West in regard to religion. In a rhetorical passage,[1] Lacordaire asserted that Constantine left Rome and founded a new capital in the East in order to allow the

[1] *Œuvres*, iv. 170. It is strange to find M. Renan, in his recent *Hibbert Lectures*, reproducing this Ultramontane conception of the religious supremacy of Rome. It is true that at the end of his course he admits that 'in the West the Christians were but a weak minority,' but immediately afterwards he calls the transfer of power to Constantinople only a 'temporary eclipse' of Rome, evidently assuming, as the basis of his whole view of Church history, that the Roman see was, before Constantine's time, the central point of the Church's power and organization. Probably the removal of the capital to Byzantium allowed the Roman see to grow up independent of the Court influence, and therefore to exercise a greater power, eventually, than any of the Eastern Churches; but it is most unhistorical to assert, or to imply, that up to the end of the third century the real living force of the Church was in the West rather than in the East. Rome played an insignificant part in the Church's development, whether we regard that development from within or from without, in the growth of organization and of doctrine, or in the contest against Paganism. In Rome the Church was obscure and feeble; in the East it was great and powerful: Constantine, therefore, was most sagacious in transferring his Court from 'le camp retranché des païens' to 'la ville des idées nouvelles.' Cf. Beugnot, i. 85, 86; De Broglie, ii. 138; Mason's *Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 37*n*, 90, 151*n*.

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Pope to exercise an unimpeded authority in the Eternal City. This view of history contrasts rather singularly with Beugnot's opinion that Constantinople was founded because of the Emperor's fear of the powerful Pagan party in Rome, and with the undoubted facts that testify to the undisturbed possession by the old religion of its temples, altars, and institutions, and the enormous numerical preponderance of the Pagans in Rome and in the West generally. The popular notion of Constantine's action seems to be that at his conversion to Christianity he at once deposed Paganism from its position as the State religion, and that in a few years it died out altogether and left Christianity in complete possession of the field. There is one fact which very strongly proves, if proof be needed, the falsity of this view. The Pontificate, *i.e.*, the official headship of the religion, which gave complete control over all the rites and ceremonies, over temples and altars, priests and vestals, was part of the Imperial functions for more than fifty years after the conversion of Constantine, and was conferred, not merely by accession to the throne, but as an office distinct and in theory separable from those which the Emperors assumed.[1] The pontifical robe was for the first time refused by Gratian in 383, when it was offered to him by the Roman priests. The refusal was a bitter blow to the Pagan party, and it drew from one of them a punning reference to the contest which the Emperor was then carrying on with Maximus: 'Si princeps non vult appellari pontifex, admodum brevi pontifex Maximus fiet.' This strictly religious office was then exercised by the declared Christians Constantine and Constantius, to say nothing of Jovian and Valens, as well as by the ardently Pagan Julian. Nor was it a mere sinecure, in the case of Constantine at least; for he passed laws regulating the position of the priests, and commanding the due inspection of the omens and auspices. Besides this he instituted sacred games, though he gave great offence to the Romans by refusing to attend the Capitoline sacrifices, and forbidding the secular games to be celebrated at Rome in 313. The fact that an Emperor who, though unbaptized, was in sympathy a Christian, and presided over the assembled bishops at the Council of Nicæa, was also both nominally and actually the official head of the Pagan religion, is a sufficient proof of the strange confusion and uncertainty of religious affairs during the time of transition. Speaking broadly, we may say that after Constantine's conversion the West re-

[1] Cf. La Bastie, *Mémoire sur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains.—Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, vol. xv. 75.

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mained Pagan, the East became, outwardly, in great part Christian. The new capital was probably completely Christian, if we may trust S. Augustine's testimony[1] that Constantinople was 'sine aliquo demonum templo simulacroque.' Antioch also was distinguished for its Christian fervour, strangely mixed with luxury and effeminacy, and for its neglect of the magnificent Pagan shrines which it contained. And the general tone of writers under Constantine and Constantius shows that the old worship was, if not openly suppressed, at least very much discouraged, even in Greece, the home of the religion. Constantine had, indeed, at the beginning of his undivided reign, attempted to suppress idolatry altogether, and for a time, at least, seems to have flattered himself that he could succeed. Such is the conclusion we may draw from the two laws mentioned by Eusebius, in the first of which the Emperor decrees the abolition of the 'abominations of idolatry,' while in the second, addressing the Christians, he assumes that there will now be no obstacle to the triumph of their faith, for 'the insanity of Polytheism has been extirpated.' No doubt the exultant Christian party at the court of Constantine thought that they had only to go forward in the course they had already begun in order completely to wipe out the old pollutions of the Pagan system. To those who had watched the gradual growth of the Church, her recovery from persecution, her increasing acquisitions of land and buildings, her gathering numbers, and, lastly, her victorious endurance of the latest and most tremendous trial of Diocletian's persecution, it might well seem that the only thing wanting to complete her triumph was the accession of the Emperor himself to their side; and when that actually came to pass they set no bounds to their hopes and arrogant prognostications. For arrogant enough were these court-bishops, now on the summit of the wave of Imperial favour and worldly success. Few things are more repellent to the Christian reader of history than the descriptions of the demeanour and conduct of the principal Churchmen of the period in which, for the first time, the spiritual and temporal powers seemed to become united. And their arrogance showed itself in their contemptuous treatment of the old religion, which, corrupt and polluted and foul with many diseases and rank with unheard of abominations as it was, was yet still the form in which had been cast for many ages all the spiritual strivings, all the vague devotion, all the artistic impulses of great and intel-

[1] *De Civit. Dei*, v. 25.

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lectual peoples. Even for a Christian who knows what a marvellous life there really was in the Church, though hidden underneath the luxuriant growth of hypocrisy and covetousness, and who knows the unspeakable depravity of the Hellenic religion, and how wildly grotesque were the Oriental importations and the fantastic juggleries and pompous incantations which had laid hold of the popular mind, it is difficult not to think that it was ignorant intolerance which led the representative Christians, the bishops and the writers of Constantine's and Constantius' time, to trample upon the still living body of the old faith, and to demand, with persistent outcries, the utter suppression of its worship, its rites, and its sacrifices. It was ignorant, for Constantine very soon found how vain was the attempt to put down by force the ceremonies to which the people were accustomed. The law was either allowed to fall into abeyance, or was actually and formally repealed in the edict in which he deplores 'the violent and seditious obstinacy with which many remain firmly in their pernicious errors.' Whatever the bishops at his court may have been, Constantine was a statesman, with a statesman's desire for unity and peace, and a statesman's inclination for using religion as a means rather than as an end. Peace he thought to have obtained by uniting his empire in one faith, and with a wise foresight he selected the young and vigorous Christian religion rather than the moribund Paganism for this purpose; but when he found that this unity could not be produced by a stroke of the pen, or even by external pressure, he retraced his steps, and confined himself to encouraging the Christian rather than suppressing the Pagan worship. And with this encouragement the Church, though torn by internal dissensions, did go forward and prosper in the Eastern portion of the Empire. Only in special cases, indeed, where the immoralities of the Pagan ceremonial were too flagrant, or where, as in the case of the temple built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, the sentiment of the Christian world was openly outraged, did Constantine himself interpose to destroy temples or shrines by his sovereign authority.[1] But, encouraged by his well-known sympathies, the Christian populace took the law into their own hands, and in many towns flourishing 'houses of prayer' erected on the ruins of the temples attested the distinctiveness and the piety of a mob of converts.[2]

In the East, then, the decay of Paganism had fairly begun, and its adherents and sympathizers afterwards pointed to

[1] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 25, iii. 25, 55.

[2] Sozom. ii. 5.

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Constantine as the first sacrilegious enemy of their faith, the first to light the spark which became a conflagration.[1] But in the West the old religion still maintained its supremacy; altars and temples were still dedicated to the gods; and while Symmachus in later times could appeal to Constantine as an example of tolerance, we learn from the certain evidence of inscriptions that this so-called destroyer of Paganism, this summoner of councils, this arbiter of doctrines, was after his death actually worshipped as a god in Rome—the city which, according to Lacordaire, he left that the head of the Christian religion might have there an unrivalled pre-eminence. Beyond the irritation of the Romans at Constantine's neglect of their games, it would be difficult to say that in the West there was any result of the conversion of the Emperor to Christianity.

Nor was it otherwise in the reign of Constantius. He and his brother began with a peremptory renewal of Constantine's abortive edict against Pagan rites. This was repeated twelve years later in still stronger terms, decreeing the punishment of death against all who were guilty of sacrificing or of worshipping idols. A law directing the preservation of the fabric of some of the temples in which games were accustomed to be celebrated begins with the comprehensive words: 'Quanquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit.' By such measures and expressions the young Emperors showed their zeal against Paganism, although we are bound to say that M. Beugnot sees in the last quoted edict a mere exercise of the Pontifical functions, and asks, 'L'empereur le plus dévoué au paganisme, le souverain pontife le plus scrupuleux, aurait-il pu motiver différemment cette loi?' It must, however, have been a strange devotion to Paganism that could begin a law by assuming the necessity for its destruction; a similar argument would include Cato among the most devoted defenders of Carthage. What we are told by the laws is confirmed by the evidence of both heathen and Christian writers of the period. The heathen historians and orators give most gloomy accounts of the state of their religion during this reign. In some great cities few could remember the celebration of heathen ceremonies; in others, those who were in the secret knew that the Pagans were praying that their suppressed worship might be restored by means of the accession of some sympathizer to the throne; in others, the Christians were so openly triumphant that the temples and altars were not only closed and forbidden, but overturned and destroyed; and one

[1] Juliani *Op.* i. 424, ii. 54; Libanii *Op.* iii. 436.

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of the bitterest grievances was that the worship of the gods was suppressed in order that the treasures of their shrines should be divided among the motley crew of eunuchs, barbers, cooks, and servile court-bishops that infested Constantinople and the palace of the Emperor. When an old religion is perishing before the victorious progress of a new faith, it might be expected, or at least hoped, that the leaders of the conquering party should be the best representatives of their creed—those who should display in their own persons the superiority of their system over that which is dying out. But, strange to say, the very reverse of this is shown us by the unanimous testimony of contemporary writers. Constantius' court was a byeword for corruption, hypocrisy, greed, and licentiousness of every description, and the foremost examples of these vices were all, apparently, devout Christians. Constantius himself, one of the most despicable tyrants that ever lived, devoted himself with eagerness to the complicated theological discussions of the time, and by his example and precept increased the manifold distractions and hatred that were tearing the Church and partly disgusting, partly amusing, the contemptuous Pagans. If we do not find the old religion so much persecuted as we should have expected, it is because the Emperor's time was occupied in imprisoning and torturing the best and most loyal adherents of the new. If we are surprised to find Libanius undisturbed in his lecture-room at Antioch, we must remember that the Bishop of Rome was an exile, and the great Athanasius was wandering in the desert of the Thebais, a fugitive with a price on his head. But in spite of the violent dissensions and internal corruption of the Church, the Pagan party was unable to make head against Christianity. Though in Alexandria the worship of the gods still flourished, and in Athens a sympathetic traveller might still find temples which he could visit, and sacrifices in which he could join,[1] yet in most parts of the East the people seemed to be acquiescing in the suppression of their former religion, and looking on without a protest while temples were robbed and altars overturned.

But we can hardly believe we are reading of the same period when we turn to the accounts of Rome and the West generally. Not a word is said by any Western writer of the cessation, much less of the forcible suppression, of sacrifices. On the contrary, in Rome the old ceremonies went on unchecked; the priests and vestal virgins continued their offices,

[1] Eunapius, *Vita Proæres.* p. 491.

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and were subject to their former discipline; the magistrates of the city built and dedicated temples and altars, and took on themselves offices in the service of Mithra, undergoing the Taurobolium and other strange rites, which signified their adherence to that worship. And more strange than all, when Constantius himself visited Rome we find him meekly acquiescing in the Pagan supremacy, and, having just enacted laws for the total suppression of the idolatrous worship, going, in Rome, the round of the great temples and admiring the ceremonies, just as any modern prince would be taken by the municipal authorities to see and attend service in the cathedral, along with the other sights of a city. It is difficult indeed to exaggerate the strange contradictions we meet with at every step during this period of transition between the ancient and the modern worlds. Society was undergoing a great change without knowing it, and even those who were foremost in bringing it about very often failed to see the consequences of their actions, and became, to our eyes, extraordinarily inconsistent and wavering. But the broad distinction may be made that while the Eastern part of the empire was gradually becoming Christian, the West remained to a very great extent completely Pagan, not even concerning itself with the growth of this strange organization, the Christian Church. And when we say that the East was becoming Christian, it must be remembered that even there the majority was probably Pagan, and that the success of the Church was owing to the indifference of the heathens to their own religion, rather than to any superiority in force on the side of Christianity. The adherence of the Emperor was the one thing needed to hasten the conversion of many lukewarm Pagans, and it may be conceived that such converts were no very creditable or powerful acquisitions to the side that gained them. But even in the East this change was not being effected quite silently or without protest. We have ample evidence that those whose wealth or renown depended upon the maintenance of the old religion or its new superstitious accretions, the sophists, the priests, the theurgists, were secretly praying and working for some favourable change in the condition of things at court. They could enlist on their side the passions of the mob when the popular ceremonies and quasi-religious games were attacked; they were supported by the sympathies of men of letters, who saw in the triumph of Christianity the neglect of the great poets of Greece; and, above all, they felt that their own new philosophy was on its trial, that doctrine of Neo-Platonism which, beginning with

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the lofty and ascetic monotheism of Plotinus, had, by the time of Julian's accession, degenerated into the superstitious and polytheistic magic which Ædesius and Maximus developed out of the systems of Porphyry and Iamblichus. That this philosophy was a real power during the century between Plotinus and Julian there can be no doubt. Mr. Rendall gives in his third chapter a useful and interesting outline of Plotinus's system. It is important, however, in addition to his exposition, to point out somewhat more definitely than he has done the causes of its influence and of its inevitable failure.

The main longing of the human mind was, at this epoch as at most epochs, for some means of approach to the Divine Nature, some bridge over the great chasm that separates man from God. Those who have cast an amazed and shuddering glance into the fantastic developments of Gnostic systems will recognize in their endless multiplications of æons an attempt to find some such means of approach; and the Neo-Platonist philosophy was another. By Plotinus the requisite approach was given in 'an ecstatic elevation of being,' by which the soul 'might enter into actual unification or contact with God.' 'This ecstasy was to be gained only by long-continued asceticism, by practice in contemplation, by detachment from the things of flesh and of sense. It is true that, when attained, the Infinite Intelligence was so infinite, so indefinable, so unknowable, that it might seem scarcely satisfying to the soul to be united to it. But the mode of describing God was not so important as the mode of attaining to union with Him, and no doubt many were impelled to lead a higher life, in the midst of the decay and ruin of heathen society, by the motive that Neo-Platonism held out; and the prospect of escaping from the cramped confines of this vexed world into rapturous communion with the One was a quickening principle to many who would otherwise have wasted whatever of good was in them. But though this teaching was calculated to give partial satisfaction to one of the deepest yearnings of the mind, yet it was only partial and temporary. The rapid decadence of Neo-Platonism from Plotinus to Iamblichus shows us the real cause of its inability to give a complete solution of 'the great world-problem;' for that decadence consisted in this, that each successive teacher, being at liberty to add whatever he chose to the system, because it had no basis of historical reality, gradually degraded the pure doctrine of Plotinus by incorporating into it popular ideas and legendary fancies, till that which had

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once been the strictest Monotheistic idealism, became not only completely Polytheistic, but also a system of magical practices and grotesque superstitions. The success, therefore, of Neo-Platonism was due to its recognition of the craving for union with God; its failure was owing to the want of any foundation of historical truth which should control as well as inspire the expositors of its doctrine. Hence there was no check to the fantastic imaginations of subsequent teachers; the very nature of Plotinus' system was the cause of the developments of Iamblichus and Maximus, for while his pure idealism made some concession to popular superstition necessary, if it was to become a popular religion, the arbitrary fancifulness of its doctrines made it easy to introduce any number of theories and practices by which the people could be attracted. As Mr. Rendall well points out, 'under Iamblichus the school entered upon a new stage.' Philosophy became religion; idealism degenerated into spiritualism; contemplation was exchanged for magic, monotheism for a whole hierarchy of popular divinities; Plotinus gave place to Maximus. This rapid collapse—for the whole development occupies little more than a century—shows that there was a fatal flaw in the system, adapted though it was to some of the religious instincts of man; and that flaw was obviously its want of historical truth. What Mr. Rendall says in distinguishing it from Christianity we may quote as also explaining its failure: Christianity 'reposed on objective historical facts, by which it declared God was brought down to man; while Neo-Platonism, from a purely subjective basis, claimed to enable men to rise to God.'

Such was, then, the state of the Eastern world about the year 350. The adherents of the old religion were crushed under a victorious Christian minority; that minority itself was racked and torn by fierce and minute controversies; a strange and superstitious system had a certain hold upon men's minds; scholars were foreboding the disappearance of polite learning; the populace were bitterly resenting, in many places, the abolition of their old heathen rites and bright ceremonies; and at the head of this strange medley was a narrow and jealous tyrant, whom it was impossible either to respect or to conciliate. What wonder if the leaders of the Pagan party were eagerly, though secretly, looking out for some instrument by which their supremacy could be restored? And when it appeared that the gods were providing an apt tool for their purposes, we can easily imagine how reluctant they would be to let such a prize slip. At this juncture it

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was gradually whispered about that, of the two youths who stood nearest to the childless Emperor, one, the younger, was keen and ready-witted, devoted to study, and to study of the old Greek poets and philosophers; and though a Christian, and probably an unquestioning Christian, yet with all the marks of an eagerly inquisitive mind easily swayed by the influence of his teachers, and not unlikely to be powerfully attracted by the weird jargon and spiritual impostures of the theurgists. This was their opportunity, and they resolved to profit by it. The ground had indeed been well prepared. The boy who had been rescued, it is difficult to say how, from the slaughter of all but one of his nearest relatives, would not be likely to have a bigoted attachment to the creed of the foremost murderer, and Constantius' religion was not likely, on other grounds, to have attracted a naturally devout and imaginative mind. Brought up, almost in daily terror of death from the savage jealousy of the Emperor, by strangers—an Arian bishop, a hypocritical sophist, a Scythian eunuch—Julian had a strange training for his subsequent position; but such a training affords a satisfactory explanation of his mental and religious peculiarities. Mr. Rendall, quite unjustifiably, as it seems to us, shows an inclination to take Julian's sarcastic description of his earliest pedagogue, Mardonius the eunuch, as seriously meant. But this is surely a mistake. Whatever may have been the failings of the philosophical Scythian, Julian was hardly the person to complain of them, seeing how congenial to his mind was the rigid stoicism and pedantry of his instructor; and nothing can be clearer than the irony with which, in the *Misopogon*, he contrasts with Mardonius' severity the gay and theatre-loving character of the Antiochenes. Whether Mardonius' harsh restraint was a wise education for such a nature or not, there can be no question that Julian, considering its results, thought it excellent. His reflections, however, in after life, on Eusebius of Nikomedia, who taught the boy as much Christianity as could be gathered from the fashionable semi-Arianism of the day, or on Hekebolius the sophist, whose religion varied regularly with the religion of the Emperor, were probably far different. The central point of Julian's character was his strong religious feeling. We see this in his whole subsequent history, in his essays, his letters, and his orations. To such a mind the Christianity of Constantius' court could have been little short of revolting. We cannot wonder that he turned from his Christian instructors to bury himself in the study of Homer and Plato, when we remember the kind of teaching

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which an Arian of that day would give him: the minute verbal controversies, the imperfect system, deprived of all its coherence and all its vitality, the irreverent assumption that human reason is the measure of God's Nature, which would be component parts of the education given by the favourite Bishop of Constantius. A dull and uninterested apprehension of Christianity, and an eager insatiable delight in the wonderful products of Greek imagination and thought, characterized Julian at the time when he was at last allowed to leave his palace-prison at Macellum and to come to Constantinople.

At the age of nineteen Julian was receiving at Constantinople the 'training of an ordinary well-educated citizen;' but it was soon found that he knew a great deal more than his instructors, and also was becoming too prominent a character and too popular to be safe so near the Imperial throne. Learning and intelligence in a prince of the blood did, no doubt, contrast rather sharply with the qualities displayed by the Emperor; at all events, Constantius relegated Julian to Nikomedia under the charge of the versatile Hekebolius, with a strict prohibition against attending Libanius' lectures. This he ingeniously evaded by reading copies of the lectures at home. The unfortunate scholar whose duty calls him to the perusal of this typical sophist's lucubrations may well marvel, as he toils through the fluent verbiage, how any man, even a clever youth of the ordinary undergraduate age, such as Julian was at this period, could have been fascinated, convinced, and converted by Libanius. But this was the effect on Julian. Not that we can ascribe the entire result to the sophist. Leaving out of consideration Julian's previous training, the actual process of conversion from Christianity to Paganism was only begun by Libanius; it was finished by the more attractive and mysterious arts of the theurgists Ædesius and Maximus of Ephesus. If there was not a formal conspiracy between the different Neo-Platonist teachers to entrap this valuable ally, their proceedings, as recorded by their enthusiastic historian Eunapius, greatly belie them. Julian was handed on from Libanius to Ædesius, from Ædesius to Chrysanthius and Eusebius. These, while affecting to teach him the loftiest and purest wisdom, mingled with their abstract doctrines grave and mysterious warnings against the delusions of magic and the materialism of some of the professors of Neo-Platonism. This, of course, only whetted the curiosity of the eagerly superstitious youth, and when he was told that Maximus was the man whom he must avoid, because he produced wonderful manifestations, Julian not unnaturally promptly repaired to

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him, telling Chrysanthius and Eusebius that they might stick to their books, but he would go on to this higher, because more tangible, wisdom. Whether this story be literally true or not, there is no need to doubt that Julian's ardent adherence to Paganism was due to the influence of Maximus, who appears to have been a charlatan of a sufficiently familiar type, with the venerable appearance and lofty earnestness that rendered plausible the rather vulgar and unworthy phenomena of the magical rites over which he presided. The sights and sounds which fascinated Julian were singularly like the manifestations of modern spiritualism, and in all probability were due to almost exactly the same causes. It is rather melancholy to contrast the undoubtedly religious and philosophical depth and purity of many of Julian's writings with the fact that it was Maximus who converted him, and who was his most revered teacher through life, and his companion in the hour of his death. For there is no doubt that Maximus' philosophy was mere magic, and Maximus' character that of a vain and greedy impostor. Julian's enthusiastic and continuous submission to him reveals the flaw in the constitution of his mind, namely, the want of judgment and common sense which made his life practically a failure.

From his absorption in these pursuits Julian was unpleasantly aroused by the sudden execution of his brother, the Cæsar Gallus, by the orders of the jealous Constantius, and his own summons to attend the Emperor at Milan. Here he was kept almost in captivity, from which he was only released by the good offices of the Empress, and allowed to fulfil his darling purpose of going to Athens in order to study there.

In the ancient University of Athens Julian attained the consummation of his philosophical and religious desires. General culture and philosophy would be stimulated and developed in him by the free intercourse and discussion with other young men, such as Basil of Cappadocia and Gregory of Nazianzum, more than by the sterile course of instruction in the formal pedantry of the lectures which were in vogue at this celebrated seat of learning. We who have spent years in the study of the art of Latin verse composition must not be too ready to throw stones at those whose attention was occupied with laying to heart[1] 'elaborate theories of literary grace;' who 'trained their ears to catch the rhythm of each sentence, and to note the significance of accent, and the varying use of anapæst or spondee at the close of every period.'

[1] Cape's *University Life in Ancient Athens*, p. 82.

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Verbal analysis, 'rules of synonyms, and homonyms, and paronyms, with all the machinery of tropes and figures,' the 'stock of common places which could be turned to good account'—all this sounds strangely familiar to those who have once learned to handle their *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and to sound the mysterious depths of epithets, synonyms, and phrases. But even the most bigoted adherent of Latin verses would probably think it better not to make them the sole subject of education, and still less would he do so if they were completely useless for the purpose of learning a dead language, which is now their chief justification. Yet this is hardly an exaggerated account of the state of education at Athens during the period with which we are dealing. Mr. Cape's interesting and amusing work reveals to us the barrenness and folly of the system which was pursued there; and the wonder is that Julian should have cherished such a love for the place after his experience of its real influence. Perhaps it was because his stay there was so short; for though his religious zeal found time to be gratified by initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries, a very short time elapsed before his university life was suddenly terminated by his summons to Milan in October 355, and his elevation in the following month to the subordinate throne as Cæsar.[1]

This is the important moment in Julian's life. Hitherto he had appeared as the student immersed in books and speculation; romantic, visionary, and ignorant of the world, no one in the whole Roman Empire could have seemed less fit to govern it. But his administration in Gaul, whither he was sent strictly controlled and almost guarded, showed the world that in this dreaming philosopher there was hid a vigour, activity, and perseverance that quickly triumphed over the obstacles which the Emperor's jealousy and the strength of the barbarians placed in his path. In three campaigns he 'reduced Gaul and the Rhine provinces to entire submission,' and by his vigorous administration 'secured a commanding ascendency.' All this time his change of religion was unknown except to a few intimate friends, and he conformed outwardly to Christianity in order to avert the suspicions of Constantius, till the force of events and perhaps his own contrivance or that of his friends constituted him Augustus in 360, and in religion as well as policy he was proclaimed as the rival of Constantius. What the five years'

[1] The theory of a previous sojourn at Athens would explain the importance of the University life in Julian's history better than the few months in 355, though Mr. Rendall rejects it.—*App.* p. 287.

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Cæsarship had shown was the danger in which Christianity now stood from this formidable enemy. It had shown him to be a strange combination of the philosopher, the soldier, and the ruler; and the qualities which enabled him to be thus many-sided were all subservient to a strong religious feeling which coloured and controlled his whole nature. And this feeling was completely hostile to the Christian Church.

Mr. Rendall (p. 267) well points out how bounteously Fortune accorded favours to Julian; and not the least of these favours was the death of Constantius at the moment when a collision, the result of which would have been very doubtful, between his Eastern and Julian's Western army was impending. Julian was now sole Emperor; and from December 361 to April 363, when he invaded Persia to meet there his death, the Roman world was given over to an eager, able, and industrious ruler whose two darling objects were to beat back the barbarians and to restore and quicken the religion of the old gods. With the first object we are not here concerned; how did he succeed in the second?

The joy with which the new Augustus records the unanimity of the army, which followed his lead in religion as in war, the pride with which he enumerates the hecatombs of oxen which on the march he sacrificed to the gods, the religious tone which he gave to what we may call his election manifesto addressed to the Athenians, were sure indications of the general tendency of his reign. The result was instantaneous. All over the East the Pagans returned to their former practices. The closed temples of Greece were reopened, the priests and philosophers whom fear had silenced resumed their functions and their teaching, the people regained their shows and games, and the dishonoured gods their worshippers. It was as though the intervening Christian reigns had not occurred, and we may well believe in the feelings of expectation and pleasure with which the 'harassed interests,' the sophists, the scholars, the theurgists, and the hierophants of all descriptions regarded the undisturbed entry into Constantinople of the young hero whose reign was to be their golden age. But Julian was not content with a mere relaxation of the oppressive laws against the Pagan worship. His Christian training and his historical knowledge had taught him what a formidable power he had to contend against, and his deeply religious nature could not be satisfied with a mere rehabilitation of the old state of things, a decaying Paganism and a growing Christianity; he was bent on putting new life into the one and effectually checking the

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other. The historical importance of Julian's reign consists in this, that it was not a mere reaction, an instinctive almost unconscious reaction, against the unwise haste of the first Christian Emperors, but was guided and modified by a vigorous and religious mind fully conscious of its proposed aim. On no fairer field could the powers of the old and the new religions be opposed; the ancient world with its faith met here in a last clash of conflict with the fresh life of Christianity; and short though the encounter was, it was long enough to show on which side were the forces of the coming age, and the strength that sprang from faith, and hope, and truth.

In reviewing Julian's reign two points are specially noticeable: first, the shortness of that reign; and secondly, the amount of work which he managed to compress into it. From his accession as sole Augustus to his death was scarcely eighteen months, and what he set before him, in the religious sphere alone, and partly succeeded in accomplishing, was the complete reform of Paganism, even if we cannot, with Mr. Rendall, describe it as 'a federation of all-existing cults into a Pagan Church Catholic, realizing its intellectual unity in the doctrines of Neo-Platonism, its administrative in the person of the Emperor, its head.' It would be marvellous that so short a reign should have left such an impression upon the popular mind were it not partly explained by the greatness and novelty of the change attempted. He was no ordinary apostate, nor was the reaction, as far as he was concerned, an ordinary reaction; it was an attempt at a religious revival.

Julian was far too wise to endeavour, at least at first, to suppress Christianity by force. His efforts were twofold. Primarily his object was to reform Hellenism, and it is probably just to him to assert that the rest of his religious policy was only means to this end; but as Christianity was an almost insuperable obstacle to his well-meant endeavours, he was forced to devote himself secondarily to undermining and weakening in every possible way the fabric of the Church. Both proceedings were bold and skilful, and are full of interest to us, not less because both utterly failed.

It is strange that a mind like Julian's should have seized with such accuracy upon some of the essential points which made Christianity a living power, and yet have totally missed others not less important. His appreciation of some of the peculiar qualities of the Christian faith is shown by the surest sign, namely, his attempt to transplant them into the system

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of Paganism. The old religion was, before everything, a religion of mere ceremonial and show; this was its great attraction in the eyes of the populace, and the philosophical doctrines attached to it were only the fancies of a sect of students. There was, at least at this time, hardly any inner life in the religion; very little faith, and no love. This was the void which Julian tried to fill up. Not content with restoring and promoting, by personal example as well as exhortation, the splendour of the ceremonial worship of the gods, he set himself also to infuse some of the Christian spirit into the hearts of the Pagan sympathizers. He saw that the Church was wonderfully united by the power of charity, and the universal acts of kindliness between believers, and he thought that his Pagan Church would, by imitating this, be likewise strengthened; so his letters to the chief priests whom he appointed and superintended contain instructions for the organization of public charity, and for the establishment of houses for the reception of strangers, even —for his observation of Christianity was in some points very exact—of those who were not Pagans. And Mr. Rendall seems inclined to believe Gregory Nazianzen's hint that 'monasteries, nunneries, and hospitals' were established. But of course little could be done with the mass of the people unless this new religion—for it was almost that—could have suitable leaders. Julian's chief imitation of Christianity, therefore, consisted in his regulations for the priests of the various temples. Some of his directions would be no unworthy model for any Christian priest to copy. His principle that 'the sacerdotal life is more honourable than the political life' must have sounded strange in the ears of the Romans, and stranger still must have been the directions to priests to abstain from reading the loose books of the comic writers, and even those philosophers whose doctrines tended towards licentiousness; to pray frequently, 'whether in public or in private, thrice a day, or at least morning and evening;' to keep themselves while 'in residence' free from all intercourse with the world, devoted only to philosophy; when not officiating, to select their society with caution, and only to visit the authorities 'in order to be of some assistance to the poor;' not to frequent but 'to leave to the populace the obscenities of the theatre,' and to dress in general soberly, but magnificently when officiating. Priests had to set an example of virtue and piety to all, and therefore they must be chosen from the most religious and virtuous men in the city, while their wives and families must also be exemplary

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in conduct.[1] Mr. Rendall (p. 254) has an excellent passage on the necessary futility of this attempt at sacerdotalism. 'By simplest Pagan use a citizen was made priest in the same fashion as he was made magistrate; it was an affair of election; and his tenure and terms of office were similarly regulated.' How could such a discontinuous, casual body become a powerful and exemplary sacerdotal caste? Yet nothing less could have been of any avail in revivifying Paganism.

But Julian did not confine his efforts to the priests; he took hints from Christianity also for the improvement of the public worship. Sozomen tells us how the Emperor 'introduced into Pagan temples the order and discipline of Christianity,' and Gregory supplements this by the practice of penance and the institution of antiphonal singing. Julian's interest in the musical part of the ritual is shown by his directions to the priests to learn by heart the ritual hymns, and by a special letter directing the Prefect of Alexandria to choose boys with good voices, and to educate them in 'the sacred art of music.' In fact, a great part of Julian's religious and ecclesiastical measures seems most strangely familiar to us: this grotesque copy of Christianity teaches us, in the first place, something of the sacerdotal and ritual development of the Church in the middle of the fourth century, and secondly, how vain and illusory any external system must be without the inner life which informs and illuminates it. This Julian could not know, for he had never really seen what the true life of Christianity was. His Arian education, and his violent prejudice against the religion of Constantius, darkened his understanding, and the sneers at the worship of a dead man, with which his writings abound, show how utterly unmeaning the name of Christ must always have been to him. Ignorant of the inner life of the Church, he would be all the more inclined to rate highly the ingenuity of her mechanism and the excellence of her organization, and therefore he thought that by simply copying it, he could create an equally powerful and living Pagan Church.

But he added the force of personal example to his measures for regenerating Hellenism. Though an Emperor he remembered that he was also Pontifex Maximus, and therefore entitled to perform all the priestly functions. These he fulfilled almost, as it would seem, to the disgust, and certainly with the ridicule, of his subjects. They crowded to the

[1] See Julian's *Ep. ad Sacerd.* i. 548.

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temples, not to join with fervour in the worship of the gods, but to enjoy the sight of an Emperor with his own hands performing the humble and rather revolting offices of an attendant on the sacrifices, slaying the beasts, and groping in their entrails for auguries. He was said by his sympathizer Libanius to have divided his life between the State and the altars; and, certainly, when we read how in almost every city which he visited his first care was to offer sacrifice at its famous shrines, and to go the round of its temples, we wonder how he found time, as he undoubtedly did, to transact the manifold business of the Empire. It is true Libanius is alone in his approbation of this excessive zeal for sacrificing; not only the Christians, but the calm and impartial Pagan—or at least, non-Christian—historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, openly laughs at his leader for his superstition and 'illegitimate' fanaticism. It is curious at the same time to notice that, though so eager and regular an observer of all the ritual of Hellenism, Julian was not superstitious in his theory of external religion, which, indeed, accorded more or less with what all enlightened Christians would probably hold at the present day. Offerings, he says,[1] made with holiness, whether they be small or great, are equal in value; without holiness they are worthless. Here he was only following Porphyry in theory; but, whereas the philosopher rejected sacrifices, images, and external symbols generally, Julian held them to be means of reminding us of the presence of the gods, adding, with what is surely great truth, that our corporeal nature renders it necessary that our worship should contain a corporeal element. This being Julian's principle of worship, he was enabled by means of it to join with fervour in all the popular practices and ceremonies, both religious and magical. There is a pathetic interest in the numerous passages in his letters which describe the various religious observances which were his continual occupation. It is pathetic with the pathos of conviction and real earnestness; and it is pathetic, because in it he stood alone, surrounded by a mocking and unbelieving multitude. We shall utterly fail to understand Julian's life and character unless we keep in mind the dominant motive, namely, the deep religious instinct which was displayed in nearly all his actions. It was this chiefly perhaps, though not entirely, which drove him from the fashionable Court-Christianity of his youth; it was this that made him so eager in his efforts to create a Paganism

[1] *Jul. Orat.* vii. 8; Op. i. p. 399.

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conformed to his ideal of a philosophical religion. Not only do we see in him a firm faith in the supernatural, and a sure trust in an overruling providence, but a genuine and often-expressed love for the gods, which might frequently, with a slight change of phrase, be taken for the equivalent Christian sentiment. The prayer to the mother of the gods which Mr. Rendall quotes (p. 140) is a good instance of this. The climax of the prayer is that he may have 'a good hope for the journey that shall bring him to the gods,' because 'the chiefest element in happiness is knowledge of the gods.' And again, he declares that he 'trembles before the gods, and loves them, and worships and holds them in awe.' But we should notice that the foundation of this deep religious feeling is no superstitious credulity or unquestioning traditional acceptance, but what seems to us a lofty and pure doctrine of natural religion: 'the gods have graven laws in our hearts, by which we know without teaching of the existence of a divine being, on whom are bent our looks and our aspirations, towards whom our souls are directed as our eyes turn to the light.' It would be difficult to find nobler and more elevated statements of the relation of man to God than are contained in the writings of Julian, and especially scattered about the orations, though these for the most part are occupied with the development of a system of religion as frigid and unattractive as it was intricate and unintelligible. Mr. Rendall, we should say, gives to the details of Julian's religion greater attention than their importance warrants. Indeed, it would be difficult to say what importance they have, except as one among many illustrations of the wonderful capacity for system-making that man possesses when his reason is uncontrolled by any regard for historical truth. But the vagaries of the developed system must not blind us to the truth and beauty of the fundamental principles from which it sprang, and which, strengthened and purified by the knowledge of the Incarnate Son of God, would have made few nobler Christian heroes than the man whom the faults of the Church of his day turned into Julian the Apostate.

For this is partly the pathos of the situation, that the whole soul of the man was religious, and yet his fate made him the reviver and reformer of a system that was essentially irreligious amidst an irreligious people. In his eager reform of Paganism, Julian stood almost alone. It amused the people, and gave a fresh sensation to their versatile minds, but as for any sympathy or contagion of zeal there was absolutely none. The Emperor was applauded for the restoration

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of the games and shows in which the people delighted, and which were often of a character that makes the sober and chaste Julian's share in them rather surprising; he was obeyed when he ordered people to sacrifice, because he was Emperor; but he could not command religious feeling; he could not inspire love for the gods; he could not, in short, bring to life again a dead body. In reading Julian's letters, his melancholy reflections on the decline of piety, his rebukes of the merely conventional religion which was all that he could evoke, and then his continued attempts to make all the heterogeneous fragments of Greek and Oriental legends, of scraps from the poets and selections from the oracles, of baseless philosophy and pretentious magic, into a rational religious system, there keeps ringing in our ears the phrase 'a creed outworn,' and Julian and his life and his earnestness become no longer ridiculous, but solemn and pathetic. But then, again, we find it difficult to resist laughing with the volatile Antiochenes at the picture which the poor man draws of himself rushing out from Antioch on a great festival to the shrine of Apollo at Daphne, the most celebrated in all that country, looking eagerly for the crowds of humble, devout worshippers, the smoke of countless sacrifices, and the ready gifts offered to the god, and finding, when he got there, a single priest who had brought his own sacrifice, because he could get no other, and that sacrifice, appropriately enough, a solitary goose.

What was the cause of this failure? why was Julian alone in his efforts to restore or revivify Hellenism? The answer may be given in our Lord's metaphorical words; it was an attempt to pour the new wine into old bottles. Julian brought over with him from the camp of the Christians much of their spirit, and what he had not himself got he tried to imitate. But the endeavour to pour this 'new wine,' this eager, hopeful, philanthropic and pious enthusiasm into the 'old bottles' of the Pagan creed and organization, could only have one result: the bottles must burst under the strain. And in truth we believe that Julian only succeeded in making his religion ridiculous; and, except a few theurgists and philosophers, he found no one to sympathize with his devotional feelings. Had he tried to work upon the almost undiminished Paganism of the West, had he appealed for support to the Conservative piety of Rome, he might have succeeded, though it is probable that even the Romans would have resented any attempt to make them extraordinarily devout; but in the East he found nothing but the echoes of a long vanished faith and

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the fragments of a disintegrated system. The typical contest was at Antioch. Here the sentiments of the people were completely engrossed by two objects, pleasure and Christianity. Against both Julian opposed himself with all the vigorous obstinacy of his nature. The result is shown us in two remarkable historical relics: the solitary goose, which was the sole fruit of Antiochene Paganism, and the *Misopogon*, that unique satire in which the disappointed Emperor pours out his irritation against the dissoluteness and 'impiety' of the Asiatic capital.

Externally, no doubt, there was a considerable revival of Paganism, because it was to the external ceremonies, which we may call religious, but which were very often nothing but scenes of debauchery and obscenity, that the people even in the East were passionately attached. The premature suppression of these by Constantius was now producing its natural result, but Julian was too acute to confuse this reaction with the new and spiritual religious enthusiasm for which he longed. His reign was only of eighteen months' duration, but it was long enough to show that Paganism as a living faith was for ever impossible.

And all the while there stood confronting the apostate Emperor the bitterly hostile power of the Christian Church. Julian dared not, or at least would not, try active persecution. Indirect attack, bribery, cajoling, legal oppression, ridicule, internal dissensions, careful argument, were all in turn relied on to shake the faith of individual Christians and to destroy the power of the Church. But in no instance, if we except the few doubtful cases which alone survive after a critical examination of the various Christian histories and legends, did he resort to actual persecution to attain his object. What might have happened had he returned from Persia flushed with victory and irritated by the continued obstinacy of the Christians it is difficult to say; there are signs that his determination not to use violence was beginning to waver. But we may at least give him the credit of sagacity when history allows us, and history tells us of, no actual case of persecution authorized by Julian.

Undoubtedly there is a strong tradition which points out Julian's reign as the last of the persecutions to which the Church was exposed, and this tradition is not without foundation in fact. But it is clear that, in a great degree, such a tradition would naturally grow up from the mere fact of Julian's apostasy and eager Pagan sympathies; and we venture to say that what there is of truth in the tradition

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beyond this is due entirely to the popular attacks on Christianity which did occur in this reign. That these were, if not encouraged, at least in many cases condoned, by Julian, is true; it is also true that the Pagan party was incited to attack the Christians by their knowledge of Julian's prejudices, and perhaps by his incautious expressions of contempt and dislike. But, as we have tried to point out, the rash and oppressive attempt to extinguish Paganism in the previous reign was a sufficient cause of the popular animosity against the Christians when the tide turned; for this animosity was displayed chiefly against those who had meddled with the popular ceremonies and their chosen haunts—the temples. Julian afforded a pretext for this by his edict that Christians should rebuild the temples they had demolished under Constantius. It was in the inquiries and trials that arose on this matter that the popular attacks on the Christians originated. When unrestrained or, perhaps, incited by a violent governor, the Pagan crowds committed many acts of brutality in reprisal. But there was no 'organized or widespread persecution,' and what there was was confined to the East. The popular tradition on the subject shows us what a force of public opinion against the Christians existed in this reign. But Mr. Rendall's patient and accurate investigation points to the true cause of this, namely, the attacks made by Christians upon the Pagan temples and ceremonies; and it reduces the so-called persecution to its due proportions. It must, however, be owned that Julian's conduct in regard to these popular outbreaks was not straightforward; and, in fact, however we may sympathize with and respect his efforts to promote and purify his own religion, we are compelled to agree with Mr. Rendall in stigmatizing much of his behaviour to the Church as 'mean.' There was in it a petty spite, an unjudicial partiality, a restless desire to worry, which reveal to us the grave faults in this mixed character. Julian's vanity and his passion for meddling will account for much that we have to reprehend in his anti-Christian legislation and personal conduct. Especially when brought into contact with that greatest of all the early Christians, perhaps of all Christians, S. Athanasius, does Julian show how inferior a great Pagan must be to a great Christian. Julian was totally incapable of seeing any good in Athanasius. He rages against him as the chief opponent to his designs in Alexandria, lavishes epithets of abuse upon him, and, as Gibbon points out, 'for his sake alone, Julian introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations.' That is, he

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affirmed that his edict allowing the banished bishops to return meant return to their countries, not to the occupancy of their sees. To incite the Prefect of Alexandria all the more against the great bishop, he closes a letter on the subject with the single word διωκέσθω—'persecute him.' In Athanasius Julian saw the personification of the power against which his Imperial wrath and scorn were impotent, the power of the living faith in Christ as the Head of the Church. Hence his especial malignity against him. If Julian is to be considered as a persecutor of Christians and not merely of Christianity, it must be because of his conduct towards Athanasius.

But we have kept to the last the consideration of three of Julian's methods of attack upon the Church, the first of which is perhaps the one fact of his reign which is universally known. The attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem seems to have been only part of a larger plan for favouring the Jews as the enemies of the Christian Church. In the letter addressed to the Jews in which he announces his intention of rebuilding Jerusalem on his return from the Persian war, he relieves them from certain oppressive charges, and asks their prayers 'to God the Ruler of the Universe' for the success of his arms. Whether he really wished to disprove one of the strongest of the external evidences of Christianity, namely, the fact of the dispersion of the Jews and the ruined state of the Temple, it is impossible to say; but there seems to be no good reason for doubting the genuineness of this epistle, and none whatever for disbelieving the fact of the attempted rebuilding of the Temple, though it must be remembered that this took place in the last six months of Julian's short reign, and was perhaps discontinued because of his death rather than in consequence of any supernatural intervention. But here again we have evidence which, if we are ever to believe history, must be credited. It may be worth while to quote the actual words of the most unimpeachable of the witnesses to the supposed miracle which interrupted the building. Ammianus Marcellinus,[1] a contemporary Pagan historian, writing obviously without a notion of any peculiar importance in the event, declares that 'whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged with vigour and diligence the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the

[1] xxiii. 1.

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victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned.'[1] This evidence, supported by contemporary Christian witnesses, is surely as convincing as can be fairly expected. Doubtless there is an obvious 'natural' explanation of the fact. Dr. Rode calls the occurrence an earthquake, but it seems to us that a simpler cause, and one involving less of a remarkable coincidence, would be the explosion of the foul air generated in the subterranean vaults of the Temple. This cause, suggested by M. Guizot, would account for the 'balls of fire' which Ammianus describes; but we cannot see that the explanation destroys the fact of the miracle. As Butler points out[2] in the case of the continued existence of the Jews as a separate people, the importance of the fact, from a religious point of view, is not the event itself, but its correspondence with prophecy. Had the Jews been enabled, by the favour of Julian, to return to Jerusalem and see their Temple restored to its former splendour, it would have been a reversal, if not of direct prophecies, at least of all the anticipations with regard to the Jews which were caused by our Lord's words and by their rejection of Him. The discovery of the means by which, in this one case, these anticipations were fulfilled, cannot, we imagine, affect our recognition of the Hand of God controlling the destiny of this remarkable people. At all events the attempt is a curious specimen of the anti-Christian policy of Julian, and of the manner in which his eager restlessness tried nearly every kind of indirect attack, however obviously futile it might be; and as such we are surprised that Mr. Rendall does not notice it.

The only direct measure with which Julian tried to beat back Christianity was the notorious edict against Christian teachers. Here we are met by a very persistent popular mistake. The earliest Christian historians began, and later writers, even the learned Tillemont,[3] have perpetuated the assertion that Julian prohibited the Christian children from attending the schools. But Julian's object was to induce them to attend, in order that they might be taught the truth concerning the gods. To Julian belongs the doubtful credit of having invented the 'religious difficulty' in education. Before his time, as Mr. Rendall[4] and Dr. Rode[5] point out, education

[1] Gibbon's translation, vol. ii. p. 389. [2] *Analogy*, pt. ii. ch. 7.
[3] x. 1200. Milton also, in the *Areopagitica*, uses language which makes us suspect that he shared this mistake.—*Works*, i. 146.
[4] p. 214. [5] p. 67.

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had been free from religious proselytism, and was neutral territory between the contending parties. The great University of Athens had hitherto been frequented by Christian as well as Pagan students. State lecturers were chosen by popular election from among the distinguished Christian orators; and they used as text-books the Greek poems and histories and philosophies, to which Julian looked for sacred counsel and instruction. Here then he saw his opportunity; or, perhaps, in justice to him, we should say that he was anxious to remove these sacred writings from the grasp of the blasphemous teachers. His celebrated letter, which we agree with Dr. Rode[1] in taking to be an explanation of the apparently neutral law which regulated the election of teachers and lecturers, declares that, as the true religion was derived from the writings of the great Greek authors, it could not be tolerated that Christians who do not believe the religion should expound these authors. Therefore, they must either declare that Homer, Hesiod, and other authors are not false, or else cease to use them as text-books. The result of the law is that Christians must not teach literature, for Julian expressly mentions such apparently secular writers as Thukydides and Isokrates, and thus includes the whole field of Greek learning. This anticipation of M. Ferry's Clause 7 would, if carried out effectually, exclude Christians from the great privilege of elementary and University instruction; and as such it was received with a cry of rage by the Church writers, and even by the Pagans was forcibly condemned. Twice does the calm Ammianus call attention to it as an exception to Julian's general moderation, evidently regarding it as a most uncalled-for interruption to the concordat between the rival religions, which allowed the youth of both persuasions to meet in the school and lecture-room. Yet it seems a little difficult to account for the peculiar displeasure which this measure has excited. Mr. Rendall (p. 214) accurately states the considerations which make it objectionable, namely, that it was an innovation, an undue narrowing of the freedom of the Hellenic religion, and that it was aimed at a very large section of his subjects; but in his further criticism of it he seems to underrate Julian's belief in Greek literature as a source of religious truth. Once grant that he did actually regard Homer as a religious writer, and quasi-inspired, and it is difficult to help allowing that he had some grounds for forbidding him to be

[1] p. 64. Mr. Rendall (p. 209 *n.*) overlooks Rode's alternative, viz., that it was either a general instruction or an explanation for a particular case. The former seems the most likely.

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expounded by teachers who must necessarily ridicule the doctrines which they found in him. That Julian did so regard Homer there is no doubt, though his language is not uniformly respectful; and therefore it seems to us that we should, before condemning him, put ourselves in his place, and imagine our feelings, and possibly our actions, were we to hear of Voltaire giving lectures on the Bible to school children, or M. Renan appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at one of our Universities.[1]

Of the third method of attack which Julian adopted against the Christians there is no need to say much, for Mr. Rendall has given a fair summary of the controversial book against Christianity which Julian was engaged in writing almost up to the moment of his death. It is interesting in two ways: first, as showing the limitations of Julian's intellect, and his utter want of sympathy with Christianity; and secondly, as anticipating many of the arguments of the Deists of the last century, and the common scoffs of the lower class of sceptics at the present day. As Mr. Rendall points out, 'large extracts from Julian's works are well suited to the *National Reformer*, and might even repay translation.' In judging this book we should remember that we only possess the fragments of it which an opponent thought fit to preserve; and the very fact that so eminent a writer as S. Cyril should have thought it necessary to answer the book so long after its author's death proves that it must have had considerable weight in the religious controversy; but it is not interesting as an intellectual study, though in so far as it shows us how much in anti-Christian literature is merely repeated from writers like Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, it is important. What are difficulties to us were difficulties in the days of Origen and of Athanasius; why should our faith be weaker than theirs?[2]

All this persistent and ingenious hostility to Christianity had its effect on the lukewarm and hypocritical adherents of the Court religion, and all our authorities agree in representing the number of defections from the ranks of the Church as considerable, though not in most cases important. Time-

[1] Strauss, in his brilliant 'squib' against the King of Prussia, sees this inconsistency, and draws his own conclusions, which are, of course, unfavourable to exclusive Christian exposition of the Bible.—*Der Romantiker*, p. 40.

[2] The reader will find an accessible translation of Julian's fragmentary work in 'Julian's Arguments against the Christians,' by Willis Nevins, published by Williams and Norgate.

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servers and double-dealers there were then, as always, and it is not to these persons that we must look when estimating the real result of this strange reign. Julian, with his religious zeal, his activity, his learning, his obstinacy, his versatile genius, at the head of a popular and inevitable reaction, represented undoubtedly a great force; and this must have left some marks after it had passed away. The chief result of his effort, and of the popular feeling with which he worked, seems to us to be represented by the statute-book. Julian's death left religion in the Empire just as Constantine found it. As no law was passed affecting religion till the accession of Theodosius, it is clear that the result of the reaction was to nullify for twenty years, outwardly at least, the anti-Pagan legislation of Constantine and his sons. When we consider what that legislation was, and how bitterly the Pagans in the East regarded it, we shall not be inclined to underrate the effect of Julian's reign. 'Twenty years,' said Sidney Smith, 'are an eternity in politics;' and Julian procured a cessation of religious legislation for twenty years. But the sudden violence of the attack made by Gratian and Theodosius on everything that the Pagans held sacred, the refusal of the Pontificate, the submissive tone of Symmachus and Libanius, the defenders of the old rites, testify that during those twenty years of outwardly unchanged prosperity the silent process of decay was going on in the old religion. The temper of the people must have been inclining more and more towards Christianity, and the Pagans must have seen their altars and temples more and more deserted. It is not too much to say that, but for Julian's reaction, this period of toleration would have abounded in external legislative and executive signs of the internal change that was going on; and each of these would have caused a certain amount of friction, and would perhaps have retarded the final victory of Christianity by provoking reaction. In so far as Julian's reign taught a lesson of toleration it assisted the spread of the Church; so far as direct persecution went it could do little to retard it. To the Pagan party in the East the death of Julian was a death-blow. The sophists and Neo-Platonists looked upon his reign as the golden age, and upon him as their last hero. After his death they sink into obscurity, only lifted at intervals to reveal them struggling against their fate in futile conspiracies and magical mummeries suppressed by the law. The defence of Paganism devolved on Rome. Julian had rejected the powerful instrument that was ready to hand in the strong, almost undiminished, Pagan sentiment of the old capital. He had chosen the weaker weapon, the literature

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and philosophy of the East, and the failure of his attempt turned the hopes of the heathen party to the sacred spot, where, as Ammianus regretfully says, the ashes of the great Julian ought to lie, for there 'they might be washed by the waters of the Tiber as it flows through the Eternal City, and winds round the statues of the ancient gods.' The proper home of a Pagan ruler was in Pagan Rome, and Julian had failed partly because he had not recognized this.

But whatever weapons he fought with, whether he relied on the Conservative pride of Rome, or on the changeful philosophies of Greece, the result must have been almost the same. Julian struggled with an indomitable will, but with feeble strength, against the youthful might of a new world, and he fell before it. Mr. Rendall justly tells us that 'Christianity was at this time consciously the winning religion,' and its treatment of Julian was contemptuous and secure. Some influence his opposition certainly had upon the divisions and quarrels of the Church: in face of the unexpected enemy the Christians closed their ranks, and for a moment forgot their disputes.[1] But only for a moment; the Arian controversy was not stopped by Julian's reign; it continued all through his time, and was not less bitter after his death. Such a brief reaction could not have much effect on a contest which was a profoundly important, and perhaps necessary, moment in the historical development of the Church's life and thought; and only those writers who, like Gregory, were brought into personal contact with Julian were able to turn aside from the absorbing doctrinal discussion to oppose or to triumph over the Pagan Emperor.

Christianity was not to be stopped in its progress by any emperor, great even as Julian; and the actual results of the reaction in his reign were short-lived. A period of eighteen months, even though it summed up and expressed the secret workings of many years, could not have an enduring effect on the world's history in the face of the two vast movements which it opposed. The work of Julian's life was to drive back the barbarians and to reinstate Paganism; before fifty years had passed Alaric the Goth had encamped before Rome, and the old religion had lost for ever its priests, its wealth, and its public rites.

Thus, though we have blamed Mr. Rendall for ascribing too much to Julian's personal influence, yet we must own that

[1] Cf. Gregory Nazianzen's praise of the Arian Constantius, *Orat.* iii. 35–39, and of the Arian bishops, Mark of Arethusa and Maris of Chalcedon.—*Ib.* 82.

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the error is a natural one. The interest of this period centres round this unique figure, this personality that emerges so clearly from the dim crowd of strange and unholy creatures that surround it. The vividness with which we distinguish this form and character accounts in part for the sense of the ridiculous which is unavoidable when we look at it; for we can only laugh at what we know well. But, as usual, the humour of the character lies very close to the pathos; for both humour and pathos spring from the incongruity which was manifested in Julian's life: the incongruity of a lofty ideal and noble qualities with despicable means and an unredeemed failure; and the incongruity of the two elements in his nature, which it was the misery of his epoch to be unable to harmonize, namely, his yearning for the beautiful past, and his high and eager aspiration for a pure religion. 'The pathetic destiny was that of men like Julian or Porphyry, men who were disqualified from leading the race onward into a noble future, merely because they so well knew and loved an only less noble past.'[1] Julian was made imperfect, restless, ridiculous, futile, by the unresolved discord between these two instincts in his nature, and by the isolation of his position. To whichever party he turned, he found himself alone. From the Christians he was separated by his early prejudices, by his personal defects of vanity and self-consciousness, and by his strong classical and literary sympathies; from the Pagans, whom he had to lead, and tried in vain to quicken, he was still more widely severed by his religious fervour and pure morality. He stands where the old and the new worlds meet in conflict, and is in harmony with neither. 'L'ancien monde et le monde nouveau repoussèrent Julien; l'un dans sa décrépitude eût vainement essayé de se redresser comme un jeune homme; l'autre, adolescent vigoureux, ne se put rabougrir en vieillard.'[2]

We cannot join in the savage attacks on the memory of Julian the Apostate which it was formerly the fashion for Christian writers to make, though we hope we have indicated clearly enough the faults in his character and the causes of his failure. Still, even after fifteen hundred years, we can trace the outlines of a noble personality, obscured though it be by superstition, by vanity, by want of dignity, by affectation, and by intellectual arrogance. That this noble personality was not retained on the Church's side was, we believe, chiefly

[1] F. W. Myers on Greek Oracles.—*Hellenica*, p. 485.
[2] Chateaubriand.—*Études Historiques.*

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owing to the faults of the Church herself and to the vices of his education; but we can never absolve Julian from the charge of a culpable misunderstanding of the forces of the world, and the clear distinction between the dead and the living, Paganism and Christianity. The religion which Julian tried to revive had been a living faith to millions, and we need not be afraid to own that it must, therefore, have had in it some truth, something to satisfy the undying wants of the human soul; but this had long vanished from it, and the failure to see this was Julian's fault. It was a fault which brought with it its own punishment, for his life was wasted in the fruitless effort to galvanize the dead body of the old faith. He might have been warned by his own oracle, or, if that story be a fable, he might have learnt the lesson from every ruined temple and shrine, every forsaken altar that he saw—

> εἴπατε τῷ βασιλῆϊ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά·
> οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
> οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν· ἀπέσβετο γὰρ λάλον ὕδωρ.

And we are taught by Julian's example that, though reactions are necessary factors in the world's progress, yet the attempt to infuse an artificial strength into them, to make them express anything more than the natural reluctance of man to being unduly hurried along his path, must always be, sooner or later, a failure. Whether the reaction be towards archaic religions, or Greek art, or *Renaissance* paganism, or mediæval philosophy, it must be in vain if the inspiring principle of that which it copies has departed. Julian thought to recall the vanished glories of the Greek religion, to bring back to their temples and their worshippers the splendid forms of the gods and heroes of the former faith; but the effort was foredoomed to failure, for the spiritual life was gone out of the religion, and the revived system was but a feeble reflection of the noble and gracious legends and beliefs that had made the Hellenic creed a real resting-place for the human soul:—

> 'Very pale ye seem to rise,
> Ghosts of Grecian deities,
> Now Pan is dead.'[1]

[1] E. B. Browning.

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ART. III.—S. THOMAS AQUINAS.

1. *Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis Divina Providentia Papæ XIII. Epistola Encyclica. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die* 4 *Augusti an.* 1879; *Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.*
2. *The Metaphysics of the School.* By THOMAS HARPER, S. J. (London: 1879.)

THE Allocutions and Encyclicals of the Popes have not, as a rule, attracted much attention in England. They are not addressed to us, and their style is ordinarily such, that we seem to be distinctly left out of the circle supposed to be interested in them. Of late years there have been exceptions, such as the Epistle of December 8, 1864, connected with the well-known *Syllabus* of Pius IX.; and the *Æterni Patris* of Leo XIII., on the restoration of 'Scholastic Philosophy,' especially that of Aquinas: the former elicited by the Political and Social state of Europe, the latter by the aspect of modern Science; the former being denunciatory, the latter in the highest degree affirmative.

No doubt the *Syllabus* had, from the Roman point of view, become urgent. Not only had the state of Italy, but the embarrassed religious position of all the nations of the Roman obedience in the continent of Europe, obliged some pronouncement from the Vatican. It was received, indeed, with a chorus of derision by the journals of the day, and was soon forgotten; but it marked henceforth so definitely the irreconcileable hostility of the religious and non-religious policies, that later utterances (such *e.g.* as the Encyclical on Marriage, or that on Divorce) have been scarcely noticed by our press; and the *Syllabus* no doubt remains the trumpet-call waiting still for its response in politics. It was superficially supposed to represent the despairing obstinacy of the Pontiff, and was ridiculed as an old-fashioned '*non possumus*,' which must practically come to an end with the prolonged pontificate of Pius IX. Even the eloquent Jesuit, F. Curci, standing almost alone indeed, gave up the cause of the 'States of the Church,' and urged the Pope to face the facts, and be 'reconciled to modern society;' but no—Pius IX. departed, and his Successor adopted, notwithstanding, in his earliest addresses to the Bishops of the Roman Catholic world (as on April 21 and December 28, 1878), the entire tone of the *Syllabus* of his predecessor; and found means to convert F. Curci too.

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Scarcely less urgent has Leo XIII.'s recall to the 'Church's philosophy' been felt to be, in the presence of the Atheistic pretensions put forth (and notably at the Voltairean centenary), in the name of modern Science. If the Faith is to be effectually defended in coming times, there could be no doubt that a true philosophy and science must be ready to meet the false; and Leo has boldly appealed to the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century, as taught by its greatest master, S. Thomas Aquinas, to 'stand in the gap' and confront the enemy.

In the too usual spirit, our public writers have regarded as simply preposterous the idea of the science of the nineteenth century at all submitting to the teachings of the thirteenth. Not that our *literati* have shown much knowledge of the thirteenth century 'Schools' of which they so easily speak. The 'leading journal,' as it is rightly called, gave a special column to the Pope's appeal to Aquinas, and rendered the 'Angelical doctor' the homage which has, since Sir James Macintosh's ethical dissertation was written, become 'good taste.' The critic even goes so far as to own, and very truly, that 'in the whole ranks of human genius, few can be named superior to him.' Yet the lively writer of this panegyric is so little acquainted with the subject, as to imagine Aquinas to have been a 'Nominalist' (!) who 'assailed a "Realism" infinitely less real *than his own Nominalism!*'[1] Another very popular writer, Dr. Farrar, in a quotation we have seen, actually supposes Aquinas to have been a 'Franciscan!'[2] These intimations give us peeps into the state of knowledge of the 'School Philosophy' among us, somewhat humiliating when we reflect that these writers are among our 'critics' and accepted teachers.

But how has the Pope's Encyclical in behalf of the great Dominican been received in the Roman communion? To say that the Papal announcement of the almost exclusive authority of Aquinas, to be maintained hereafter in the Schools of the Church, has been a surprise, is hardly sufficient. Yet there had been indications enough, in the reign of the preceding Pope, of that which was coming. Quite up to the time of Pius IX.'s death, the Jesuit writers, however, continued strongly to deprecate some fundamental points of the Thomistic philosophy, so as, if possible, to ward off the impending stroke; and it is important to an understanding of the present position, that this should, even if it seem technical, be fully

[1] *Times*, Wednesday, March 10, 1880.
[2] In *Saintly Workers.*

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stated; for the blow struck by the Encyclical at the teaching of some of the Religious Orders is a heavy one.

In June 1877, Monsignor Czacki, perhaps to allay some alarms, wrote, as in the Pope's name, a careful, possibly uncalled-for, letter to the Rector of the University of Lille. It was an explanation of a Brief addressed to the head of the Academy of S. Thomas, instituted three years before. The Jesuit Father, Paul Bottalla, Theological Professor at Poitiers, felt himself called on to defend the philosophical position of his Order, which, while paying all respect to Aquinas, according to the original Jesuit constitutions, now differed widely from him in some points of his philosophy, and even declined certain of his theological doctrines. The Jesuits affirm, that the progress of physical science has established a number of facts which have utterly overthrown the peripatetic views as adopted by Aquinas. All the schools of Europe, except the Dominican, they say, have absolutely rejected the teaching of Aquinas—that is, really, of Aristotle—as to the 'composition of bodies' (for instance), being convinced that, if Science is to be cultivated at all, newly ascertained facts must be owned, and the old philosophy so far given up.

Nor is it on this 'abstruse point' only, as it has been called, that the authority of Aquinas was thus in question. His doctrines, *e.g.*, as to the four elements, or as to alchemy, and concerning the influence of the heavens, have been, it is said, equally set aside; and points, even involving theological inquiries much more directly, are determined by Jesuit, and not only Jesuit, writers, otherwise than by the Thomists. They mention, *e.g.*, the doctrine as to Vows and Dispensations, as to the form of Absolution, and the Consecration of the wine in the Eucharist, and some other matters of very high consequence, in which the followers of Aquinas stand nearly alone; not to refer to the graver subjects of the Immaculate Conception, and the Papal Infallibility—as to the former at least of which, Duns Scotus, the 'subtil doctor,' was in advance of Aquinas.

Into these subordinate opinions, of course, we do not here enter; for no doubt a more distinctive difference, as just intimated, between the Thomists or Dominicans on the one hand, and the Scotists with the Franciscans on the other (which seems to many at first sight simply philosophical, or even speculative), as to the 'composition of bodies,' and to what was called the '*Substantial Unity* of human nature,' proves to be of primary consequence;—the Dominicans maintaining that unity in their way, and the Franciscans and the Scotists

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in another. The Dominicans held that organic bodies are determined to their corporeal form by the vital power which is in them; and that hence the human body is determined by the living soul. (As to inorganic bodies, there was little controversy.) The Franciscans, though not unanimously, regarded this explanation of man's substantial unity as equivalent to a denial of the separate reality of bodies in themselves;—an extreme form of Nominalism, however, which both Scotists and Thomists had united to oppose. The difference between the two schools was found to be a far-reaching one, both in science and theology, and indeed in the whole philosophy of the universe, if men were disposed to be strictly logical. It touches, not remotely, our bodily Identity, the doctrine of the Resurrection, and even, in some aspects, the hypostatic union in the Incarnation (as implied in the Athanasian symbol). John of Damascus, long before, had apparently felt this; yet he speaks almost as in the language of Aquinas when[1] he argues that the soul of man communicates 'with the inanimate.' Here, as elsewhere, Aquinas perhaps softens the teaching of the Damascene, as to 'the composition of bodies;' though the great Eastern teacher shows what the elder doctrine of matter had been. (So, for instance, when John of Damascus had denied the material fire of hell, Aquinas interprets 'non est materialis, *talis qualis apud nos.*'[2])

We have already then said enough to show that the Encyclical of Leo XIII., as to the revival of the Philosophy of Aquinas, could be no passing utterance, affecting as it does such numerous and practical issues, even in the Roman communion. Let us now look somewhat more closely at what the Papal Letter actually says,—speaking, we must remember, with 'infallible authority,'—for every word will be weighed on all sides.

It begins by a preamble boldly putting in the foreground that what follows comes with all 'the authority to teach' which Christ gave to His Church, and especially, it adds, to the successors of S. Peter in the see of Rome. It concedes at once, however, that the Education of the world can only really be carried on in accordance with a true philosophy and a right method; and asserts that European society has gone wrong in consequence of failure in this respect, and in various ways, through 'false philosophy.'

'Man' (says the Pope) 'is a creature of reason, so that if his mind

[1] *De Fide Ortho.* ii. 12. [2] *Dist.* iv. 44, 93.

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errs, his will soon follows; and Christianity is intended to rectify the errors of men's minds, and restore them to what is right. Though Religion acts on the mind through God's grace, we must not undervalue that natural reason which, not surely in vain, God has given. The light of Faith perfects indeed the light of Reason; but human knowledge must be cultivated, if the whole man is to be restored. In the first place' (says Leo XIII.), 'philosophy is a schoolmaster leading to Christ; and when rightly used it prepares for, and defends, the faith. And next, Christianity is not only a Revelation of truths to our faith, but it illuminates truths previously known, in some degree, by nature. The wise, even among the heathen, vindicated natural truths as laws written in the heart; and this is admitted by the fathers of the Church. All may see that the path of faith is thus frequently cleared. In the natural reason God is perceived through His works, His perfections in fact being evident therein; and further, Reason often harmonizes God's revealed Word, and certifies the marvels of the Gospel, showing more and more that "we have not followed cunningly devised fables."

'But more than this' (Leo XIII. boldly continues—and we gladly quote it), 'Reason contributes to uphold the entire teaching of the Church. Having the solid basis of a true philosophy, it shows our theology to be a body of consistent truth coherent in itself; it discovers to us the analogy of nature and grace, and the connexion of the mysteries of faith with the chief end of our being. Then, as truth never contradicts truth, philosophy is a defence against all resisters of truth. It does not constitute truth, but is its bulwark; it stands in the ancient ways. It receives with humility truths supernatural, which surpass the discovery of mere nature. For to adopt a conclusion opposed to Revelation we know would be to violate both Reason and Faith.

'There are those (he warns us) who so unduly exalt natural reason as to regard admission of Divine authority as slavery, and a hindrance to the attainment of truth. But this is so foolish as to imply that there are no higher truths than we already know, and that there is no growing discernment and no gift of faith. Surely our natural faculties —everyone is aware—are very limited after all; and we find that faith, when strengthened by the Divine authority, is a true teacher indeed. To join philosophy with faith is the right course. Faith illuminates reason, and increases its power; and Reason, in newly acquiring any truth, the more readily distinguishes what is false. Faith thus expands and guides the mind. Without it the wisest have erred; with it our Christian fathers have found in Christ "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," even Him Who is "the Wisdom of God," and the Restorer of wisdom to man. Against tyrants, martyrs have defended the truth by their lives; but against falsehood, our philosophers have defended it by reason. Our apologists and theologians, from Justin and Irenæus, and many others, to Damascene in the East, and to Anselm in the West, may in this be appealed to; and after them the Scholastics, who gathered together all that the fathers had taught.

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'And' (his Holiness further urges) 'our wise predecessor, Pope Sixtus V. (d. 1590) has pronounced that among the Scholastics, Aquinas and Bonaventura are pre-eminent; but we know and assert that Aquinas has the wisdom of them all. There is no part of philosophy and theology which he did not treat solidly; and, as Cajetan says, Reason can scarcely rise higher than on the wing of Aquinas, nor Faith have greater succour than by the reason he brings. Benedictines, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jesuits, and others followed his footsteps. The academies of Europe, Paris, Salamanca, Alcala, Douai, Toulouse, Louvain, Padua, Bologna, Naples, Coimbra, and others, adopted Aquinas with wonderful consent. Popes made their appeal to him, such as Clement VI., Nicolas V., Benedict XIII., Pius V., Clement XII., Urban V., Innocent XII., Benedict XIV., and Innocent VI. The last-named puts him next to inspired Scripture. They then who hold with Aquinas never deviate from truth; while his impugners may always be suspected of error. Great Councils also agree in upholding Aquinas, and the Council of Trent placed his *Summa* on the altar, side by side with the Holy Bible. Even heretics have owned his unique power. Since the sixteenth century other systems of philosophy indeed have attracted Catholics; but as to these, while we do not here in detail condemn them, we monish the utmost care. Nor do we limit what we say to philosophy; we include theology. Reason and Revelation must go together, as in "the School." Attention has happily of late been more directed to this by the bishops, and we urge now on every one of you our desire that young theologians and philosophers be directed to Aquinas.

'The times are evil, and young men must be well armed. Nothing is more likely (save God's special grace) to recover those who profess to "follow Reason alone" than the doctrine of the Schools and the Fathers.

'Then as to Civil Society, which is now threatened, Aquinas has treated the whole subject irresistibly; the nature of liberty and government, of law and mutual duties. Or, if we turn to the arts and sciences, the philosophy we require you to restore will render invaluable help. To impute to us jealousy of physical science is the greatest injustice. Between the proved conclusions of science and the philosophy of the Schools there is no opposition. Aquinas and Albert the Great were science students, as well as philosophers. If you care then for science, restore the golden wisdom of Aquinas. Show how solid he is, in comparison with the "over *subtil*" scholastics, whom we do not approve.[1]

'Above all, let us pray for the Divine blessing on this work, which we commit to you with our Apostolic benediction.'—(Aug. 4, 1879.)

Thus far the Pope. We can have nothing clearer. Whatever Thomism may be, in Theology or Philosophy,—and we must say something on both—this is, to use a common phrase, and so far as the opponents of Aquinas are concerned, a step

[1] Duns Scotus being called *the Subtil Doctor.*

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not to be retraced—a 'breaking down the bridges, and burning the boats.' Unfortunately for the Jesuit father, P. Bottalla, almost on the eve of the promulgation of this remarkable Encyclical, he published, and afterwards defended, his tract on the 'composition of bodies,' according to the two principal systems which, as we saw, divide the Catholic schools. In this tract he speaks thus of the Thomist or Peripatetic doctrine:—

'Considered metaphysically, it rests on equivocal terms, and *petitiones principii;* considered psychologically, it gives occasion to *materialism* (!); considered from a chemical and physiological point of view, it is in plain contradiction with established facts; considered historically, it has in its psychological part been always opposed by the schools of Alexander of Hales, and Bonaventure, by Scot and the Franciscans, and by the doctors of England and of the Sorbonne. It was abandoned by the chief Catholic Schools in the seventeenth century, and was actually repudiated in the eighteenth by all but Thomists of the most rigid type; and thus it was eliminated everywhere from philosophical teaching. And finally, considered theologically, it creates insoluble difficulties in the domain of dogma, and is not in agreement with the unanimous doctrine of the Fathers of the Church on the subject of the two substances (soul and body), adequately distinct in man.'—(pp. 14, 15.)

In his defence of this statement, the learned Jesuit (p. 33) tells us of a synod under our Archbishop Peckham, which pronounced on the opinion of Aquinas as even 'heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith,' according to the judgment of 'authorized and famous doctors,' in 1278.[1] F. Bottalla then goes so far as again to repeat, that 'almost all modern philosophers defend the system contrary to Thomism;' and declares that Aquinas 'received his doctrine from Aristotle, and not from the Fathers;'[2] a statement which seems to have roused the Louvain Professor M. Abbé Dupont to publish certain chapters of Dr. Schneid on 'Matter and Form,' to shew on the contrary that the Thomist doctrine *alone* is compatible with science,—which is the position taken apparently by the Pope in his Encyclical,—while the ground occupied by the Jesuits is the very opposite of this, according to F. Bottalla; and in his own support he appeals to Salmeron, who rendered

[1] *Query* 1284? We suppose the letter of Peckham to the Cardinals under Martin IV. (*Wilkins*, ii. 112) to be here referred to, in which Peckham also asserts that Aquinas held his philosophical doctrine subject to the correction of the University of Paris; a statement which rests on Peckham's authority, as Aquinas had been dead some ten years, and had been defended by the aged Albert the Great, his master, who survived him.

[2] *La Lettre, &c.*, p. 29.

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such eminent services to the Council of Trent, as declaring many of the propositions of Aquinas to be 'unsuitable to our times;' and as writing, 'if there comes a day when some Jesuit, as our Ignatius hoped, should present the theological doctrine in a new and preferable manner, let us not refuse the glory, but refer the matter to our General.' Following up this latter idea, and scarcely even 'distinguishing S. Thomas the theologian from S. Thomas the philosopher,' 'the 5th General Congregation,' in the 56th Decree, thus writes: 'We are not so bound to S. Thomas Aquinas as to think with him in everything. Both in philosophical questions and in those which belong to Scripture and the canons, we are at liberty to follow others (approved by the General of the Order, as set forth in the 22nd Constitution). The rule,' he adds, 'which has guided the Jesuits (p. 59) is to follow the progress of Science as taught in the most renowned Universities.' And again (p. 61), 'the progress of chemistry, and the rapid development of all the physical sciences, have necessarily changed the philosophy as to the nature of bodies.'

The Jesuits, we may observe, ceased to exist in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and during those forty years (that is, till they were recalled to life by Pius VII.) physical science had taken a new departure in all the Universities and Lyceums of Europe; and the philosophy of Aquinas was 'an anachronism;' all the schools of Europe rejecting it, especially as to the 'composition of bodies.' Accordingly a Congregation was called at Rome in 1820 to revise the curriculum of the Jesuit schools. Father Beckx was General of the company in 1858, and published an ordinance to carry out, as far as might be, the ideas of the 22nd Constitution; yet, they say, with 'charity and moderation,' thus leaving some freedom in philosophy. (November 1863.)

Such being the state of things, it is not possible to wonder at the anxiety of the Jesuit fathers at this crisis. We may see it not only in such writings among ourselves as Cardinal Manning's tender and reluctant preface to the gentle translation of the Pope's Encyclical, given by his approval, to the English, but also in the language of half-bewilderment adopted by his Jesuit co-adjutors. And the surprise is not limited, of course, to the Jesuits. A French edition of *S. Alphonse de Liguori* has just appeared, in twenty-eight volumes; and the translators are naturally anxious as to the effect which the Pope's requiring Aquinas to be thus taught might have on their work. The Pope condescendingly addressed them in

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a special letter, three or four weeks after his Encyclical, in which, extolling the merits of their S. Alphonso, but more especially of his *moral* theology, he adds, that it is the glory of S. Alphonso, that he follows Aquinas, and praises his philosophy—as now recommended in the *Æterni Patris*. In a few weeks afterwards (October 15) his Holiness ordered a new and careful edition of the works of Aquinas to be prepared by a special commission, and wrote to the 'scientific society of Brussels' to direct their adherence to the 'doctrine of the Christian philosophy.' It is said, indeed, in the public journals that some 'new manuscripts of Aquinas' have been discovered, but it does not follow that the seal of Papal approbation has been set on all these, whatever they may be. The Pope stands firm to Aquinas as universally known.

The Encyclical is *ex cathedrâ*, as it appears in the document itself of August 4, the feast of S. Dominic, 1879; but on July 5, this present year, it was orally reiterated to all the pilgrim preachers gathered at Rome. As to the critical point of the doctrine of Aquinas 'concerning the union of soul and body,' and of 'form imparted to primary matter,' there can be no question about the meaning of Leo XIII., or even of Pius IX. 'The only safe and true philosophy is that of the Thomists,' and it is now commanded to be taught: that is, if Leo XIII. speaks, as he says, with the 'teaching authority' of the Holy See,—in a word, as the 'Head of the Church.' It may be painful for the Jesuits to bow to this, but outwardly there seems no alternative. The Pope laments that the philosophy of Aquinas has for years been 'pushed aside, and even abandoned,' but he says it shall now be fully reinstated. In the celebrated Gregorian College at Rome, the work is begun, under Cardinal de Luca, and in the Urban College, in the Pope's immediate jurisdiction.

We cannot imagine all this dignified, clear-headed, authoritative and determined direction to reconstruct the education of the Catholic world to be a vague exhortation, meaning, as some have hinted, nothing more than a 'wish' or opinion, of Leo XIII. It goes to the root of Catholic teaching, and restrains the vagaries of the future, as truly as it limits certain doctrinal interpretations of the past. As to its effect on philosophy and science, it is not possible to form any rapid judgment. The Pope, however, cannot have been lightly advised. The Jesuits, he was fully aware, had generally disbelieved in S. Thomas's philosophy, but this has not alleviated the tone of the Encyclical. Yet, as the most learned of their

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journals in this country,[1] just before the Encyclical came out, admits—

'if the Holy See, or an Œcumenical Council, approved Thomism in a marked manner, that "theory" would soon be the only one taught from Catholic chairs of philosophy, the others would fall into discredit and be forgotten. And one of the first consequences we may venture to surmise would be this, that modern physics and modern chemistry as now cultivated among us would prove a source of *continual embarrassment* to men who by their calling were scientific, but who yet desired to show all reverence to faith and authority. One can even *imagine* that such perilous studies would be given up, and that a widespread decay of physical knowledge would set in. . . . The Jesuit fathers have mostly disbelieved in Thomism, and they are and have been the chief Catholic students in what are known emphatically as modern sciences; while the school which has grown up devout to mediæval physics has made no reputation in this domain. Now a barren theory in physics is, on the face of it, a false theory. Did Thomism hold the secret of nature, it would long since have bestowed on us the sovereignty of nature.'

There is so much of unfortunate audacity in all this, that we are at a loss to guess whether it was meant as an *argumentum ad impossibile*, or a defiance of consequences. It seems to say, that it is conceivable that Catholics may break with the laws of nature, and give up the study of physics, in obedience to 'the Holy See.' The writer strikes out so wildly, that while Father Bottalla charges Thomism with 'materialism,' his reviewer, a little further on, conceives that Aquinas may deny the '*reality* of matter' (p. 513). What is so strongly deprecated has, however, come to pass. The *Æterni Patris* lays down the rule for Catholic philosophy, as well as theology; and, as we have said, the Jesuits have really nothing to do for the time, but to submit.

It is, indeed, as if guarding against possible catastrophe, that M. Bottalla's reviewer afterwards hints that 'a *certain interpretation* of Thomism may be conceived to agree with science;' but M. Bottalla's tract has not facilitated such interpretation. Contrasting, in some detail, the Thomists' doctrine of the 'composition of bodies' with that of modern science, he takes 'water' as an example, and says that it is 'l'oxygène et l'hydrogène combinés dans les proportions de 88 à 11'—(forgetting that '*je ne sais quoi*,' which Professor Huxley owns to be necessary, which might have made him more careful in the assertion which follows); 'les *forces* de deux composants restent identiques dans le composé;' and he

[1] *Dublin Review*, April 1878.

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makes the exaggerated statement, side by side with this, that Thomism obliges us to say that 'les formes substantielles de l'oxygène et de l'hydrogène *cessent entièrement*,' on water coming into being. Not content, however, with this, M. Bottalla touches on points of theology also, such as the 'condition of the bodies of saints after death,' and that 'of our Lord's Body at His resurrection,' and of His Sacramental Body, &c., in order to show the incompatibility of Thomism with commonly approved views.

No doubt a real difficulty of the physical doctrine of Aquinas (as we shall see) lies in this, that it seems to make 'matter' a *possibility* only, and without reality, previous to its acquiring 'substantial form.' But even this would not reduce *materia prima* to nothing, for there would still remain an *aptitude* for receiving 'form,' which is something; and it is perhaps as much as the *attenuated ether* of Professor Balfour Stewart and others would imply. At all events, to treat Thomism thus will indeed (as the Ultramontane reviewer feels) be creating a 'source of continual embarrassment to Catholic men of science.' The issue, scientifically, of the appeal made without doubt by the Encyclical of the Pope must now not be treated in this temper, but it must be calmly waited for.

In dwelling, as we have thus far done, so exclusively on the Papal assertion of the philosophy of Aquinas, and on the Jesuit surprise, it is not that we are unmindful of what the *Æterni Patris* says of the work of reason in building up a 'coherent theology,' and of the security of following Aquinas therein. We somewhat abstain, because of the conviction that it would be impossible to enter here on a subject so large. The least sketch, for instance, of the contents and arrangements of the *Summa Theologiæ* would need a very considerable pamphlet, rather than a brief notice like the present. To exhibit only its *conclusions* as a whole—a work which ought to be done in the interest of our Christianity, which is now so often known but in a mutilated way—would alone give any idea of its completeness, and of what we may call its finish, as an intellectual vision full of beauty. While we should demur, indeed, to details not unfrequently, and ask some reconsideration of points left free, *e.g.* in the Damascene, and Peter Lombard, and the Fathers (and feel that it is a 'coherent theology' without those details), we should see an argument for Christian truth itself quite irresistible in that grand and orderly survey of God's nature and goodness, the Duty of man, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the

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grace of the New Creation,—branching out into well-nigh every region of philosophical and Christian inquiry. But we must pursue the practicable. Having in view the main purpose of the Encyclical—the restoration of the Catholic philosophy as taught by Aquinas, a philosophy confessedly based on the writings of a heathen thinker, who lived in the palmiest days of Athens, the disciple of Plato, the contemporary of Demosthenes, the teacher of the Macedonian conqueror—we must keep to, and even yet more fully consider, what the Pope's appeal is.

The phenomenon itself, however contemplated, is such as ought to be pondered: that, in the present (may we not say, in one sense, critical?) condition of our religion in all Christendom, the asserted 'Vicar of Christ' is directing attention, not to a fresh proclamation of infallible truths by himself, but to a school theologian, who died six hundred years ago: a schoolman whose whole philosophical teaching is, confessedly, that of a Greek who lived three or four hundred years before Christ was known. By what means has it come to pass that Aristotle is thus declared to be the educator of the thoughtful Christian? Surely, were we to go no further, it is a striking testimony to the intellectual and ethical unity of that human nature which our Lord assumed, and which He came to restore and save. The laws of thought and the foundations of truth are the same always for man.

The primitive Church, in its simplicity, taking to the letter S. Paul's warning against being 'spoiled by philosophy' (as if it prohibited all strict thinking), sometimes forgot that he said also, 'we speak *wisdom* among them that are perfect.' 'What *think* ye of Christ?' was also the first problem suggested by our Lord Himself, and it set the mind of the Church 'thinking' for ages, in order to express itself fully as to the primary and fundamental truth, His Divinity. The Gnostics, already in the field, here forced inquiry into the possible connexion of the Divine and human; the relations of the self-existent ONE with the many and mutable; the point of contact between the temporal and Eternal. Ethical questions were not yet in debate. Yet the dread of 'human philosophizing' long lingered among Christians, and as late as S. Gregory the Great the literature of Greece and Rome was suspected as evil. The mingled opinions, however, of the Alexandrian schools compelled, in self-defence, some recourse to philosophy among Christians; and Justin, Athenagoras, Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, in succession were philosophic Christians. A school of Platonists quickly arose; and

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Platonism was the Church's philosophy even to the days of S. Augustine, and was cherished by John Scot Erigena so late as the ninth century. The writings of Aristotle were studied, however, chiefly in translations among Christians, as well as among most Eclectics, from the time of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblicus, till the edict of Justinian (529); while some Schools readily mingled the two philosophies—(a fact not surprising, indeed, since Aristotle as well as Plato had been known in Alexandria as far back as the Ptolemies).

The history of the writings of Aristotle seems, especially in this connexion, quite worth noting, as there might appear a kind of Providence in it. Aristotle's school continued, after his death, at Athens; but the teaching of his successors must have depended only on oral tradition; for his voluminous writings were hidden, and as if lost, for more than a hundred years after Theophrastus, his successor. They passed by purchase to private hands, eventually, however, coming back to Athens and, falling to Sulla at the taking of that city, were brought to Rome (B.C. 86). These were, strange as it looks, the writings which were to influence the thought of the world in remotest time. By these Christianity itself would, like S. Paul, teach the advancing intellect of men as from the Areopagus.

Our Religion came, we know, in the 'fulness of the times,' at an era when the 'way had been prepared.' It announced truly the 'Kingdom of God,' a 'Reign of righteousness,' and apostolic 'Thrones;'—but the Jewish polity furnished its Social rule, and the Roman law, at least from Hadrian, its Political protection, and the Greek intellect its instrument of higher Education, its 'schoolmaster to Christ,'—from Tarsus to the ends of the earth.' At the fall of the Empire of the West, barbarism for a while arrested the mental progress which was becoming so hopeful for Christianity, but we see in such as Boëthius how Greek philosophy, even at the worst, was not suffered to fail us. Even the rise of Mahometanism in the seventh century strangely also brought with it (as if in reversal of Justinian's edict) the revival of this philosophy. Damascus, Aleppo, Balkh, Ispahan, Samarcand, Cairo, proved to be *foci* of this learning. The Nestorians of the East had even used it in opposing orthodoxy; and they next combined with Mahometanism at Bagdat in propagating it. The great Oriental Father, John of Damascus, adopted its language to some extent, and practically, though indirectly, extricated the East from the confusion incidental to the transference of Greek terms to the less perfect Latin equivalents, which had

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once startled S. Jerome. Schools of translators from the Greek into Arabic, in the next generation, were founded by Haroun al Raschid; at the time Charles the Great was beginning to educate the West. It was all very wonderful—(as regarded providentially).

The barbarous period which lies between Boëthius (who translated part of the *Organon*, &c.) and Alcuin extinguished most of the episcopal and monastic schools of the West; except in remote seclusions (as, for example, in Britain, at York, Lindisfarne, and Iona, &c.). These schools in some degree bridged over the hiatus. But after Alcuin and his successful palace-schools, and Rabanus, and John Scot Erigena, his successors, the light was to be extinguished no more. From Erigena to Abelard—subdued by S. Bernard—and onward to Anselm and the Master of the Sentences, there is a steady advance, though with varying fortune. The course of conquest, too, which took Mahometanism into Spain, served the purpose of promoting intellectual intercourse with Jews, like Maimonides (1131–1204), the 'Second Moses,' and with Christians, like Albert the Great (1193–1278). Cordova produced the most eminent of the Arab teachers, Avempace (1095), Avicenna (980–1037), and Averröes (1120); as well as the Hebrew 'Maimonides.' Albert the Great draws largely from Avicenna, and adopts his manner; and Aquinas is found the effectual opponent of the followers of Averröes; and Avempace is said to have been the teacher of Avicenna. In the midst of these struggles of philosophy, Aristotle finally fastened his hold on the mind of Europe: for the Spanish Arabs were his devout admirers; and thus the method as well as the philosophy which give such clearness to the *Summa Theologiæ* are marvellously traceable to sources unconscious of the work to which they contributed so much. Other causes, also, now placed in the hands of the Christian Schools the Greek originals of Aristotle's works; as, for example, the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204).

We must not, however, forget that Christian truth could meanwhile very practically advance without this philosophy, great as it was. While the philosopher-saints were being led to prepare the education of the future; the missionary-saints, like Francis of Assisi and Dominic, had been, in their ardent way of love and humility, personally advancing the Gospel among the nations. Aquinas was born when Dominic died (1226); and Francis had only just gone before.

Of the Scholastic struggles and alternate triumphs of Nominalism and Realism, from Erigena to Abelard, this is

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scarcely the place to speak. But we must not be wholly silent; lest we seem to avoid what is essential to our subject. After the days of Aquinas, his philosophy in the main long held sway. At the revival of letters there was some assertion of a modified Platonism, aided by the dislike of Thomism naturally entertained by Luther and other Reformers. The philosophy of Aquinas was at times in disfavour even in the Roman Church; but, as we have seen, it is now declared by the reigning Pope to be the truth, and the education of the Roman community is to be guided by it in times to come.

Some short and simple explanation of the grounds of that Scholastic philosophy seems therefore to be due; and at the risk of being wearisome to not a few of our readers, we must glance at this before we conclude our present task; only premising that we endeavour to avoid technicalities as much as possible, and render the meaning of the Philosophy into the language of common thought. If people are to comprehend the recal to the Scholastic philosophy—whether they approve it or not—it must in our days be put before them, at first, in connexion with the facts and realities of human existence. It is a mistake to fancy that the highest truths, *e.g.* the ethical, will all fall into dialectical 'form,' and 'figure.' If, indeed, it were possible to revive the old dialectical *affirmo, nego, distinguo,* and *respondeo,* &c., it would surely lead to that mental play with great subjects which some of the most earnest of mediæval thinkers deplored. The Logic of the Schools we cannot indeed well refer to here. The underflow of right reason, which is the natural logic with which all men begin, must be our preliminary trust. It soon detects that vagueness which is the disguised feebleness of what is ridiculously called 'broad thought,' but is in reality a 'broad way that leadeth to destruction' of all true thinking.

We should be glad if we could avail ourselves here of the elaborate and meritorious work of 'Father Harper, S.J.,' the first part of which lies before us; but with all its painstaking, it certainly does not help thus far to popularize the theology of the School. It might rather deter the modern English thinker from attempting the subject; and the Introduction, which is meant to clear the ground and win a hearing, is so inferior in tone, style, and illustration to the book itself—if judged from the first volume—that it will do harm, it may be feared, rather than good, to the cause Father Harper has in hand.

The subject-matter of Science and of Philosophy, we must

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remember, is the same. It is the business of science to gather together the *facts of being*, analyse them and arrange them; while philosophy has to search the 'reason why.' If a Divine Revelation be found among the facts around us, it has its place in some department of true Science, and is also to be dealt with by Philosophy. All this is stated in the Encyclical in terms which ought, by their clearness and straightforwardness, to satisfy, so far, every competent thinker. The problem of the universe was before Aristotle, as well as before Huxley. To speak disparagingly of Aristotle's treatment of the problem in comparison of the modern is to betray worse than ignorance. Aristotle was for ages the greatest of physicists; and he is now, at this time, *de facto* the most influential of philosophers.

The intense debates of Scholasticism could not for centuries have engrossed the mind of advancing Europe, as they did, unless the most vital truths had been involved. In the exciting inquiries of Nominalism and Realism, Truth, Goodness, Justice, Reality in Ethics and Religion, all were at stake. Christianity, to those who accepted it, implied a philosophy of the universe. The universe of things was seen by all to consist of two great classes of being, the permanent and the changeable: the permanent exist, and we expect them to exist, as always the same; the changeable are phenomena which come and go. Intelligence is permanent being; its essence and laws abide. Life is permanent being; it is real. Phenomena acquire existence of a temporary kind, by the union of matter and form, through the action of life, or of mind. Permanent being, it was observed, acts most frequently, if not always, from the invisible; and permanent being must precede the phenomenal.

The action of the permanent on the phenomenal in the universe, and the principle and laws of that action, is, in modern language, the great subject of the Scholastic Philosophy.

In the main, this subject was treated in two ways: in each way dealing with 'abstract ideas,' no doubt; yet both as implying practicable consequences. According to Aristotle, these abstract ideas are *individual results* of mental action; according to Plato, they are substantially in *mind as such.* With Aristotle, all abstract ideas are the abstractions of our experience—both the absolute, and collective experiences. With Plato, the highest ideas absolutely exist in the highest intelligence; and all intelligences, according to their degree and capacity, are in relation with the Supreme Absolute, so that without this relation they would cease to be intelligences. The former doctrine was, by its opponents, believed to destroy

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the oneness of truth and thought; and the latter was regarded as essential to morals and religion, true alike for all. The morality of Aristotle, for example, was a practical mean between extremes ascertained by individual experience. The morality of Plato might be described as an instinct of the perfect and beautiful. Neither of these philosophies consistently carried out its theories so as to exclude the other; hence the controversies of thoughtful men, watching the bearing of these opposing doctrines on the Ethics and Christianity of the world.

In the examination of these relations of the permanent and the phenomenal, the doctrine of Causation naturally came under review. Whether *potentia*, or power *un-put-forth*, could be conceived to exist in the Perfect Being? was an inquiry not to be avoided; and Aquinas carefully confronts it by his *Purus Actus*. There is no equivocating, no hair-splitting here; nor in the cognate inquiry, 'utrum sit scientia in Deo,' according to the human conception of *scientia*.[1]

Creation and Causation are thus the battle-ground of both Science and Ethics. Believing, as the Schoolmen did, in Creation as a Divine act,[2] they had at once to deal with the omission of that idea in Aristotle, and his assumption of the Eternity both of mind and matter—an assumption equally made by Plato. The doctrine, that matter was but a '*possible* being' until it received 'substantial form' was here an assistance. Intelligence is next regarded as the light which illuminates, and gives 'substantial form' to primæval matter, previously without 'form and void.' This seemed to alleviate, but not remove the difficulty. All the facts of the physical universe, and of our own experience, were, no doubt, to Aristotle quite real; but intelligence was real in one sense, and unformed matter in another. Aquinas thought it necessary, therefore, to write against the 'eternity of the world,' and cleared himself at least from that possible inference of his philosophy by his 'Law of Continuity,' as we may term it.

The doctrine as to the 'composition of bodies' in this philosophy of the universe was the same, fundamentally, whether the bodies were organic or inorganic. This was next to be considered. In some bodies there was vitality, in some not; and the vitality escaped scientific analysis. But the fact of simple motion, and the specific character of certain motions,

[1] When Bacon and Hobbes despise these 'subtilties,' it is because the former had adopted Predestinarianism as his creed (see his *Confession of Faith*), and the latter Fatalism.

[2] See also *The Unseen Universe*, 4th ed. p. 269.

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implied a range of facts of an invisible order. The phenomenal world was real, but was not the pre-phenomenal, or supra-phenomenal, more so, rather than less? The intelligent mover (or, as we should sometimes say, the 'ego'), and even the unintelligent mover, would naturally be foremost among realities. So far we follow Aquinas.

We may find it will bring this subject home to us, if we here pause to see how it may be expressed by modern science. Professor Tyndall, in his well-known address as President of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, very amply acknowledges the undiscovered, or even undiscoverable, set of facts 'which emerge' as quite real, at the close of physical analysis.

'We can present,' he says, 'no picture of the process whereby consciousness emerges, either as a necessary link, or as an accidental by-product, of a certain series of actions; yet it certainly does emerge. . . . We are here, in fact, upon the boundary line of our intellectual powers, where the ordinary canons of science fail to extricate us from our difficulties. . . . If you are content to make your soul a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary mechanical laws, I for one do not object. . . .'

There are facts then which can be analysed, and there are facts, it would seem, beyond analysis. There is in 'protoplasm,' *e.g.*, as Professor Huxley calls it, no life; and yet life exists. His 'deep-life' (*bathybios*) has, we believe, been given up; but, we repeat, life exists. Whether matter without mind has more than possible existence, depends on the sense in which words are employed. Probably the relation of the Modern 'force and fact' is much the same as that of the Scholastic 'power and act.' Man is—so Lichtenberg is quoted by Tyndall as saying—a 'restless Cause-seeking animal.' It is the doctrine, again, of Aquinas.

We conduct our whole course of action in this world on the idea that there are Causes and co-causes of things; and we cannot deny, without unreason, that which is in fact the hypothesis of our whole existence. Our physicists, as well as moralists, are reluctantly, but inevitably arriving at the Thomist doctrines, as to 'power and act,' 'possibility and reality,' 'the phenomenal and the pre-phenomenal.' Some ontology will come at last; for science of the phenomenal absolutely requires a philosophy of the pre-phenomenal. Here we may pause.

The scientific explanation of much of the Christian theology *ab initio* depends evidently on this philosophy. We must conceive, *e.g.*, of Creation—and also of the New Creation—as the act of a Supreme Intelligence; meaning, by Creation,

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initiating entirely, and not employing materials, a simple projection from Himself, 'according to the purpose of His own Will.' Of course, in the fullest sense, this Creating can only be wrought by the Supreme. Perhaps the ground of deepest difference between Aquinas and other schools lies in this: that he has here avoided the stumbling-block of 'two Eternal principles,' to which they who differ from him are more or less exposed. All intelligences are Causes, but with Aquinas there could not be more than One SUPREME: others are finite. We cannot, without a contradiction, imagine numerous finite intelligences in the eternal past. This has to be thought out. We know that an Intelligence loses not any of his essence when he projects thought, or wills action; and so the Supreme Intelligence creates without imparting a portion of His Essence, and not (as some of the schools have said) by way of Emanation. Here we stand on the threshold of thought.

We thus briefly introduce the Philosophy of the past in the person of Aquinas, his credentials being guaranteed by Leo XIII., to the Science of the present and the Theology of the future. They will make their own terms eventually. We do not anticipate much immediate result among ourselves. We have lost so much of true insight, since Locke; but it must return. Truth cannot be always ignored. The influence of this Philosophy will be felt in the Roman communion chiefly, for some time to come. If, however, the clergy of either communion in this country could be brought to study Father Harper's book, we should augur well for a sounder theology even in the next generation. But this book is not easy reading. The chapter on 'Possible Power,' for example, or latent *Potentia*, might help men so to conceive of existence in the Eternal, as to undermine both the Calvinism and the Molinism, which have so debased the conception of the Divine Prescience among English thinkers.

Countless subjects of solemn interest crowd upon our thoughts, stirred by this philosophy—as to man's substantial Unity and Permanence—as to moral Causation—'and then the doctrine of Grace;'—the state of Nature moving on at times, in its manifold grooves, and diverging at last into the state of Glory in the New Creation.

But we have reached our assigned limits.

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ART. IV.—CHRISTIAN IMAGINATIONS OF HEAVEN.

1. *The Purgatory of Dante.* By A. J. BUTLER. (London, 1880.)
2. *The Archæology of Rome.* Mosaic Pictures. By J. H. PARKER. (1876.)
3. *Ciampini's Vetera Monimenta.* (Rome, 1690–99.)
4. *Spiritual Theory of another Life.* Essay in *Contemporary Review*, vol. xvii.
5. *Val d'Arno.* Lectures by Professor RUSKIN. (1875.)
6. *Tintoret and Michael Angelo.* (1872.)

AT an earlier or later period in the decline of life, the 'private speculative individual,' as Mr. Carlyle calls some of us, may or may not begin to consider his personal prospects in the future. He will probably do so with a degree of attention directly and not inversely proportioned to the trouble he may have taken about them before. We have not observed, in the course of a certain experience, that the approach of death makes anybody clearer about what is on the other side of it; or that those who have neglected the subject through life are at all drawn to it in their latter days. The subject has its terrors, and the best people certainly do not feel them least. The children of this world seem to be wiser than ever in this particular generation of theirs; they never were so well contented not to look beyond it, and never so well satisfied with their sufficient reason, that they cannot see. The other world is like the Spanish fleet to them: they cannot see it because it is not yet in sight. Meanwhile there is plenty to look at here; and if, in any survey of their own share in their own world, they come in contact with things which seem to have relations with the unseen, they only treat such things as so far tainted with unreality. They often take refuge in laudable industries of work or science; sometimes in more dubious pursuits; as in the study of the fine arts, for instance, with equivocal purpose, and the postulate of doing what they think pleasant as they think right. They claim to be as effective, and more comfortable and better informed than sad people convinced of sin and its wide work. But even they are not immortal. The world has to be left somehow; and to ignore the fact is like the recklessness of the half-taught horseman, who gallops wavering across a field between pleasure and fright,

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without knowing where or how he will get out of it; or how to face, or what is on the other side of, the inevitable boundary fence which looms before him.

Those who do not accept the Christian Faith (at least as the best attainable hypothesis of things as we find them) cannot be expected to accept its suggestions and forecasts of things which we have not yet found. Those who protest against the human imagination altogether as a means of attaining truth, will not, *à fortiori*, care for the Christian imagination—of Heaven or anything else. We think they are bound in reason to give some account of this intrusive faculty of speculative forecast, because it is in us; and they say they are not so bound, because it is not in them. It is, at all events, against them, and a disturbing element to negative eschatology. The natural man expects something after death, and not nothing; and his gifts vaticinate to him. Agnosticism at least knows its enemies, and Mr. Saunders was quite right when he observed that poetry and the imagination have always been the handmaids of superstition. We have often enough said so of Art, in our own sense. The only work which the agnostic renaissance can find for the imagination is sensuality; it is the Bathos on whose edge poets and painters best enjoy disporting themselves, having no higher thing to look to.

Strongly objecting to this use of imagination, and feeling convinced that it is not the only one, we should like to give some short account or classification of certain definite hopes and expectations, by which Christians have endeavoured at various times to realize or symbolize to themselves the Heaven they have all along hoped for, and will by no means give up. This may be illustrated both from poetry and graphic art, as well as from directly theological sources. The mind of Dante mastered and contained the theology and the arts of his age alike, and his Divine Comedy must ever stand first in the list of all non-apostolic works of the Christian Imagination. But, for the arrangement of our own part of the subject, the following considerations seem convenient.

First, all speculations on these unknown realities are made either by a positive or a negative way. Data for the former are found in Holy Scripture, partly by symbolic description of facts, partly by passages like the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount; which suggest the possibility that certain present capabilities of man may be infinitely developed for his future condition of blessedness. The negative method involves the dark relief of pain, present and future, experienced, or in description, or in dread anticipation.

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Secondly, it seems to require attentive consideration, that all descriptions of this mysterious state or condition, when conveyed to us through human thought and language, are in fact and by their very nature symbolic and not literal. That this state exists, and that it contains certain things described in the Apocalypse and elsewhere, we believe; that we shall exist in it, we hope: but whether its phenomena (so to speak) will then present themselves to us literally as described, we do not know. This involves the further consideration that, thirdly, all earnest speculation as to what Heaven shall be like, or be to us (and such thoughts should be indulged in gravely and according to data, or not at all, which latter alternative is practically impossible), must be personal and individual. The Christian imagination of Heaven always practically means some Christian's imagination of himself in Heaven; better or worse prepared as he may be to dwell on such a subject. The reason generalizes; the imagination, say Mansel and Hamilton, always individualizes. These kindred points, that all descriptions are symbolic, all private interpretations of them conjectural, and all practical meditations on them in this sense personal, lead to the consideration of false views of our expectations about Heaven, or the state of happiness which we expect. These are often described by non-believers as more literal in detail, and more foolish, than they really are.

I. As to the positive and the negative way of approaching the subject. Dean Milman says,[1] commenting on his beautiful quotation from Richard of Hampole, that the negative is the only true method of meditation. We shall be pure of sin and the conscience of sin, from pain and memory of pain, from loss or sense of loss. The whole hopes of the world in this kind are best summed up in the words, 'And there shall be no more Curse.' It will always be found difficult to dwell on the state of the Blessed only, for whom is no more curse. Holbein determinately does so in the 'Dance of Death;' Dürer inclines to do so; the Early Church, at all events, did so in all her graphic and sculptural art for the first 500 years, and probably for nearly 1,000. A picture of absolute happiness is like a picture without shade; and, in fact, Angelico tries to substitute colour for shade in his *Paradise*. But we know more of sorrow than joy, of evil and indignation than of good and delight in goodness; so that it is easier to give effective description of Hell than of Heaven; and a hundred read

[1] *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, vol. ix.

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Dante's *Inferno* for ten who can get through the *Paradise.* Nevertheless the soul of man is taught to muse on fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore, and on expressions of that sort; holding that they express reality by symbol or analogy. It is hard to eradicate from the human spirit the notion that these words mean something.

II. And perhaps the best materials the constructive imagination can use may be found (after the beginning and end of the Apocalypse) in reflection on the Beatitudes. To see God, to obtain mercy, to be comforted, to be called the children of God by Him, in the beatific Presence; to be filled with righteousness: these words convey positive ideas as well as negative. To be comforted, for example, means not only to be cured of immediate sorrow, but to have inexpressible pleasure in God's actually and personally comforting us. The whole passages in Matt. v. and Luke vi. 20 may amount to descriptions of perfect spiritual happiness; and an impartial observer might think such Christian conjecture both loftier and more subtle than any other Heaven or heavenly state he knew of, whether Hindu, Greek, or Mohammedan. By an impartial observer, we do not mean a person who impartially denies every spiritual phenomenon as real. One may suppose a person partly instructed about the Christian Faith, not yet embracing it or embraced by it, but who has in fact neither seen nor hated, nor been trained on the Hume and Gibbon principle of perpetual effort to be contemptuous.

Now there is no doubt that, as in Our Lord's own words 'Depart ye Cursed' are set against 'Come ye Blessed,' and everlasting punishment against the kingdom prepared from the beginning of the world, so all Christian Churches have always set thoughts of Hell over against thoughts of Heaven. But they have done it with varying emphasis. So it is, that threats or deliberate imaginations of Hell have been left to individual Fathers. The well-known passage from Tertullian has lately been brought once more from the anti-Christian arsenal of Gibbon's fifteenth chapter, and must go for what it is worth against the Faith. But we are not bound to treat every passage in Tertullian's works practically as Holy Scripture, or as equal in authority to the decrees of an Œcumenical Council. As a falsetto of righteous but extreme wrath against extreme wrong, and within memory of savage persecution, this passage may be in part excused. But it is not the voice of the Church, and has not, in fact, anything to do with our subject. The martyrs died in hope, and the Church, in fact, lives in hope, that the faithful will be saved; not that any

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special class of persons will be damned. Men endured the cross, and the lions, and fire, and the red-hot seat, because they believed in an unknown Heaven for themselves; not because they were in heart devising as curious torments for their murderers. The earlier creeds set forth the Life everlasting, and do not set forth the everlasting Fire, though no Christian of their day, as far as we know, dared deny it. There is a reticence; and it is certainly observable in the popular symbolic ornamentation used by the Primitive Church as distinguished from later Mediæval work. The eternal punishment of their enemies was not, as Gibbon insinuates, the habitual meditation of devout poor people in danger of being burnt *sub dio*. Such an article was not added to any early creed as a doctrine full of comfort which the faithful desired to believe. The thought of Future Punishment in some signal form belongs to all religions, and is a corollary of all moral systems; it is the indefinite outcry of the human soul for vengeance without measure, when it sees no measure of wrong. However, certain it is that, though the Presence of the Lord in Glory with saints is very early represented, both in sepulchral decoration, and in the larger Basilicas, and though He is in about 400 years surrounded by the mystic splendours of the Apocalypse, there is no contrasted Inferno that we know of for twice that time: and its introduction is an archæological or artistic landmark for the entrance of Church History on its Mediæval stage. No 'painted Hell' existed that we know of earlier than the eleventh or twelfth-century mosaics of Torcello; nor is any such representation on record, except the painting which Methodius is said to have executed to stimulate the emotional æstheticism of a certain King Bogoris of Bulgaria. But at whatever time men ceased to separate the ideas of Eternal Happiness from the dark relief of Eternal Pain, they had introduced the latter by the date of the early Venetian mosaics. Florence repeated the lesson in S. Giovanni, and the illuminated service-books soon carried it all over the world. A few words on Dante and Giotto, Angelico and Orcagna, as to their positive conception of Heaven—as far as they give us any—may illustrate the higher Mediæval ideal; and the Infernos may be treated, as of old, as a subject which Faith is forbidden to deny, and Imagination is not commanded to touch on.

Dante and Giotto were near friends; but their treatment of this great subject is so far different that Giotto casts no personal or political enemy into Hell, though his Paradise in the Bargello at Florence contains so many portraits of hostile Bianchi and Neri finally in bliss and reconciled. This frank

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personification, with its expressed hope of a peace which certainly must have been far beyond all Florentine understanding at the time, is characteristic of the great religious humourist and naturalist of Italy. Real or fancied portraits of saints may date from the fourth-century sarcophagi, and Giotto has very early precedent for his Paradise: but he puts in it men yet living whom he knew personally, without anticipating the second death for his, or his party's, enemies. Perhaps the successful painter, born a shepherd below the storm of family hostility, had neither foes nor faction; but it was very different with Dante and Orcagna.[1] Giotto is far nearer the earlier mosaics of Rome and Ravenna than they; and even the Infernos of the later Venetian and Florentine inlayings are without any personal condemnations. But Dante, like Moses, spareth none and knoweth not to have mercy; and very much the same tone is observable in the Pisan frescoes. Angelico does not specify the lost, but with natural tenderness fills his place of rest with homely faces of well-remembered Dominicans. Still, all these painters are faithful to the early symbolic treatment, founded on Apocalyptic imagery, and not extinct till the later Cinque Cento. It ends, in fact, with Michael Angelo; but the effect of his life on sacred art has nothing to do with this paper.[2] Nevertheless, he undoubtedly followed Orcagna's traditional arrangement in his composition of the Sistine Judgment. On one particular detail let us hear Professor Ruskin:—

'Michael Angelo is admitted to have been so far indebted to Orcagna as to borrow the gesture of his Christ in Judgment . . . His right hand raised as if to cast a thunderbolt, and the left closed across His breast, as refusing all mercy. The action is one which appeals to persons of very ordinary sensations, and is naturally adopted by the Renaissance painter, both for its popular effect and its capabilities for the exhibition of surgical science. But the old painter-theologian, though indeed he showed the right hand of Christ uplifted, and the left hand laid across the breast, had another meaning in the actions. The fingers of the left hand are folded in both the figures; but in Angelo's as if putting aside an appeal; in Orcagna's the fingers are bent to draw back the drapery from the right side. The right hand is raised by Michael Angelo in reprobation; by Orcagna only to show the wounded palm. And as to the believing disciples He showed His hands and His side, so that

[1] It is not necessary here to go into the question whether Orcagna means Orcagna, or only any number of men of the same name; or if the Lorenzetti of Siena were the real painters of the Pisan Campo Santo.

[2] Professor Ruskin's pamphlet on Tintoret and Michael Angelo, with comments and replies in Professor Poynter's lately-published lectures, may be consulted on this matter.

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they were glad, so to the unbelievers at His judgment He shows the wounds in hands and side. They shall look on Him whom they pierced.'

The Paradises or Heavens of Orcagna and Angelico may be taken together, as still maintaining ancient and traditional treatment, though with mediæval severity of doctrine. Both inclose the form of the Lord in the almond-shaped vesica, which is in fact an adaptation to pointed architecture of the late classical or Byzantine medallion form, seen in the portraits called *imagines clypeatæ*. But its use, of course, at once withdraws the whole picture from realism into symbolism, though Angelico, following Dante in his thought of an earthly Paradise, has a purist realism of his own. Orcagna's pitiless realization brings grief into Heaven itself, so that the Blessed Virgin, made the second throne therein, bows down in terror at the coming sentence, and the angels weep and wring their hands, or scramble and haul against the brute fiends for perishing souls of men. His notion of eternal happiness is, in fact, only the darker Gothic retributive contrast, just so far Christian as to add theological to civic hatred, like Tertullian at his worst. Angelico the purist shows us what seemed real to his simple and tender heart. He had evidently a feeling like Dante's, of many mansions with perfect joy in all, because the Lord is specially present in all. He had also the Dantesque taste for orderly arrangement, gardens, green fields, and flowers; perhaps he too pictured to himself walled circles in Hell, steps and terraces in Purgatory, and the gradated felicities of separate zones of Heaven.[1]

But one does not quite know what to say to Angelico's Paradise of elderly Dominicans dancing for ever in deep mowing-grass with the angels. It reminds one of Luther's child-heaven, and calls for some tenderness if it does not inspire one with any particular reverence. Still it is far more reverent than Orcagna's or any one else's work who only makes his Heaven a foil to the savage force of his Inferno. The green field seems childish, perhaps; but can any of us think quietly and practically, without either gushing or sneering, that it is set before him and all of us as a great object in life to be as alittle child? And if he will not have that, has he read his Shakspeare? If neither, him has Angelico offended. Falstaff talks of green fields when his time is near, and it is babble to Mrs. Quickly. In a painter, such imagery is a kind of conjectural symbolism of a possible renewing of youth and

[1] See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. pp. 207–217; *Stones of Venice*, ii. 314.

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unending freshness of life. Some of us may know (and one knows it more decidedly the older one gets) what the sensation of spring and new earth-life is to both soul and body: what it is to feel, once in five years or so in England, all that De Quincey conveys in six words, 'Lo! it is summer, almighty summer.' Such a feeling may be capable of indefinite development. There will be summer, and green pastures, and flowers of the restored soul, says the monk of Luni; David says so, and I after him. The friends who are gone before will be there, and look like themselves in Heaven. They will be recognizable; and that not as now, chiefly by furrows of thought and trouble. Angels will be with them with great love for them; they will be taken in angelic arms, and kissed with even better kisses than they denied themselves on earth. We think it quite possible to take the monk's meaning as he meant it, and maintain its symbolic conjecture. For Shakpeare, of course, modern culture will see reason to regret his mediæval barbarism in not making Falstaff die of *delirium tremens* on the stage, howling about creeping things.

The fact is, that Dante's Heaven and Angelico's have this particular feature of resemblance, that both men earnestly expected to get there some day, and both, ascending thither in heart and mind, sent their friends before them. All through the Divine Comedy we see this great personal effort, by both negative and positive method, made by the central mind of Gothic Christendom; as to how Durante Alighieri should in due time be made absolutely pure of sin, and entirely perfect in love and heavenly wisdom, until by conjectured nature of spiritual things he should gravitate upwards to his Lord. And the nearest approach which plain people, conscious of sin, can make to the Dantean aspiration, is probably by studying the penitent's temper in the *Purgatorio*. Let us consider that as the Vision of maturing and at last perfected penitence; as a great symbolism of the gradual expiation and cleansing of sin from the human soul. Further from, or nearer to, perfection, each soul desires perfection, and nothing else. Once admitted to the place or state of true repentance, you can turn back or look back no more, and you will not strive to get forward before the time. You shall always desire the pains which make you perfect, until you are fit for another circle of purification; or for the final deliverance. When every stain is effaced on one stage, then only shall you desire to pass on, to further discipline, or in cleanness every whit. Your will, at least, is now with God, and so shall you be, at the day appointed. Whatever manifold meanings history and poetry

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may extract from Dante's *Purgatorio*, there seems to be no doubt that he meant it to be an image of his own experience of the penitent life on earth; and perhaps the most formidable sign we observe in men and women of our own time, over-taught or untaught, cultured or brutal, is their absolute freedom from any temper or habits of mind in the least resembling it.

III. Then it is necessary to consider, if we wish to understand what Christian people of our own age really think about Heaven, that all expressions about it must (for purposes of practical thought) be considered as symbolical or conjectural, and not literal or absolute. The Apocalypse is the Vision of S. John written in a book; a record of things seen in the spirit and not with eyes, not as man seeth. The vision is true, but not literal; the things are real, but not actual like earthly things. They are simply things unspeakable by the outer ('*proforic*') word of expression; and they are indefinable by the inner ('*endiathetic*') word of thought. They are postulated as free from the conditions of time and space which limit human conception. All of us to a certain extent, proportioned to our incapacity, must accept the symbolic for the actual. Perhaps the simplest-minded person who ever read of the Holy City coming down from Heaven adorned as a bride has as good a notion of a vision of descending glory making all things new, as the most learned or brilliant of latter-day Gnostics. And this leads us to understand the sad truth of the late Mr. Bagehot's remark about philosophic Paganism in all ages; that what makes it so formidable is that it is sufficient (at least in theory) for the Pagan. Men live in such comfort, learned leisure, and intellectual interest, almost free from temptation and excusably withdrawn from others' distress, that they feel very well where they are. If they are to look forward to Heaven at all, it cannot be a rest of over-toiled labourers or fanatical artisans, of women or the poor; it will be worse to live with an infinite number of stupid spirits there than with a few stupid people here.

This we apprehend to be the idea expressed, or echoed with approval and made a text of, by the author of *Culture and Anarchy*. It must be a singular impatience of symbolic expression, a curious ignorance of its value for rude minds capable of belief, a peculiar defiance of Christian hope, which made him, or the 'great French moralist' quoted at p. 146, so contemptuous about the idea of 'walking about the New Jerusalem with palms in our hands.' It seems that neither of them would like it. Still it is

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an historical fact that the train of ideas of which this is one, connected with the great Scriptural ideal of a Heavenly city, has for centuries employed minds of probably equal power to Professor Arnold's or the great French moralist's. John Bunyan, for instance, was a man whose poetic power of conception and expression, profound spiritual experience, and extremely practical knowledge of tinkering and soldiering, still give him a certain power over the Christian imagination. It is the weak side of culture to have to ignore the imagination; though its argumentative strength consists so much in ignoring awkward facts. But this passage occurs near the end of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, after much more Apocalyptic imagery:—

'Now just as the gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them; and behold the city shone like the sun, the streets also were paved with gold, and in them walked many men, with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands, and golden harps to sing praises withal. There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord. And after that they shut up the gates; which when I had seen I wished myself among them.'

Now the curious thing is, at least it must seem very odd to menti-culturists, that men of some originality and acquired intelligence still exist, who experience exactly the emotion described by Bunyan when they read that page of his book, or its original. It may be contemptible, but it is certain, that perfectly serious views, not without poetry or grave meaning, still exist about this same vision of the Holy City. I think, for example, that Mr. Spencer Stanhope's picture (now at Marlborough College) of its descent from Heaven, is one of the most beautiful and original things in art; and it is at all events the latest genuine effort I know of. But going up through Tintoret's Paradise, Dürer's Adoration of the Cross,[1] Raffaelle's more academic visions; and so by Perugino to Dante, Angelico and the elders, we do find that a number of men of capacity have devoted much time and attention to this subject, and that they have done so as if they believed in it. They have not, perhaps, taken it in the sense assumed in *Culture and Anarchy*, that literally there will be a city of gold and silver, and nothing to do in it but to walk about with a palm in your hand, as if you were at Nice; but they have thought that there is a state of blessedness

[1] At Vienna; a great scene in mid-air: a Heaven with all Angelico's carnation and gold, and an earth and sea outspread below exactly like Turner.

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and glory, and praise, which is the reflex of divine glory; not local as we think of space, nor golden as we think of gold. If this imagination is against the canons of culture, so much the worse for one or the other; but pooh-poohing it is all nonsense. Then we have objections made to eternal praise; which no doubt will not be a familiar or gratifying exercise to literary and scientific celebrities, much employed here in running each other down. We are supposed not only ourselves 'to expect to be made happy by sitting on clouds and singing Tate and Brady's hymns to all eternity,'[1] but to hold up that ideal to followers, who must be supposed to be more foolish than we ourselves. And it is one shade worse than talking nonsense to describe your opponents thus: for it amounts to brawling assertion of what you must suspect to be false, or cannot know to be true.

Now as to the author of the Apocalypse. He does not assert that there is anywhere in the Heavens an actual city of gold and pearl; but that he saw a vision of a city best described by those words with others. Nor does he say that the gold and the jewels are an important element in the happiness of the inhabitants; or that they want buildings to live in, or walls to defend them at all. He did not mean to appeal to human cupidity as a motive of belief, nor want the Seven Churches to be of the mind of Mammon, the least-erected spirit who fell. When he tells of jewel-foundations and pavement of wrought gold like unto glass, he is simply exhausting the language spoken by a Græco-Syrian to express beauty, and preciousness of colour, and the intensest and purest pleasure of what we here call eyesight. And the fact that he succeeded in conveying ideas of such intensity and vivacity, about a thing past knowledge to men without knowledge, is to us a proof that he spoke by the Holy Spirit of God, whatever it may be to the author of *Culture and Anarchy* and the great French moralist. It should be remembered that Christians consider that they are promised a spiritual body, or analogous organization to that which they at present inhabit. Expecting this, we think it possible that its ethereal-ized senses may be capable of enjoying both colour and tone in some purest, or so to speak archetypal, nature. Those who will read Ezekiel i., and compare it with descriptions in the Apocalypse, will see that jewels, &c., may be used as symbolic exponents of the highest delight of colour, appealing to a purified vision. All knowledge, if you will, is acquired

[1] See *New Republic*, p. 129.

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through the senses, and a Heaven of boundless knowledge has always been considered a sound and dignified conception. Now there is no reason why the sight and hearing which acquire knowledge should not themselves be transfigured into features of an infinite delight, which may be ours; they are means of happiness as well as knowledge here, and may be so hereafter.

Then as to all the graceful raillery we have had about a Heaven of psalmody or praise, or Divine service. As to the first, it is pretty certain to every one who has the wholesome use of his senses that music has latent powers over the human spirit, and is in fact symbolic of, or at least indicative of, certain infinite depths of charm and delight. And it is thus a most important argument (like beauty) for a transcendental consciousness of happiness or state of joy. And what we are told of harpers and the sound of praise seems to me curiously enough to appeal to two characteristic and very searching delights or pains (nobody can quite tell which) of music to sensitive ears. The first is that peculiar vibration or thrill of strings, which flutters through every nerve, as if it was re-arranging all one's particles, like sand on a vibrating tone-plate; and the second, that passion of the singer, in uttering perfect notes alternately or together with masses of other perfect sound, which is so intensely and purely delightful as to be unendurable beyond a certain point. Conjecture from the capacities of these two senses is legitimate; and there is in fact a great argument from beauty of both sound and sight, to its originating cause and contriver, which is last and best set forth in Dr. Mozley's *Sermon on Nature*.[1] We conjecture of Heaven through the Beatitudes; because to be, and to be with, spirits absolutely made perfect in them must be blessedness absolute; and there is something quite intelligible in us here in the world which seems to lead to that. So we conjecture through faculties and characteristics of human nature, that is to say practically, of our own nature. A colourist's delight in colour is simply a harmless human emotion, let us say: but it certainly is given us to suppose that he may have it intensified in the Spirit. A musician's sense of perfect sound may make him somewhat dreamy here; but he has all the more reason to suppose it will entirely and for ever transport him in the world to come.

IV. Man is made in the image of God; and fallen and corrupted as he is at best, he can receive no image of his Maker

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 19, April, 1880.

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except in the dark and limited mirror of his own mind; and he can only conjecture of his Maker by the analogies of his own mental and moral structure. A certain necessary risk of anthropomorphism follows, best guarded against by Dean Mansel's well-drawn distinction between likeness and analogy. We do not think of angelic harps, like Welsh harps or Egyptian harps, or Erard's patent, but we do of the thrill of perfect sound on spiritualized nerve. Our conjectures of an infinite state of happiness must be at present formed from human happiness; and we can only see that in our own personal mirror; so that each of us in earnest attempt to realize what Heaven may be like must think of what it will be himself to see God, himself to hear and join in the song of an infinite host. Their praise may be perfect joy to us: we shall not want to review it or analyse it, or want anything but it. It is intelligible that those who have allowed natural growth to their inborn powers of sympathy; not encouraging them by way of sensation, but simply by seeking God with their neighbour and together, will find new sources of happiness and love also, or may experience a kind of fusion in mutual regard, in this element of praise. Perhaps our loftiest speculations about ourselves may point to some partial divestment of personality; a self-forgetfulness whereby at least all distinguishing marks of sin and sorrow shall be lost; and an absorption, whereby the whole will or moral being may be merged in the Divine Will. Something of this kind seems to be implied in the virtual annihilation of evil will and wayward choice from the moral being, as of doubt and pride from the intellectual. Our notions of the restored state must be formed from our notions of the restored soul; and those again will always depend greatly on what we think our own souls may be restored to.

And here opens the great desert of difference in human conception: between the childish or anthropomorphic ideal of the simple, the contemplative view of thoughtful people, and the active one of the busy:—

> 'Houries for boys, omniscience for sages,
> And wings and glories for all ranks and ages.'

Speculation on what Heaven is like is a very different thing from belief in Heaven. It is the work of imagination, and imagination is of the individual; attempts at realization must be somebody's attempts, and the result his result. Great differences in speculation are to be expected: it is not forbidden to those who can remember how weak and tentative it must be. But as these differences in fore-

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cast are popularly used to throw discredit on the great underlying Reality,[1] it seems right to observe that, on the Christian hypothesis, they cannot do so. That all sorts of persons should think eagerly about Heaven is, *valeat quantum*, an argument for the existence of a spiritual state which goes by that name. That they think variously, seems a necessity anticipated by our Lord's words of the many mansions in His Father's house; which also account for all promises of the simpler forms of happiness. That many think carnally may be only a part of the corruption or spoiling of their original or better nature; and, as a fact, their anticipations are often raised and refined in their spiritual progress here. That some think quite amiss is only a proof that the heart of man is deceitful as well as desperately wicked; able to delude itself with visions of eternal revenge or eternal sensuality. But as we possess by gift of God certain δυνάμεις of happiness (called by analogy virtues), there is no harm in conceiving of them as developed by the Infinite Factor into a perfect happiness past description or definition. Our conjectures vary as to these δυνάμεις, and according to our age and experience. Luther's child-heaven is of a piece with Angelico's, though more realistic; it is fitted for those who shall enter it. To the taste of the great French moralist, the extreme happiness of men is found '*quand ils pensent juste:*' which, if it allowed the possibility of the author's expecting any Heaven at all, would point to a state of eternal epigram; and we do not know if that is better or worse than a hunter's Paradise.[2] What Xenophanes said of men's inventing to themselves gods in their own likeness fits exactly with their evolution of personal heavens to suit their own taste. How pathetic, how helpless, how grotesque, how naïvely pedantic, how sad and hopeless are what men call their hopes; when they are too limited and self-bound! Strong will, profound interest, and deep-engraven idiosyncrasy cannot bear to think of themselves as being or doing anything very unlike what they are at in life. If they have delighted in contem-

[1] *e.g.* Byron, *Don Juan*, viii. 114 and *passim*.

[2] 'Reminiscences of the Lewis.' 'I do own to having once entertained an idea of Paradise as a large grass vale, enclosed by light stake-bound fences, with only ditches, and no rails on the landing side—intersected by meandering salmon-streams, and bounded by umbrageous mountains, on whose slopes fed huge and innumerable royals.'

Compare Richard of Hampole at the end of this Essay. This, if compared with Dante's conception, will show how unprogressive the mind of man is, in thought of things really worth thinking about.—(Milman, *Latin Christianity*, lib. xiv. ii., vol. ix.)

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plation, they take the contemplative view, and *vice versâ*. Socrates was both energetic and deeply abstracted in turn; and his forecast of Heaven, as we know, was a state of perpetual examination. It is a strange thing to reflect on, that the best man and best mind of Greece could only arrive at the notion of a heaven of irony. It is less priggish, no doubt, than the great French moralist's ideal; and is far superior to poor Charles Lamb's misgivings, in which irony took such a part. He protests, as follows, against any change at all: it is half jest, but also half earnest, very charming and distressing to read. He won't go anywhere if he can help it:—

'A new state of being staggers me. Sun and sky, and breeze, and solitary walks, and summer holidays, and the greenness of fields, and the delicious juices of meats and fishes, and the cheerful glass, and candle-light, and fireside conversations, and innocent vanities and jests, *and irony itself*—do these things go out with life? . . . I am in love with this green earth . . . my household gods plant a terribly fixed foot, and are not rooted up without blood. And you, my folios!—must knowledge come to me, if it come at all, by some awkward experiment of intuition, and no longer by the familiar process of reading?'

Setting aside (if one could) the humour of all this, and (what is at the bottom of it all) Lamb's elvish enjoyment in shocking all sorts of good people to whom he considered consternation was due, it is a sincere outburst of the natural man, which probably no other man ever lived to express so naturally. It may be half-heathen; but then the terrors of the soul are, in fact, ethnic, or heathen, or common to all souls: all the consolations belong to the Faith. The Lord's Resurrection is the conclusive Gospel of our life beyond the grave; and without it Immortality is to us a mere subjective speculation. But this untaught and therefore uncomforted dread of death is what unrealized Christianity must come to. Men sustain, or are upheld in, the Christian moral standard; in right-doing, honour, kindness without limit, love for all noble deeds and words. They own the name of Christ in a way, and are supported by the body of believers who assert and defend the definite Creed, without caring enough for it themselves. The Resurrection is a part of it, a doctrine to be held, that is to say, to be held on to; and unless you contend for it, it cannot help your sad inborn apprehensions of the Shadow of Death. Our little present consciousness is an awful thing to go forth of. Charles Lamb had had plenty of conventional instruction; but confesses

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the pathetic terrors of ignorance uncomforted. Christ's Hospital seems to have taught him about as much of its Patron as S. Ebbe's or S. Aldate's schools in Oxford teach about S. Aldate or S. Ebba. He never said a word to make one doubt his holding the Christian creed in theory; but like so many, he hardly ever seems to have asked it what it could do for him, all through the continuous sufferings of his most painful life, and in the extreme need whose terrors he so well forecast. For such terror is indeed the lot of almost all believing or even thoughtful people. It is, perhaps, as well described as human language can speak at the beginning of the Dream of Gerontius; but is once and for ever expressed by our Lord's use of Psalm xxii. 1, before He Himself gave up the ghost.

From man's moral nature, and its contact with worldly environment, Butler evolved his Argument of Analogy; not to take the place of positive Evidences of Faith (as he protests, and his critics will not allow), but for collateral demonstration that the Faith is reasonable. In the same way, by analogy of the internal qualities of man, which on our hypothesis are gifts of God, we are enabled to reason to a possibility of His making man entirely blessed through their infinite development, and through their reaching Him, who is their object. And unquestionably many good men, possessing excellent gifts, are very different from each other, and develop their gifts in almost contradictory ways; and at present are often unhappy enough neither to desire nor expect the society of their fellows in their Father's house. It follows from the necessary individuality of our conceptions that they are often, on the face of them, narrow and inadequate; in fact, wrong or irreverent. Still, the promise of many abodes there with Him seems to have anticipated this difficulty in a somewhat extraordinary way. No doubt personal anticipations do clash; and that generally because people cannot, as we have said, forget themselves; but will settle matters for themselves in anthropomorphic detail. I remember an article in the *Contemporary Review* (vol. xvii.) concerning a Spiritual Theory of another Life, in which the author seemed to have made up his mind rather definitely against contemplative employment for the blessed; who ought, as he conceived, to be above it. He anticipated a state of remedial activity, mingled with anxiety, and even suffering; which struck an anxious person, not unacquainted with trouble, as disconcerting. The author had chosen David Livingstone as his ideal, and a very good one, too; but he went

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on to say that that great man would never be able to get on in heaven unless he had plenty of work like what he had been doing on earth. He would feel, in fact, indolent and superannuated, though being with Christ, if he had not his great dark continent to toil and starve in. A missionary must be always on mission. But it seems that by parity of reasoning, other ministerial occupations would expect immortal continuance, and that, it would seem, involves confusion; because, as they are all part of a remedial struggle against evil, they seem to create a demand for evil in heaven to struggle against; and the popular hope to get rid of it there is much encouraged in Holy Scripture.

Perhaps in the spiritual life the active and contemplative service of God may be more nearly related than they are here in the body; or they may be identical. The Christian notion of a continued service of praise has been exposed to great contempt, and it may be absurd enough to those who don't go to church here; but when you have done so pretty regularly for fifty years, you understand, after much weariness, that the service is not all weariness, but contains experiences of rest and a kind of happiness, which may become altogether transporting as well as permanent, when the possibility of weariness is withdrawn; when all the symbolism of the service is exchanged for reality, and all that is unknown in it cleared up in the light of perfect day. Dante's ideal is not of bustle or labour, or even of missionary enterprise and new markets; but bears, so to speak, a liturgical character of contemplation and praise; not as acts involving time and fatigue, but as a new nature; as a normal outflow from restored souls, penetrated through their whole consciousness with an atmosphere of delight, with the pleasure which is in God's presence for evermore. This David certainly anticipated after death; he expected to see his dead child again in that Presence, and therefore in eternal joy. Culture has settled that he knew no more than Hadrian into what regions his or its *animula* would depart; but he certainly hit on the correct expression for the hopes of an exceeding great multitude from his time to this.

* * * * * *

We cannot close this essay without some sketch of the subject of Heaven or the presence of God, as conceived by the Early Church. All the earliest Christian representations, or rather symbolisms of Heaven, sculptured or inlaid, are connected with the form of Our Lord. His presence with His Apostles in glory is certainly intended on some fourth century

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sarcophagi. It is felt that where He shows His face in glory there is Heaven. He is generally placed on the Rock of the Four Rivers of Paradise, bearing the cross of triumph, and standing above the veiled and aged form of Uranus, who represents the firmament which is under His feet. And when the Apostles fill their niches at His side also, and the miracles of love and power are carved around, one cannot doubt that this idea is to be conveyed: that we, all living men, are to look to a time when we shall see Him as He is, and a state of joy in His presence shall verily begin for us and not end. It is the promise of the third Beatitude. In point of fact this, as Dante really felt, is the central notion of Heaven beyond which the human soul cannot reach, and which, indeed, it can now only apprehend at a distance. All questions about employment, active or contemplative, about continued strife and victory over evil, about incessant ascription and reverberation of praise, seem to answer themselves or to disappear in this great Ideal of His presence, filling all things including ourselves. This is the centre of Dante's and Milton's hierarchies; and the earliest Christian tombs expressed it in their way. They date from the Anician sarcophagi, of Junius Bassus, Probus and Proba, in 359 and 360. Sculpture dies away altogether in the next century, and mosaic takes its place. Eastern instinct of colour is then the only poetic gift remaining to the Empire; and the growing distresses of the Church, and her burden of doubt and controversy, turn the ascetic artist to the Revelation of S. John. He there finds descriptions of things seen in the spirit, which he himself hopes to see; and finds that he can produce some reflection of his imaginations about them; and not without power, thanks to the gem-like colours of his mosaics. He begins with the presence of Christ with the saints, which is or constitutes Heaven to them. The typical example, perhaps, may be the mosaic in the Church at S. Apollinare nella Città in Ravenna. Here there is on the frieze, above the central aisle-columns of the basilica, a procession in mosaic of male and female saints, men on one side adoring the Lord Himself in glory, on the other women, headed by the Magi, approaching Him as the Holy Child in the arms of His mother. The head of the Saviour is very beautiful, though it shows much of the sadness of decadent art. All the figures are white-robed, and walk on emerald-green turf; separated from each other by palms (as often in the sarcophagi), but the trees here bear scarlet dates. The figures are shed with scarlet, and bear small crowns of

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the same colour in their hands, in act to cast them before the Lord. The background is of gold, not bearing a large proportion to the size of the figures; but above them are white single figures with ample golden spaces; and a third course of curious mosaic subjects from the New Testament runs round below the roof, with grounds of alternate gold and black.[1] The splendid and jewelled effect of the whole is beyond praise; but there is a perhaps even more striking example of the treatment of the same subject in S. Prassede at Rome.[2] The Court of Heaven is on the chancel-arch, and on its sides the saints and martyrs in white robes with the laticlave are casting down their crowns.[3] Here the Lamb is over the arch, placed on a jewelled throne like a modern Anglican altar-table, with a plain cross above, and a jewelled Book on the step; on either side two angels, with the nimbus, and standing on the clouds. At one end is the evangelistic man-symbol of S. Matthew; at the other, S. John's eagle. The other two symbols and the twenty-four elders have been destroyed. On the vault of the apse, or tribune, are large figures representing the introduction of the two Saints to our Lord (with S. Felix as church-builder) by SS. Peter and Paul. The martyrs bear their crowns, but the group may; perhaps, involve a slight bathos, as the special elevation of any particular modern person in pictures of Heaven always does. This picture, too, is noticed by M. Vitet as the first one which adopts the grimly-ascetic type of face for saints; its date synchronizes well with that of the mournful Redeemer of S. Apollinare nella Città at Ravenna. But the form of Christ redeems all. He is standing on the clouds, and it is dark under His feet. The idea of the sarcophagi is expanded; the firmament is beneath Him, and He walks upon the wings of the wind. The face is grave and stern; but the majesty of the whole figure amounts to awe; it seems to tower and fill the Temple, and impress its appearance on the worshipper. It has often seemed to me that, if Phidias had entered such an apse, he would have been strangely reminded of the effect of his own vast Agalmata, and might have thought that, as barbarians working for barbarians, these

[1] For Ravenna, see Mr. Parkes' *Mosaics*, &c., or Von Quast's standard work in colour.

[2] See Parker's *Archæology of Rome*, part xi. S. Prassede was rebuilt on a new site in the time of Paschal I., A.D. 817–829. His monogram remains on the Arch of Triumph, above the altar; and an inscription in mosaic letters also records that the picture is his work.

[3] The central picture is copied from that of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, built by Felix IV., A.D. 526–530.

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melancholy men of Hesperia had produced nearly the same result as he. In this mosaic, as in others, the Church militant on earth is represented by thirteen sheep; one the central Lamb of God, the others standing for the Apostles, as first-fruits of mankind. In S. Prassede, and elsewhere, they are separated from the place of Glory by a winding ribbon of blue mosaic, which generally bears on it the name JORDANES; and they issue six on a side from the two houses or cities, HIERUSALEM and BETHLEHEM. Sometimes they are surrounded (see S. Apollinar's in Classe) by strange representations of trees and bushes, which probably stand for the wilderness of this world.

The purpose of this essay is answered if it has pointed out that these and other primitive pictures of Heaven are consciously symbolic, and never were thought of as literal: as the Apocalypse itself is a vision of mysteries, things which shall be hereafter; but how far like them in literal actuality the Church knows not as yet. But there is one step for us further backward into antiquity, and that a long one. It is quite understood by archæologists how closely the Evangelistic symbols of the Apocalypse, which occur in almost every early Heaven, are connected with the cherubic vision of Ezekiel.[1] This connexion struck the Gothic imagination, as we see by the Lombard Griffins of Verona and Siena (see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. p. 112), which often bear wheels to carry back the mind to the beginning of his prophecy; and all readers of Dante will remember the griffin-chariot at the end of the Purgatorio. But its first representation in Art is that of the Ascension Chariot of our Lord in the wonderful sixth-century MS. of Rabula, the Syrian monk of Zagba, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which greatly and curiously resembles the allegory of Dante. But it cannot be doubted that the forms described by Ezekiel in ch. 1 were known to him as Cherubs of Glory, by reason of his being a priest, acquainted, as other Israelites were not, with the shapes on the Ark of the Covenant. He must have felt that he was permitted to see what Moses had seen. These visions do in fact, and in the most solemn way, assert God's special manifestation of Himself to the human consciousness. They may or may not be dismissed as figments, but this is what they proclaim; and the descriptive language verily is that of men who have seen

[1] For the etymology of the word Cherub, its connexion with Gryps or Griffin, see Dr. Hayman's article in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, *s. v.* Cherub.

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things beyond words, the fourfold Faces and Wings which make such wild grotesques under human realization; the Wheels in whom was the Spirit of the Living Creatures; to whom was said, 'O Wheel!' The great cloud out of the north, the fire enfolding itself, the shapes of lightning, the firmament above as terrible crystal, the brightness of amber and flame, and the likeness of a Throne and One sitting thereon: these are the expressions of a man who, having seen the glory of God, finds his powers of conception and expression, the thought of his brain and the language of his fathers, fail him altogether.

It is an odd kind of harmonious contrast to place, beside this view of God's presence experienced in ecstasy, the negative or human attempt to express the soul's desire of deliverance from evil, made by Richard of Hampole before Chaucer's day. He must have thought long of the Paradise of his hopes, and seen much of the world he hoped to exchange for it.

'Ther is lyf withoute ony deth,
And ther is youthe withoute ony elde,
And ther is alle manner welth to welde,
And ther is rest without ony travaille,
And ther is pees without ony strife,
And ther is alle mannere likynge of life.
And ther is bright somer ever to be;
And ther is nevere wynter in that cuntree;
And ther is more worshipe and honour
Than ever hadde kynge other emperour.
And ther is greter melodie of aungeles songe,
And ther is preysing hem amonge;
And ther is alle maner friendship that may be,
And ther is evere perfect love and charitie;
And ther is wisdom without folye.
And ther is honeste without vilenage,
All these a man may joyes of Heven call,
And yette the most sovereign joye of alle
Is the sight of Goddes bright face
In whom resteth alle manere grace.

Richard of Hampole, quoted from MSS. by Turner, *History of England*, v. 233.[1]

This poem, the 'Pricke of Conscience,' by Richard Rolle de Hampole, has been printed (1863) by the Philological Society.

[1] See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, xiv. 11, vol. ix. p. 97, ed. 1867.

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ART. V.—THE SACRIFICIAL TEACHING OF THE ANCIENT LITURGIES.

1. *Liturgies: Eastern and Western.* Edited by C. E. HAMMOND. (Oxford: 1879.)
2. *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio.* Opera EUSEBII RENAUDOTII. (Paris: 1716.)
3. *The Nestorians and their Rituals.* By the Rev. GEORGE PERCY BADGER. (London: 1852.)
4. *Notitia Eucharistica.* By the Rev. W. E. SCUDAMORE. Second Edition. (London: 1876.)
5. *Benedictus XIV.: De Sacrificio Missæ.* (Patavii: 1755.)
6. *Theological Defence for the Right Rev. Alexander Penrose Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.* (London, 1860.)
7. *The One Offering: a Treatise on the Sacrificial Nature of the Eucharist.* By the Rev. M. F. SADLER. (London: 1875.)
8. *The Teaching of the Church during the First Three Centuries on the Doctrines of the Christian Priesthood and Sacrifice.* By the Rev. CHARLES BERNARD DRAKE, M.A. (London: 1874.)
9. *The Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist: An Eirenicon.* By the Rev. E. F. WILLIS. (Oxford: 1878.)

WHEN reviewing, in our last number but one, Mr. Hutton's work against the Anglican priesthood, and Cardinal Newman's most unfortunate Preface thereto, we had occasion to point out the manner in which the peculiar structure of the Roman Missal (whether original, or due to unskilful reconstruction at an early date) causes it to fail when called in witness to the received doctrine of the Church of Rome on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as formulated by the Council of Trent in its twenty-second Session. And, while rejecting for ourselves that view of Waterland's which the Cardinal alleged to be the highest doctrine fairly tenable in the Church of England, we showed that Waterland would have had a good deal more to say in defence of his opinions had he been dealing with the Roman Liturgy instead of the Anglican one. But Cardinal Newman would have been quite justified by facts had he urged that Waterland is regarded by a not insignificant section of English Churchmen as a satisfactory exponent of Eucharistic doctrine, so that his treatise has consequently enjoyed the little-merited honour of a modern reprint, and has even been

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put in the examination lists of more than one bishop. Nor is acceptance of his theory entirely confined to those who make no claim to belong to the historical High Church succession. There are minds so constituted as to have a stronger affinity for negative assertions than for positive ones; and several of these in our own days fasten, as it were instinctively, and certainly with tenacity, on those expressions only of writers like Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, Mede, Cosin, and Bramhall, which are directed against what they regarded as excessive or erroneous definitions on the part of Roman Catholic divines, while their positive statements as to what they actually believed themselves are passed by as of no moment. And one consequence of such a temper is that the ancient Liturgies—so far as men of this stamp refer to them at all, or accept them as evidence of early Christian doctrine—have been approached in the same spirit, and Waterlandism, with its formal and pre-eminently unevangelical denial of any offering of Christ in the Eucharist, has been read into them as resolutely as the Privy Council has read a penal prohibition of the vestments of the second year of Edward VI. into the Ornaments Rubric. When this is so, it is not surprising that the Fathers have fared no better, and that small account has been taken of the fact that they wrote for people whose chief religious service was the Holy Eucharist, celebrated in the then vernacular, and that they had thus little occasion to dwell on aspects of doctrine which were brought before the Christian public, at least once weekly, in definite language and action.

We do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion of the general question of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the present paper, which is designed rather as a collection of materials, whence our readers can draw conclusions for themselves; but it is necessary to preface the following catena of quotations with a few words to the effect that the Oriental Liturgies, whatever interpolations and accretions they may have suffered in the lapse of time, are, with very few and trifling exceptions, structurally now what they have been from the beginning, and have undergone no such process of hewing asunder and readjusting in a changed order, as is not less visible in the Roman and Ambrosian Missals than in the Anglican one, to the trained eyes of liturgical experts. Consequently, they are organic wholes, leading up from the first to one definite climax, and therefore not hesitating to employ in their earlier portions language which, on any strict application of the element of time, seems at least premature, but which is due

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to a process of anticipation, natural enough in a rite viewed as one unbrokenly continuous action throughout, and which process, often at least, is couched in terms plainly implying a still future fulfilment. And it is further to be observed that the stronger any such expressions are which occur before the actual Consecration of the Gifts, the more difficult do they make the task of minimizers, because no parallel for such terms of awe and reverence can be discovered in the most fervid Rabbinical teachings relating to the Levitical ordinances; and still less in anything we can gather from classical Paganism in its allusions to the sacrifices of heathen temples. To suppose that the Christians of a lettered era, such as that of the Antonines and their immediate successors, with a powerful Hebrew tradition in their own ranks to influence them on the one hand, while having on the other the strongest motive for avoiding anything which savoured of heathen superstition and idolatry, could have deliberately adopted language and ideas relating to a mere symbolical offering of the fruits of the earth, which were capable of becoming even the germ of the liturgies of the fourth century—if no claim for a much earlier date be made for the oldest rites, as it well may be—is a hypothesis beset with critical and moral difficulties which are simply insurmountable; as they require us to acknowledge the prevalence of a superstitious credulity amongst the evangelizers of the Roman Empire, which sinks below the level of even Egyptian heathenism itself, not to say such comparatively lofty idolatry as the worship of Jupiter and Apollo.

The subjoined citations are arranged in the order of their occurrence in the several liturgies quoted, distinguishing phrases used in the introductory or 'pro-anaphoral' portion from those in the actual Canon or Anaphora, and from the rarer post-communion allusions; but no inquiry is here instituted respecting the date or authenticity of the documents employed, which is an altogether different branch of the subject, and not immediately relevant.

I. *The Liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions, or Clementine Liturgy.*

In this Liturgy there is no pro-anaphoral reference to the act of Sacrifice, and the first phrase of the kind which occurs is in the Canon, immediately after the recitation of the Institution, thus:

(*a.*) 'Wherefore, having in remembrance His Passion, Death, and Resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven, and His future second appearing, when He shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according

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to his works: we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to this institution, this Bread and this Cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice unto Thee. And we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest look graciously on these gifts now lying before Thee, O Thou self-sufficing God, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ. And send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, on this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ.'

It is at this point, and by this Invocation, according to the unanimous teaching of the Oriental Churches, that the Act of Consecration takes place, and not by the recitation of the words of Institution. Consequently, so far, only a presentation of bread and wine has been made. But at the close of the general Intercession, and after the full Consecration, the Deacon proclaims:

(*b.*) 'Again and again let us pray to God through His Christ on behalf of the gift that is offered to the Lord God; that the good God may receive it through the mediation of His Christ at His heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savour.'

To understand the full meaning of these words, in themselves not intensified at all, as compared with the preceding clause, it is needful to cite the remarkable hymn of Eucharistic adoration, with which the congregation responds to the Bishop's words, 'Holy things for holy persons,' uttered at the point where the elevation of the Gifts takes place in other Liturgies, and therefore presumably did so in this one also. It runs:

'One Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed for evermore. Amen. Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord. God is the Lord, and He hath appeared unto us. Hosanna in the highest.'

This is decisive as to *what*, in the intention of the Clementine Liturgy, was being offered conjointly at the earthly and heavenly altars.

II. *Greek S. James.*

This very ancient relic is much fuller than the preceding liturgy in its references to sacrifice, which begin at the very outset of the rite; for the celebrant, in the opening prayer, uses the following words in the course of his petitions:

(*a.*) '. . . I am not worthy to present myself before this Thy sacred and spiritual table, where Thine Only Begotten Son, and our

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Lord Jesus Christ, is mystically set forth (προκειται) as a Sacrifice for me a sinner, marked with every stain.'

(*b.*) At the Prayer of the Incense, the priest continues:

'. . . . Purify us from every spot, and cause us to stand pure before Thy holy Altar, that we may offer to Thee the sacrifice of praise.'

(*c.*) At the Little Entrance, the priest says:

'. . . Seeing that we are full of fear and trembling, when about to stand before Thy holy Altar, send down upon us, O Lord, Thy good grace, and sanctify our minds and bodies and spirits, and change our dispositions towards piety, that we, with a pure conscience, may offer to Thee gifts, presents, fruits, to the putting away of our transgressions, and for the purification of all Thy people, through,' &c.

(*d.*) Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn:

'Let all mortal flesh keep silence, and stand with fear and trembling, and ponder nothing earthly in itself; for the King of kings and Lord of lords, Christ our God, cometh forward to be sacrificed, and to be given for food to the faithful.'

(*e.*) First Prayer of Oblation of the Gifts (the Great Entrance):

'O God, our God, Who didst send forth the Heavenly Bread, the nourishment of the whole world, our Lord Jesus Christ, as our Saviour and Redeemer, and Benefactor; blessing and sanctifying us, Thyself bless this offering, and receive it at Thy super-celestial Altar . . .'

(*f.*) Second Prayer of Oblation, after the Great Intercession:

'Lord and Master, Thou that dost visit us with mercies and loving-kindnesses, and hast freely given boldness to us Thy humble, sinful, and unworthy servants, to stand before Thy holy altar, and to offer to Thee the awful and unbloody sacrifice for our sins and for the ignorance of the people . . . Vouchsafe, Master, that we may be servants of Thy New Testament, ministers of Thy spotless mysteries; and according to the multitude of Thy mercy receive us, who approach to Thy holy altar, that we may be worthy to offer to Thee gifts and sacrifices for our own ignorances and for those of the people; and grant us, O Lord, with all fear and with a good conscience to set before Thee this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice, receiving which unto Thy holy and super-celestial and rational Altar, for a savour of spiritual sweetness, send down to us in its stead the grace of Thine all-holy Spirit. Yea, O God, look upon us, and have regard to this our reasonable sacrifice, and receive (as Thou didst receive the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the priestly offerings of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel, the repentance of David, the incense of Zacharias; as Thou didst receive from the hand of Thine

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Apostles this true worship), thus receive also from the hands of us sinners, in Thy goodness, these gifts that are laid before Thee. And grant that our oblations may be well-pleasing to Thee, and hallowed by the Holy Ghost, for a propitiation of our transgressions, and of the ignorance of the people, and for the repose of the souls that have fallen asleep.'

(*g.*) After the words of Institution, and before the Invocation, the Priest says:

'We therefore also . . . offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice.'

(*h.*) After the Consecration he adds:

'We offer them [the gifts] also to Thee, O Lord, for Thy holy place and for Thy Holy Catholic Apostolic Church throughout the world.'

(*i.*) After the elevation at the 'Holy Things,' &c.:

'Behold the Lamb of God, and Son of the Father, that taketh away the sin of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world.'

III. *Syriac S. James*, an independent variant of the same norm:

(*a.*) After the opening prayer, the Deacon says:

'Let us stand fitly and pray, let us give thanks, let us worship and praise the living Lamb of God, which is offered upon the Altar.'

(*b.*) The Priest, immediately afterwards:

'. . . Turn not Thy face from us whilst we celebrate this spiritual [*v. l.* awful] and unbloody sacrifice.'

(*c.*) At the Offertory, and after the words of Institution:

. . . 'We offer to Thee this awful and unbloody sacrifice, that Thou mayest not deal with us, O Lord, according to our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities . . .'

(*d.*) After the Invocation:

'Wherefore we offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice for Thy holy place . . .' (and so on through the Great Intercession for quick and dead, during which, at the commemoration of the Saints, is said as follows):—

(*e.*) 'Wherefore we make commemoration of them, that whilst they stand before Thy throne, they may remember our humility and weakness, and together with us offer unto Thee this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, for the safe-keeping of the living, for the consolation of the weak and the unworthy, such as we are; for the repose

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and happy memory of them who have long since departed in the true faith, our fathers, brethren, and masters,' &c.

(*f.*) The 'Catholic' prayer, after the Fraction:

'Again and again through this holy oblation and propitiatory sacrifice, which is offered to God the Father, and is hallowed, completed, and perfected by the descent of the Holy and quickening Spirit, we pray again more earnestly for our eminent father the Priest who hath offered and consecrated it, and for the altar of God whereon it is presented, and for the blessed people who draw near and receive it in true faith, and for those on whose behalf it is offered and consecrated . . . Receive this oblation, O Lord, as that of the Prophets and Apostles.'

(*g.*) After the 'Holy Things, &c.' the Deacon says:

'. . . The Heavenly Powers stand with us in the midst of the sanctuary, and do service to the Body of the Son of God, which is sacrificed before us.'

(*h.*) Prayer for the Dead, found in some MSS. of this Liturgy:

'Behold, the oblation is offered, and behold, the souls are purified. Let repose be attained thereby for the dead, on whose behalf it is offered. That oblation which is brought by the living for the dead, expiates the iniquity of the soul, and by it their sins are remitted.'

IV. *Liturgy of S. Mark.*

(*a.*) Prayer of the Little Entrance:

'. . . Purify our lips and our hearts from all pollution and from all iniquity; that with a pure heart and pure conscience, we may offer to Thee this sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour, and for the remission of our sins, and of the sins of Thy people.'

(*b.*) Prayer of the Incense:

'Incense is offered to Thy Name. Let it ascend, we pray Thee, out of the poor hands of us sinners, to Thy super-celestial altar, as a sweet-smelling savour for the propitiation of all Thy people.'

(*c.*) Prayer of the Oblation:

'We offer to Thee this reasonable unbloody sacrifice, which all nations offer to Thee, O Lord, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, from the north to the south, for Thy Name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to Thy Name, and a pure offering.'

(*d.*) After the Commemoration of the Departed:

'The thank-offerings of them that offer sacrifices and oblations receive, O God, to Thy holy and super-celestial and spiritual altar,

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to the height of the heavens, by Thine archangelic Ministry, [those] of them that offered much or little, secretly and with open boldness, of them that desired, and had not wherewithal to offer, of them that have brought this day their oblations; as Thou didst receive the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, [*Here the Priest offers incense, and adds*] the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the two mites of the widow, receive also their thank-offerings,' &c.

The post-consecration portion of this Liturgy dwells almost exclusively on the act and benefits of Communion, and is sacrificial only by implication. That is to say, it is perfectly easy to read a sacrificial meaning into several of its phrases, and it is the most probable one of which they are patient, but express words to that effect are absent: a peculiarity in which S. Mark stands well-nigh alone amongst ancient Liturgies, and in which it is not followed by those other Alexandrine rites whose norm it is.

V. *Greek Liturgy of S. Basil.*

(*a.*) Prayer of the Offertory:

'. . . Receive us, according to the multitude of Thy mercy, who draw near to Thy holy altar, that we may be worthy to offer Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, for our own sins, and for the ignorances of the people: receiving which at Thy holy and spiritual altar for a sweet-smelling savour, send down on us in return the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. Regard us, O Lord, and look upon this our service, and accept it, as Thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the whole burnt-offerings of Abraham, the priestly ministrations of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel; as Thou didst accept this true service from Thy holy Apostles, so accept these gifts in Thy goodness, O Lord, from the hands of us sinners, that, counted worthy to minister blamelessly at Thy holy altar, we may find the reward of faithful and wise stewards, in the dreadful day of Thy just retribution.'

(*b.*) After the words of Institution, the Priest continues:

'Therefore we also, O Master, remembering the saving Passion, the quickening Cross, the three days' burial, the Resurrection from the dead, the Ascension to the heavens, the Session on Thy right hand, God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second Advent, offer Thee Thine own of Thine own.'

The other relevant portions of this Liturgy are supplied from that which follows.

VI. *Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*

(*a.*) First Prayer of the Faithful:

'. . . Receive, O God, our supplications; make us worthy to offer to Thee supplications and prayers, and unbloody sacrifices for all Thy people.'

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(*b.*) Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn:

'Thou didst take the title of our High Priest, and didst give to us the priestly office of this liturgical and unbloody sacrifice . . . . Strengthen, with the might of Thy Holy Spirit, me that have been endued with the grace of the Priesthood, that I may stand by this Thy holy altar, and sacrifice Thy holy and spotless Body and precious Blood. For I draw near to Thee, bowing my neck, and I pray Thee: Turn not Thy face away from me, nor reject me from the number of Thy sons; but vouchsafe that these gifts may be offered to Thee by me, a sinner and Thine unworthy servant. For Thou art He that offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ our God, and to Thee we ascribe glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever and to ages of ages: Amen.'

(*c.*) Prayer of Oblation:

'Lord God Almighty, Only Holy, Who receivest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon Thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplication of us sinners, and cause it to approach to Thy holy altar, and enable us to present gifts to Thee, and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and for the errors of the people: and cause us to find grace in Thy sight, that this our sacrifice may be acceptable unto Thee, and that the good Spirit of Thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto Thee, and upon all Thy people.'

(*d.*) After the Words of Institution, and the Commemoration of the Passion, &c.:

'In behalf of all, and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own.'

(*e.*) After the Invocation:

'And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith.'

(*f.*) 'Furthermore, we offer to Thee this reasonable service for the whole world; for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and for them that live in chastity and holiness of life, for our most faithful sovereigns, beloved of Christ, all their court and army,' &c.

(*g.*) At the Fraction:

'The Lamb of God is broken and distributed: He that is broken and not divided in sunder; ever eaten and never consumed, but sanctifying the communicants.'

VII. *Armenian Liturgy.*

(*a.*) Prayer before the Oblation:

'. . . And since one of the Most Holy Trinity is being offered, and another takes pleasure in us through the blood of His firstborn

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Son that reconciles us to Him, do Thou, O Holy Spirit, receive our supplications, and make us a fit habitation for Thee, through every worthy preparation for the delicious tasting of the Heavenly Lamb.'

(*b.*) Prayer of the Oblation:

'O Lord God, our Saviour, Preserver, and Benefactor, Who didst send into the world the heavenly Bread of our Lord Jesus Christ as food for this world, to bless and to sanctify us; be pleased, O Lord, Thyself to bless this our oblation. Receive it on thy heavenly table. Remember, beneficent and loving as Thou art, both those who offer it to Thee, and those for whom it is offered.'

(*c.*) Censing the Oblation, the priest says:

'I offer Thee incense, O Christ, the sweet smell of a spiritual offering. Receive it as a sweet-smelling savour into Thy heavenly and intellectual place of offering,' &c.

(*d.*) Hymn of the Incense:

'. . . We, of the orders of priests, deacons, clerks, and ecclesiastics, gathered together on this day, offer Thee incense, O Lord, after the example of Zacharias of old. Let our supplications, sent up through this incense, be acceptable unto Thee, as were the sacrifices of Abel, Noah, and Abraham.'

(*e.*) Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn.
As in *S. Chrysostom* (VI. *b*) with slight verbal differences.

(*f.*) Prayer of Oblation:

'. . . Thou, O Lord, to Whom we offer this oblation, accept this our presentation, and consummate it into a sacramental rite and offering of the Body and Blood of Thine only Begotten Son.'

(*g.*) After the Kiss of Peace, the deacon says:

'Christ, the Lamb of God, is offered in sacrifice.'

(*h.*) After the words of Institution, the priest, taking the oblations in his hands, says:

'We, therefore, O Lord, presenting unto Thee this saving Mystery of the Body and Blood of Thine Only Begotten Son, . . . offer to Thee of Thine own, in all things and for all things.'

(*i.*) The whole of the Great Intercession, after the Invocation, is made through the merits of the Oblation, thus:

'Through it, grant love, security, and needed peace, to the whole world; to the Holy Church . . . kings of the earth and princes . . . &c.

'Through it, grant a wholesome blending of the air, and to the fields fruitfulness.

'Through it, grant repose to all who have ere now fallen asleep in Christ.'

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(*j*.) The Deacon's Intercession for the Living:

'We offer Thee, O God, praise and glory for the holy and immortal sacrifice which is on this holy Table, that Thou wilt vouchsafe it to be for us unto holiness of life. Through it grant love, safety, and needed peace to the whole world, to Thy Holy Church,' &c.

'Remember, O Lord, bless and have mercy on Thy congregation here present, and on those who offer this oblation and sacrifice.' &c.

'. . . We intreat the Lord through the holy and divine sacrifice which is on the Holy Table. We intreat the Lord our God, Who accepteth it, placed on His holy, heavenly and intellectual table, to send us in return for it the grace and gifts of His Holy Spirit.'

(*k*.) Prayer after the Elevation:

'Look upon us, O our Lord Jesu Christ, from Thy holy heavens, and from the throne of Thy glory; come to purify and quicken us, Thou who sittest with the Father, and art here offered; vouchsafe to give us of Thy spotless Body and of Thy precious Blood, and through our hands to all the congregation.'

(*l*.) Prayer of Communion, after the Fraction:

'Holy Father . . . vouchsafe to accept this holy Mystery for the remission of our sins . . . according to Thine unspeakable love, grant that this [Mystery] may be for the expiation of sins and the loosing of transgressions,' &c.

VIII. *Æthiopic Universal Canon.*

(*a*.) Prayer of Oblation:

'O Lord our God, Who didst receive the sacrifice of Abel in the field, of Noah in the ark, of Abraham on the mountain-top, of Elijah on Mount Carmel, of David in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, and the widow's mites in the sanctuary; so receive the oblation and sacrifice of Thy servants, which they have offered to Thy holy Name, and let it be for the remission of their sins, and of the sins of Thy people, and give them therefor a good return, in this world, and in that which is to come, now and ever, and to ages of ages, Amen.'

(*b*.) Second Prayer of Oblation:

'Jesu Christ, our King . . . show Thy face upon this Bread and on this Cup, which we have presented on this Thy spiritual altar: bless, hallow, and purify them, and change this Bread that it may become Thy pure Body, and that which is mingled in this Cup Thy precious Blood, and let them be for us an oblation unto healing and to the salvation of our soul and body . . . '

(*c*.) Prayer of the Incense:

'. . . Grant that we may offer to Thee a reasonable oblation and a spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving, that we may enter into the innermost of the Most Holy Place.'

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(*d.*) Prayer of the Great Oblation, after the words of Institution:

'Now, O Lord, making commemoration of Thy death and resurrection, we offer to Thee this Bread and this Cup, giving thanks to Thee, because through them Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee, and to do Thee priestly service.'

The latter portion of this Liturgy is mainly taken up with acts of Eucharistic adoration, and it has no more directly sacrificial clauses.

IX. *Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris*, or Persian rite.

(*a.*) Prayer of the Oblation:

'May Christ, Who was sacrificed for our salvation, and commanded that we should make commemoration of His death and resurrection, Himself receive this sacrifice from our weak hands, through His grace and mercies for ever. Amen.

'The august, holy, and quickening mysteries are set on the altar of the mighty God, until His coming, for ever. Amen.'

(*b.*) Orate Fratres:

'Pray for me, my fathers, brethren, and masters, that God may give me strength and power to fulfil this ministry to which I have drawn near, and may receive this oblation from my feeble hands, for myself, for you, and for the whole body of the Holy Catholic Church, through his grace and mercies, for ever. Amen.'

(*c.*) Response to the Orate Fratres:

'May Christ hear thy prayers, and accept thy sacrifice, and receive thine oblation, and honour thy priesthood, and grant us, through thine intervention, pardon of our sins and remission of our offences, through His grace and mercies, for ever. Amen.'

(*d.*) The priest rejoins, addressing the deacon:

'God, the Lord of all, confirm thy words, and grant thee peace, and receive this oblation from my hands, for me, and for thee, for the whole body of the Holy Catholic Church, and for the entire world, through His grace and mercies for ever. Amen.'

(*e.*) Secret Prayer of the Priest:

'O Lord God Almighty, help my weakness, through Thy mercy and the aid of Thy grace, and make me worthy to offer this oblation before Thee, for the common benefit of all, and to the praise of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.'

(*f.*) At the Preface, after the Sursum Corda, the priest says:

℣. 'The oblation is being offered to God, the Lord of all.' ℟. 'It is meet and right.'

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(*g.*) Prayer at the Incense:

'O Lord, O Lord, give me an open face before Thee, that with the confidence which cometh of Thee, we may accomplish this tremendous and divine sacrifice, with consciences void of all sin and bitterness.'

(*h.*) Great Intercession:

'O Lord God Almighty, receive this oblation, for the entire Holy Catholic Church; and for all our godly and righteous fathers who were well-pleasing unto Thee. . . . O Lord our God, according to Thy mercies, and the multitude of Thy graces, look on Thy people, and on me who am feeble, and not according to my sins and my ignorances; but that they may be worthy of remission of their sins through this holy Body, which they receive with faith, through the grace of Thy mercy, to ages of ages.'

(*i.*) Prayer of Bowing Down:

'O Lord, through Thy manifold and unspeakable mercies, grant a good and acceptable memorial to all our godly and righteous fathers, who were well-pleasing unto Thee, in the commemoration of the Body and Blood of Thy Christ, which we offer unto Thee upon Thy pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us, and grant us Thy peace all the days of this world.'

(*j.*) Invocation:

'And let Thine Holy Spirit come, O Lord, and brood upon this oblation of Thy servants, which they offer, and bless and hallow it, that it may be unto us, O Lord, for the propitiation of our sins and the remission of transgressions, for a great hope of resurrection from the dead, and new life in the kingdom of heaven. . . .'

(*k.*) At the Fraction:

'We draw near, O Lord, with true faith, and break with thanksgiving, and sign through Thy mercy, the Body and Blood of our Quickener, Jesus Christ, in the Name,' &c.

(*l.*) After the Intinction:

'These august, holy, quickening, and divine mysteries are divided, hallowed, consummated, perfected, united, and mingled one with another, in the worshipful and glorious Name of Thy glorious Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that they may be unto us, O Lord, for the propitiation of sins and the remission of transgressions, also for a great hope of resurrection from the dead, and of a new life in the kingdom of heaven; for us and for the holy Church of Christ our Lord, here and in every place, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

X. *Liturgy of Malabar.*

(*a.*) At the Offertory, the priest says:

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'Expecting I expected the Lord, the Body of Christ and His precious Blood, on the holy altar. Let us all offer it with fear and honour, and with the Angels let us exclaim: Holy, Holy, Holy is our Lord God.'

The Deacon responds: 'The poor shall eat and be satisfied with the Body of Christ and His precious Blood upon the holy altar. Let us all offer it with fear and reverence, and with the Angels let us exclaim: Holy, Holy, Holy is our Lord God. Let us pray. Peace be with us.'

Priest: 'Let glory be offered and immolated to Thine ever glorious Trinity for ages of ages; and may Christ, Who was offered as an oblation for our salvation, and hath commanded us that we should sacrifice in memory of His Passion, Death, Burial, and Resurrection, receive this sacrifice from our hands, through His grace and His love, for ages of ages.' *Placing the oblations on the altar, he adds:* 'Let these exceedingly glorious, holy, and quickening Mysteries be constituted and ordained upon the holy altar of Christ, until the glorious Advent from heaven of the same, to Whom be laud, glory, and worship, now and ever, and to ages of ages.'

(*b.*) Prayer of the Deacon, after the Creed:

'Let us pray, furthermore, that this oblation may be favourably received, that by the Word of God and the Holy Ghost it may be consecrated, that it may be to us for help and salvation and eternal life in the kingdom of heaven, through the grace of Christ.'

(*c.*) The priest subjoins:

'. . . Glory to Thee, my Lord, Who hast called me, a miserable sinner . . . that I may offer to Thee this one, holy, and acceptable sacrifice, which is the memorial of the Passion and Death, Burial and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, through Whom it pleased Thee to forgive the sins of all men.' *Censing the bystanders on the right, he adds:* 'Bless, my lords, and pray for me, my fathers and my brethren and my masters, that this oblation may be consecrated by my hands.'

Deacon and Congregation: 'May Christ hear thy prayers and receive thine oblation, and cause thy priesthood to stand before Him; and may He be well pleased with this sacrifice, which thou offerest for thyself, for us, and for all the world, from the least to the greatest; through Thy grace and love, for ever and ever. Amen.'

Priest: 'Yea, O Lord our God, look not on the multitude of my sins, nor let Thine Almighty power be wroth at their weight, but through Thine unspeakable grace consecrate this great sacrifice, and bestow it in value and power, that it may blot out our manifold sins. . . .'

(*d.*) After the *Sursum Corda*, the priest says:

'The oblation is offered to the Lord, the God of all.'

Choir: 'It is meet and right.'

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(*e.*) After the words of Institution:

'. . . In this hour, wherein the sacrifice is offered to Thy Father, I beseech Thy grace to have mercy on all creatures. . . . Let this oblation be received for the whole Catholic Church and for priests and princes, &c. . . . Then, my Lord, according to Thine exceeding love, receive this best and acceptable commemoration of the fathers who are godly and righteous and well-pleasing unto Thee, the memorial of the Body and Blood of Thy Christ, which we shall offer to Thee upon the pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us. . . . We therefore, my Lord, Thy weak and unprofitable servants, who are gathered together in Thy Name, and at this time stand before Thee, and by holy tradition have received a pattern from Thee, we glorify, exalt, and venerate, with joy and exultation, this memorial, and sacrifice this Mystery, great, awful, holy, and divine, of the Passion and Death, Burial and Resurrection, of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. . . . Send then, my Lord, Thy Holy Spirit, and let Him brood on this oblation of Thy servants, and hallow it, that it may be to us, my Lord, for the payment of our debts and the remission of our sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and a new life in the heavenly kingdom.'

(*f.*) After the censing of the Oblation, and before the Fraction, the Choir says:

'The ministers who do His will, Cherubim and Seraphim and Archangels, stand with fear and trembling before the altar, and behold the Priest, when He breaks and divides the Body of Christ for the propitiation of sin.'

(*g.*) Prayer before Communion:

'And now, O Lord, Thou Who hast vouchsafed that I should stand before this Thy pure and holy altar, to offer to Thee this loving and holy sacrifice, make us also worthy, through Thy love, that in all pureness and holiness we may receive the gift.'

(*h.*) At the priest's Communion, the deacon says:

'Let this oblation be received above in the heavenly places, together with that which Abel, Noah and Abraham offered to the heavenly kingdom.'[1]

XI. *Mozarabic Liturgy.*

(*a.*) Offertory:

'Almighty, everlasting God, let this oblation be acceptable to Thy Majesty, which we offer for our sins and wickednesses, and for the

[1] This is probably one of the transpositions made by Archbishop Menezes at the Synod of Diamper, to make the Malabar rite more conformable to the Roman. The corresponding prayer in the Nestorian Liturgy is an occasional variant, and is placed by Renaudot in his Appendix to that rite, not in its proper order.

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stability of the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith in believers, through Christ our Lord. In the Name,' &c.

'We offer to Thee, O Lord, the Cup for blessing the Blood of Christ Thy Son,[1] and beseech Thy mercy that it may ascend before the face of Thy Divine Majesty with a sweet-smelling savour. Through.

'We beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously accept this oblation, and pardon the sins of all the offerers, on whose behalf it is offered to Thee. Through.

'In the spirit of humility, and in a contrite mind, let us be received by Thee, O Lord, and let our sacrifice be so made that we may be received by Thee this day, and that it may please Thee, O Lord God.'

'Come, Holy Ghost the Sanctifier, sanctify this sacrifice prepared for Thee by my hands.'

(*b.*) Before the Commemoration of the Saints, the Priest says:

'Our Priests, the Roman Pope and others, offer oblation to the Lord God, for themselves and all the clergy, and the laity of the Church entrusted to them, and for the whole brotherhood. Furthermore, all the Priests, Deacons, Clerks, and lay folk standing around offer in honour of the Saints for them and theirs. *Choir:* They offer for themselves and for all the brotherhood.'

(*c.*) In the Canon, after the Post-Sanctus, the Priest says:

'Be present, be present, Jesu, Good Pontiff, in our midst, as Thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples; hal ✠ low this oblation ✠ that when hallowed ✠ we may receive it at the hands of Thy holy Angel; Holy Lord, and Everlasting Redeemer.'

XII. *Roman Liturgy.*

(*a.*) Offertory:

'Receive, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, this immaculate Host, which I, Thine unworthy servant, offer to Thee, my Living and Very God, for my countless sins, and offences, and negligences, and for all those present, and also for all the Christian faithful, quick and dead, that it may avail to me and to them unto salvation in life everlasting.'

'We offer unto Thee, O Lord, the Cup of Salvation, beseeching Thy mercy, that it may ascend with a sweet savour before the face of Thy Divine Majesty, for our salvation and that of the whole world.'

'In the spirit of humility, and in a contrite mind, let us be received by Thee, O Lord, and let our sacrifice be so performed in Thy sight this day, that it may please Thee, O Lord God.'

'Come, Sanctifier, Almighty, Everlasting God, and ble ✠ ss this sacrifice prepared for Thy Holy Name.'

[1] Or, 'For the blessed Blood,' &c. The phrase is slightly ambiguous.

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(*b.*) After the *Lavabo:*

'Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto Thee in memorial of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord: in honour of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, of blessed John Baptist, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all Saints, that it may avail for their honour and our salvation: and may they vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memorial we make on earth. Through the same Christ our Lord, Amen.'

'Pray, brethren, that my and your sacrifice may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty.'

℟. 'The Lord receive the sacrifice from thine hands to the praise and glory of His Name, to our profit also, and that of all His Holy Church: Amen.'

(*c.*) The *Secret*, varying with the season, *e.g.* Whitsun Day:

'Sanctify, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the offered gifts, and purify our hearts by the enlightening of the Holy Spirit. Through.'

(*d.*) At the beginning of the Canon of the Mass:

'We therefore humbly pray and beseech Thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, to accept and bless these ✠ gifts, these ✠ offerings, these ✠ holy spotless sacrifices, which we offer to Thee in the first place for Thy Holy Catholic Church, the which vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite, and rule throughout the world, together with Thy servant our Pope N. and our Bishop N., and all orthodox believers in the Catholic and Apostolic faith . . . Therefore this oblation of our service, and of Thy whole household, we beseech Thee to accept graciously, O Lord, and direct our days in Thy peace, and cause us to be delivered from eternal damnation and to be numbered in the flock of Thine elect. Through. Which oblation do Thou, O God, vouchsafe to make in all respects bles ✠ sed, set ✠ apart, appro ✠ ved, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become unto us the Bo ✠ dy and Blo ✠ od of Thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.'

(*e.*) After the Consecration:

'Whence we also, O Lord, Thy servants, and also Thy holy people, being further mindful of the blessed Passion and also of the Resurrection from the dead and of the glorious Ascension of the same Christ, Thy Son, offer to Thine august Majesty of Thine own gifts and bounties, a pure ✠ Host, a holy ✠ Host, an immaculate ✠ Host, the holy ✠ Bread of Eternal Life, and the Cup ✠ of Everlasting Salvation. Upon which vouchsafe to look with propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them, as Thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice and spotless oblation which Thine High Priest Melchizedek offered unto Thee.'

'We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command these to be borne by the hands of Thine holy Angel to Thine altar on high, in

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presence of Thy Divine Majesty, that so many of us as in participation of Thine altar shall have received the Sacred Bo✠dy and Blo✠od of Thy Son may be fulfilled with all heavenly blessing and grace. Through the same.'

(*f.*) Post-Communion:

'Let this ministry of my service, O Holy Trinity, be pleasing unto Thee, and grant that the sacrifice which I unworthy have offered in sight of Thy Majesty may be acceptable unto Thee, and of Thy mercy be a propitiation for me and for all on whose behalf I have offered it. Through.'

XIII. *Syriac Ordo Communis.*

(*a.*) At the Introit:

'Grant, O Lord God . . . that we may stand honourably and purely before Thy holy altar, and discharging the priestly office, offer to Thee pure and excellent sacrifices in true faith . . . Hallow this oblation, and grant through it remission of sins and purging of offences unto them for whom it is offered, myself and my father, and unto all whose communion makes intercession together with me, the faithful, both quick and departed . . .'

(*b.*) At the Oblation:

'O God, mighty and marvellous for evermore, Who art wont to receive the sacrifices, vows, first-fruits, and tithes of Thy servants; receive, O Lord, the oblations of Thy servants, which they have set apart and brought, for Thy love and Thy holy Name . . . *Censing the Bread, and placing it on the altar, the Priest adds:* He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before his shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth to him that afflicted Him.'

(*c.*) 'O God, Who didst accept the sacrifice of Abel in the field, of Noah in the ark, of Abraham on the mountain-top, of David in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, of Elijah on Mount Carmel, and the widow's mites in the Treasury; accept, O Lord, these oblations which are offered unto Thee by my hands, weak and a sinner, and through them grant a good remembrance to the quick and dead, for whom they are offered, and bless the dwelling of those who offer them.'

(*d.*) Before the Epistle, the Deacon says:

'He Whom Moses beheld in the bush, and Ezekiel upon the chariot, is Himself placed upon the holy altar; and the people receive Him, and live. Lo! He, Whom Cherubim and Seraphim serve with great awe, is offered upon the altar, and the people receive Him, and live. God, Who of Thy mercy didst receive the sacrifice of righteous men of old, receive of Thy mercy our sacrifice, and accept our prayers.'

(*e.*) At the Commemoration of the Departed, the Priest says:

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'O God, Thou art made a sacrifice, and sacrifice is offered unto Thee, receive this sacrifice from my sinful hands for the soul of N.'

(*f*.) At the *Lavabo:*

'Wash away, O Lord, the filth and defilements of my soul . . . that I may with a pure conscience offer to Thee a living sacrifice well-pleasing to Thy Godhead, and like to Thine own glorious sacrifice, O Lord our God, for ages of ages.'

(*g*.) Prayer at the Fraction:

'O Father of truth, behold Thy Son, a sacrifice well-pleasing unto Thee. Receive Him Who died for me, and for His sake be gracious unto me. Receive this sacrifice from my hands, that Thou mayest be favourable unto me, nor impute to me my sins, which I have committed before Thy Majesty. Behold the Blood shed on Golgotha by the ungodly, which intercedes for me: receive my prayer for its sake. As great as are my sins, so great are Thy mercies; if Thou shouldst weigh Thy clemency, it would outweigh the mountains which Thou weighest in a balance. Look upon my sins, but at the same time look upon the sacrifice which is offered for them, for the sacrifice and victim is far greater than the guilt. For the sins which I have committed, Thy Beloved endured the nails and spear; His sufferings are enough to appease Thee, and that I may live through them . . .'

(*h*.) At his own Communion, the Priest says:

'A propitiatory particle of the Body and Blood of the Christ of God is given to His weak and sinful servant for the pardon of offences, and the remission of sins in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen.'

(*i*.) Post-Communion:

'Through the sacrifice which we have offered this day, may the Lord and His elect and holy Angels be propitiated, and through it may He grant rest and a good remembrance to His Mother and His Saints, and to all the faithful departed, especially to him for whom and on whose behalf this sacrifice has been offered.'

The thirteen Liturgies which have now been cited are the principal ones of the various families of rites, and are the normal types from which all the subsidiary ones, more than seventy in number, have been derived, so that it might suffice to give them only as specimens. But as not a few of the remainder contain additional matter of importance and interest, it is desirable to quote some of them also, restricting the citations to such passages as are not mere variants of any of the preceding, but embody some additional idea; a rule which excludes, for example, the Ambrosian Missal, in this respect an unimportant variant of the Roman rite.

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XIV. *Syriac Liturgy of S. Xystus of Rome.*

(*a.*) After the Elevation:

'Glory be to the Father Who hallowed, and to the Son Who was gracious, and to the Holy Spirit Who descended, and Who is the beginning, the ending, and the seal of all things which are and have been in heaven and in earth, Who flew down through His mercies, and descending by His clemency, came and consecrated our oblation, and sealed the Church and her sons through the great power of the Cross . . .'

(*b.*) 'Bless, O Lord, this oblation in the sanctuary, and bless the field whence it has been produced. Grant also rest to those, and spare those, on whose behalf it hath been offered and consecrated, for evermore.'

(*c.*) At the Fraction:

'Grant, O Lord, to my feeble hands, that they may draw near and break Thy holy Body, and that I may distribute it with true faith to the sons of Holy Church. Blessed art Thou, O Lord Jesu Christ, Living Bread which camest down from Thy heaven, and becamest life for evermore unto them which partake of Thee . . . '

XV. *Syriac S. Mark.*

(*a.*) Close of the Invocation:

'That these holy mysteries may be to us for the propitiation of sins and the remission of offences, to the possession of confidence before Thine awful throne, and for standing there without confusion, for the honour and edification of Thy Holy Church, and for the preservation of her children without sin . . . '

(*b.*) First Prayer of Bowing Down:

'O Lord God, I bow before Thee at this time . . . Receive from my hands this august and unbloody sacrifice, and lift up the horn of Thy Holy Church, spread throughout the world, and keep her orthodox pastors. . . . And be mindful, O Lord, of this divine sacrifice set before Thee; of Thy clemency hallow us and perfect us through its benefits for the fulfilment of Thy good and quickening will; and pardon those who shall communicate in these oblations, and save them through Thy love from all evils.'

(*c.*) Prayer before the *Sancta Sanctis:*

'. . . Grant that we may communicate in this sacrifice, now before Thee, and that it may be to us, and to all that partake thereof, for sanctification of body and soul, through.'

XVI. *Syriac S. Dionysius of Athens.*

(*a.*) Prayer after the Pax:

'Let us behold Thee unveiled, with our minds divinely enlightened, and feast at the table of Thy Kingdom, whilst we enjoy

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communion in this sacrifice set before us, and we ascribe to Thee glory and praise.'

(*b.*) After the words of Institution:

'Therefore, obedient to Thy precept, O Lord, continually celebrating in mystery the commemoration of Thy Death and Resurrection through this sacrifice, we look also for Thy second coming, the renewal of our nature, and the quickening of our mortality.'

(*c.*) After the Invocation:

'And so, according to the tradition and divine instructions of those who were spectators of Thy mysteries and interpreters of Thy wonders, we offer the Eucharist before Thee, O Lord, and thereby commemorate Thy love towards us, and the universal dispensation of Thine Only Begotten Son in this world, that Thou mayest thereby be mindful of Thy inherent and natural mercy . . .'

XVII. *Syriac S. Ignatius.*

(*a.*) After the Invocation:

'We, therefore, made worthy by the offering of these holy mysteries, and having the mind's eye enlightened by the knowledge of the truth, pray and beseech that these mysteries here presented may be to us, and to those who receive them, for quickening the watchfulness of the soul. . . . We make our prayer before Thee, O Lord, through this sacrifice which is perfected and fulfilled by the Holy Spirit, for Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church . . .'

XVIII. *Syriac S. John Chrysostom.*

(*a.*) Prayer before the words of Institution:

'We do not offer fat oxen, nor do we sprinkle the blood of lambs, kids, or calves, on the horns of the altar, nor do we gird on crowns, belts, or ephods. For a Body hath come instead of a similitude, to wit, Thine Only Begotten Son, Who . . . in the same night when He was betrayed,' &c.

XIX. *Chaldee S. John Chrysostom.*

(*a.*) Post-Communion:

'Jesu Christ, our God, Who of Thine own will, and that of the Father and the Holy Ghost, hast been immolated for us, and hast fed us with Thy living Body, and given us to drink of Thy propitiatory Blood, confirm us in Thy love, fill us with Thy fear, stablish in us Thy faith, adorn us with unblamable conversation of life, and forgive our sins, and those of the departed, that we may ever and at all times glorify Thee, and Thy Father, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, &c.'

XX. *Syriac S. Cyril.*

(*a.*) After the Pax:

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'Send therefore, O Lord, Thy grace, as well for our expiation and cleansing, as also for the acceptance and consummation of the pure and immaculate sacrifice, which we offer unto Thee for our sins, according to the quickening and gospel teaching of Christ, to Whom,' &c.

(*b.*) After the Invocation:

'Receive this our sacrifice, O Lord, which is offered unto Thee with mind, word, and thought, and chiefly for the tranquillity and peace of Thy Holy Church . . . '

(*c.*) Before the Pater Noster:

'Thy Son, Who, dwelling with us on earth, taught us the prayer to the Father and the sacrifice without spot. He was for us an acceptable oblation and a sweet odour, and He delivered unto us these holy and quickening mysteries.'

XXI. *Syriac John of Basra.*

(*a.*) After reciting the words of Institution, the priest continues:

'Thou, O Holy Pontiff . . . Sole Begotten Word of God . . . hast no need to offer daily many sacrifices, as they do who discharge an earthly priesthood. For this Thou didst once, not offering the blood of another, nor a sacrifice of corn, but gavest Thyself for us, and didst commit, because of Thy boundless goodness, a priestly ministry of like dignity to be established by the preachers of Thy Gospel.'

(*b.*) After the Invocation:

'Trusting only in Thy mercy and pity, which Thou hast abundantly shed on us, we venture to draw near to this awful and tremendous priestly ministry. We bring nothing from the ministry of the Law, containing nought save shadows, no ephod nor precious amice, no mitre, golden vial or tiara, no bullock offered whole, no goat for our sins, no ram without defect, no red heifer without blemish, no turtle-dove or pigeon; but we offer unto Thee bread of pure flour mingled with oil and frankincense for a sweet odour; for the blood of bulls and goats could not take away the sin of the world. For how could light immaterial, and above all substance, be obtained by us through material spices? But of a truth, having put on Thy Beloved Son, Thine equal in power, glory, creation, and preservation of the things which be, through His goodness, most full of love to mankind, we offer Him the same to Thee as a sacrifice and oblation, spotless and pure, and make Him to be our joint petitioner . . . '

XXII. *Liturgy of Theodore the Interpreter* (Nestorian).

(*a.*) After the *Sursum Corda*, the priest adds:

'The living and reasonable oblation of our first-fruits, the unimmolated and acceptable offering of the Son of our race, is offered to God, the Lord of all, for all His creatures in all places.'

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(*b.*) Prayer of Bowing Down:

'We offer before Thy glorious Trinity, with contrite heart and humble spirit, this living and holy sacrifice, which is the mystery of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; praying Thee, and making supplication before Thee, that Thine adorable Godhead, O Lord, may be gracious, and through Thy mercy this pure and holy oblation for the sins of the world, whereby Thou art appeased and reconciled, may be accepted.'

XXIII. *Æthiopic S. Dioscorus.*

(*a.*) Invocation:

'Send that Spirit on this Bread and Cup. Let the Lamb come, and let us behold Him in the camp, that we may immolate Him, and rejoice in Him. Nor let it seem to any one of us that this Body which he eateth is a body without blood and spirit. Nor when he drinks this Cup, that it is blood without body and spirit. But the Body is blood and spirit, and is furthermore His Godhead, which is united with His Manhood.'[1]

XXIV. *Alexandrine S. Gregory.*

Prayer of Dismissal:

'We sinners, and Thine unworthy servants, go from strength to strength, being counted worthy to minister at Thine holy Altar, and having offered unto Thee the unbloody sacrifice, the immaculate Body and the precious Blood of the great God our Saviour Jesus Christ, to Thy glory.'

It is not undesirable, before proceeding to offer any comments on this catena, to append in parallel columns the three Anglican Rites in which the same teaching is exhibited, namely, the Book of 1549, the Scottish Office of 1792, as issued by Bishops Skinner and Horsley, and the American Office now in use.

BOOK OF 1549.	SCOTTISH.	AMERICAN.
O God, heavenly Father, Which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death on the Cross for our redemption, Who made there (by His one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,	All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; Who (by His one Oblation of Himself once offered) made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and sa-	All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; Who (by His one Oblation of Himself once offered) made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and sa-

[1] This Liturgy, printed (from a MS. belonging to Edward Pococke) at the end of Wansleb's edition of Ludolf's *Æthiopic Lexicon* (London 1661), represents a very ancient norm, and has been thought by Bunsen to be probably the oldest one surviving.

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BOOK OF 1549.	SCOTTISH.	AMERICAN.
and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again; hear us (O merciful Father), we beseech Thee; and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, Who in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had blessed and given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take eat, this is My Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after Supper He took the Cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of Me.	tisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a Perpetual Memorial of that, His precious Death and Sacrifice, until His coming again. For, in the night that He was betrayed, He took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU: Do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise, after Supper, He took the Cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: DO this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of ME.	tisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a Perpetual Memorial of that, His precious Death and Sacrifice, until His coming again. For, in the night that He was betrayed, He took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body, which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise, after Supper, He took the Cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of Me.
Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering to Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits preserved unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and through faith	Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath commanded us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension. And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly be-	Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension. And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour, Jesus

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BOOK OF 1549.	SCOTTISH.	AMERICAN.
in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee: humbly beseeching Thee that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and be made one Body with Thy Son, Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them and they in Him. And although we be unworthy (through our manifold sins) to offer unto Thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy Angels, to be brought up into Thy holy tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord, by Whom and with Whom in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.	loved Son. And we earnestly desire Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee; beseeching Thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and be made one Body with Thy Son, Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by Whom and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.	Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood. And we earnestly desire Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee; humbly beseeching Thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and be made one Body with Thy Son, Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by Whom and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

The first observation to be made on the extracts from ancient Liturgies tabulated above is that, although it has been necessary, for the sake of brevity, and to facilitate comparison, to represent them by very brief and isolated quotations, such a method is highly unfavourable to a just estimate of their sacrificial tone and character. It is only by taking the whole of each rite in its integrity, that its full meaning can be fairly

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seen, and the structural sequence of its parts fully understood: a rule especially true of S. Mark's and the Clementine Liturgy, which do not yield many separate illustrative clauses. And the notable fact which forces itself on the student's attention is that, fervent and devout as is that part of their language which relates to the act of communion—often very much more so than in our English rite—yet the oblation is in every instance the prominent idea throughout, the sacerdotal offering of bread and wine, which are presented that, by Divine power, they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, and then be pleaded as intercessory and propitiatory, in power and effect, for quick and dead; while the communion is consequently treated as being 'a feast upon a Sacrifice,' to use Cudworth's apt phrase. There is not one single liturgy in the whole number which suggests, or is so much as patient of, the interpretation that the offering made is a mere oblation of the fruits of the earth, analogous to that of a harvest thanksgiving, or that the feast is an *agape*, or club-meal of Christian fellowship; although both these views have been adduced and defended with some pertinacity at no distant date.

Another fact which the rubrics decide, on a comparative view, is the restriction to the Bishop or priest of the power of offering. Of course, in a sense, this is a mere truism, for no one supposes that the usage was otherwise by the end of the fourth century, at any rate. But there is no survival the other way observable in so much as a trace. In some of the Western Churches, the text Acts vi. 2, guided the practice so far that the deacons 'served the table,' by bringing the oblations and setting them on the altar; but their ministry ended there, and was merely subordinate, and, so to speak, mechanical; nor in the earliest witness to this practice, S. Isidore of Seville,[1] A.D. 636, is more implied. But not even so much meets the view in the Oriental Liturgies (save for a slight fluctuation in the Nestorian use), whose rule it is that the priest alone can even place the elements on the altar, which the deacon in some cases, but not in all, brings to him for that purpose. There are frequent references in the various forms of the Great Intercession to those who have offered, not only the actual oblations then on the Altar (as to which the wording is indeterminate, and does not clearly define whether direct purveyance of the Bread and Wine, or simply union in the immediate act of worship, be intended), but tithes, alms, or other gifts. But there is not any provision in the rubrics or prayers of

[1] *De Eccl. Off.* ii. 8, iii. 19.

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any of the existing liturgies, except those of the Anglican rite, for making such offerings in direct connexion with the Holy Eucharist; though it is held by not a few scholars that the rite of the *Lavabo*, as it now stands in the Roman Missal, after, and not before, the oblation of Bread and Wine, is a survival of some such practice, as the hand-washing was necessitated by the priest having anciently to present various offerings in kind besides the Bread and Wine, some of which, as, for example, oil and honey, would be apt to soil his hands by contact. But so far as we can fairly conjecture, all such oblations, though still offered upon the altar, were separated at a very early time from the Liturgy. The practical bearing of these remarks on the present question is that they refute a theory which has been advanced within the last few years, that the presentation of alms is one of the chief quasi-sacrificial elements of the ancient Liturgies, a view of which it may not unfairly be said that it never could have crossed the mind of any one who had read a single ancient Liturgy through with attention.

Another very important consideration is that there is no evidence at all of any growth or development of the sacrificial idea. Some few of the extant Liturgies are known to belong to a comparatively modern period, such as that of Gregory Abulfaraj or Bar-Hebræus, about A.D. 1280, and the Lesser S. James, compiled so recently as 1591, by Gregory, Catholic of the East. And all the three chief Western rites, Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic, have been unquestionably altered at a date subsequent to that of nearly all the Eastern forms. But they exhibit no advance in fulness or precision of expression: rather, in truth, the reverse (since the particular collects of oblation in the present Roman Missal, now obligatory, were variable till about A.D. 1150, and are not so clear as many of the merely occasional *secreta*); while some of the very oldest Liturgies we have, such as S. James, S. Adæus and Maris, and Malabar, are very copious; whereas the later derivatives of S. James, notably the Constantinopolitan Liturgy, are much less so. And what is perhaps more curious still, and the most complete refutation of any theory as to gradual degeneration, is the fact that the later Æthiopic rites, in use where a debased and highly Judaizing form of Christianity prevails, exhibit no change in this respect, but present the doctrine just as it appears in the earlier Greek and Syriac forms.

This principle holds good also for words and acts of Eucharistic adoration, explicitly addressed to Christ as present under the sacramental veils. It is the Roman Missal which is poor-

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est of all in this respect; whereas the Clementine Liturgy, that of S. James, the Syriac *Ordo Communis*, the Nestorian rite, the Coptic S. Gregory, S. Basil, and S. Cyril, and the Armenian, agree in using very full and strong language on the subject; while the Greek S. Basil and S. John Chrysostom are weaker than their own norm, S. James. And although there is no need to give illustrative citations in the present paper, as not directly concerned with the question of worship, a general reference to the fact has its value, as helping to prove the very slight amount of doctrinal change which has taken place in the Liturgies since their first construction in a very remote age of Christianity. Indeed, the invocations of the Blessed Virgin and the Cherubic Hymn in S. James and elsewhere, are almost the only passages which we can confidently signalize as later interpolations.

On the other hand, the wording of these Liturgies does not imply any repetitory or suppletory act of sacrifice in the Eucharist, as in any sense apart from the one Oblation on the Cross. A cavil has been sometimes made by Ultramontanes and Puritans alike against the Anglican Prayer of Consecration, as it now stands, because of the clause, 'Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world,' as though this were meant to shut out, and did in fact shut out, any doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice higher than Waterland's. It is true that the most eminent Roman Catholic divines, as, for instance, Möhler in his *Symbolik*, repudiate emphatically the notion that there is, or can be, any other true expiatory sacrifice than that of Calvary; but it is also true that this particular idea is nowhere expressly declared in the Ordinary and Canon of the Roman Missal, so that a contrary teaching has often been prevalent, even though unauthorized, in the Latin obedience, and is by no means extinct even now. Consequently it has been held that the Anglican rite, by inserting such a clause, meant to express its divergence, not merely from the popular current opinions 'Romanensium,' but from the structure and intent of the Missal itself, and thereby, further, the like divergence, by implication, from all those other ancient rites with which the Missal is practically agreed.

A few citations from some leading types will serve to refute this plea, as they occur in liturgies which leave no possibility of doubt with regard to their sacrificial intention.

1. *Syriac S. Dionysius of Athens.*

'This sacrifice, celebrated there, we commemorate unto Thee, O

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Lord, and those sufferings which Thou didst endure for us upon the Cross.'

2. *Syriac John of Basra.*

See above, XXI. *a*, which is a very close parallel to the idea expressed in the Common Prayer, but even more strongly worded.

3. *Ambrosian Missal.*

Preface for Easter Eve:

'Who hast dedicated the Passover of all nations . . . by the Blood and Body of Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ . . . that one Victim, once by Himself offered to Thy Majesty, might expiate the sin of the whole world.'

But, in truth, it is not so much isolated phrases, like the foregoing, which express this doctrine of the oneness of the sacrifice on Calvary, as the manner in which the great majority of the Liturgies describe the action of the priest as one of *commemoration*, a term which in strictness excludes either repetition or suppletion.

There is another respect wherein a careful examination of the Ancient Liturgies and of patristic teaching serves to minimize the force of an objection often brought against the existing English Communion Office, wherein the Prayer of Oblation, instead of being united with the Prayer of Consecration, as in the Scottish and American rites, is separated from it by the communion of priest and people, and by the Our Father. It may be readily admitted that the Scottish Office is the nearest of all living Western rites to the primitive model, and superior alike to the English and to its own American daughter, which is less precise as to the effect of consecration, since Bishop Seabury's draft Office, which followed it exactly in this particular, was altered more in conformity with the English form in this one place. And if any serious recasting of the Anglican Office were to take place, it would be difficult for any liturgical student to deny that the Scottish Liturgy ought to serve as the norm for reconstruction. Nevertheless, that severance of the consecration and the oblation, which is a peculiarity of our existing rite, does bring out into especial prominence one highly important aspect of Eucharistic truth. It is to be noted that our Prayer of Oblation contains a clause, based on S. Paul's language in Romans xii. 1, to this effect: 'And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee.' These words have been perverted by Waterland as, so to speak, exhausting the

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highest meaning in which sacrifice is predicable of the Eucharist; but fuller consideration leads to a different conclusion. In S. Augustine's treatise *De Civitate Dei*, there are several references made to a sacrifice of the body of the Church as an oblation to God in the Liturgy:

'The whole redeemed City, that is, the congregation and fellowship of the Saints, is offered as a universal sacrifice to God by the High Priest, Who also offered Himself in passion for us, that we might be the body of so great a Head; according to the form of a servant. This he offered, in this He was offered, because according to this He is the Mediator, in this the Priest, in this the Sacrifice. When therefore the Apostle exhorts us to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service . . . this is the Christian sacrifice, "for we being many, are one body in Christ." Which the Church habitually does in the Sacrament of the Altar, well known to the faithful . . . since in that thing which she offers, she is offered herself.'—x. 6.

'Through this [sacrifice] He is a Priest, Himself the offerer, Himself likewise the oblation. Of which thing the Church willed the daily sacrifice to be the sacrament, for she, being the Body of Him the Head, learns to offer herself through Him.'—x. 20.

This notion appears in the following prayer before the Oblation, in one of the variants of the Syriac *Ordo Communis*:

'O Lamb, pure without blemish, Who didst offer Thyself as an acceptable Sacrifice to the Father, for the salvation and propitiation of the whole world; grant unto us that we may offer ourselves as a living sacrifice unto Thee, which may be well-pleasing unto Thee, and be like unto Thy sacrifice for us, O Christ, our God, for ever and ever.'

But the Apostle teaches us that communion in the Holy Eucharist is the efficient cause of our membership in the Body of Christ, saying: 'We, being many, are one bread, and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.' 1 Cor. x. 17.

And the second Post-Communion of the English Office expresses the same idea in this wise:

'Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and dost assure us thereby . . . that we are very members incorporate in the mystical Body of Thy Son, which is the blessed Company of all faithful people.'

But whereas the Great Oblation, the presentation of the Body and Blood of Christ, is effected in the Consecration Prayer, and would be complete were the service to break off at its close; the minor and subordinate oblation, that of our-

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selves, cannot properly take place save in and through Eucharistic participation, since it is only in union with Christ that we become a fit or possible oblation to Almighty God, because then united with His dearly beloved Son. And Waterland's view, which excludes this idea, is therefore, as remarked at the beginning of this paper, pre-eminently unevangelical, for it assumes the possibility of a sacrifice to God apart from, and therefore additional to, the one offering of Christ. On this head it is well to cite Prebendary Sadler's weighty language:

'We, as sinners needing mediation, cannot offer anything to God except in and through that Mediator whom He has provided, and the Eucharist is the Church's expression of this. If we offer ourselves, it is not as in any sense an independent offering, but simply as forming part of that Mystical Body to which, in the Eucharist, the faithful are united, and so are held by God to be in Christ and offered in Himself when He presents Himself at the Right Hand of God. To make (as some seem to desire to do) this offering of ourselves to be the principal feature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or an independent part of it, or one of a number of sacrifices of which the Eucharist is composed, is simply to rob the Eucharist of its evangelical character, and in fact, to destroy the whole meaning and intent of the institution of sacrificial worship.'—*One Offering*, chap. xiv.

Now, it is this doctrine which our existing Liturgy brings into great salience by interposing the communion of the people between the Consecration and the Prayer of Oblation. There is no interruption or suspension of the great sacrificial Act, but the full accomplishment of the rite in its integrity requires that we must be offered too, in and with Christ, and that postulates our previous incorporation with Him. And it is not too much to say that, if such had been the structure of ancient Liturgies in general, while the older form, as exhibited in the Book of 1549, the Scottish, and the American rites, were the innovation, there would have been an outcry raised against such an obscuring of a great evangelical and liturgical truth, an outcry far louder, and with more reason on its side, than that which practically has been occasioned by our office as it stands.

And it may be interesting to point out that this very view, for which we are contending, is actually discoverable in some ancient Liturgies. We will cite two, wherein the Post-Communion Prayers contain, first an explicit statement of the benefits derived from partaking, and then a closing act of oblation based thereon.

In the Liturgy of Jacob Baradæus, long after the Great

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Oblation is over, and near the close of the office, the Priest says a prayer of thanksgiving, thus:

'We offer our due thanksgiving to Thine incomprehensible majesty, O Lord, because of this salvation which Thou hast bestowed on us, through Thine Only-Begotten Son, Who from the beginning, before the foundations of the world, made ready this mystery hidden from generations and from ages, which is revealed and given unto us who are weak and feeble. We offer Him to Thee as intercessor for us, that in Him and through Him we may be delivered from condemnation and the Judgment to come, and be made worthy of the splendid crowns of glory of the Blessed, and together with them we ascribe glory and praise to Thine Only-Begotten Son and to Thy Holy Spirit.'

And on this follows another thanksgiving to Christ for having united us with His Body and Blood. The connexion is the same as in the English Liturgy, though the order is different. But even the same order is preserved in the Liturgy of Michael of Antioch. There are two Post-Communion thanksgivings, followed by a benedictory prayer, which bring out very clearly the notion we are discussing, thus:—

1. 'Glory to Thy mercy, O Lord, Whose grace has been poured out so abundantly. We give thanks to Thy Name, and bless Thy glory, because Thou hast made us, albeit rolled in the mire, worthy of drawing the water of life from this pure and holy fount. We beseech Thee, O Lord, to conserve within us this mighty and precious deposit, that through it and for its sake we may be delivered from condemnation in the Judgment on that great day of the resurrection of all men, and be made sure for ever before Thee at this spiritual banquet, and sing perfectly [the praise of] God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'

2. 'We offer special thanksgiving with praise and joy unto Thee, O Lord, for Thy bounties and gifts, inexpressible by words, for that Thou hast made us worthy of this Divine gift. Condemn us not because of the reception of Thy spotless mysteries, but have mercy on Thy sinful servants, and heal the wounds of Thy people; receive the supplications of Thy flock, and let us all receive remission through this sacrifice. Let it be unto us for pardon and salvation of our souls and bodies, and ward off from us that ghostly deceiver, and all kind of sin. Let Thy right hand rest upon us, Christ our God, and Thy Cross keep us, and we ascribe glory,' &c.

3. 'God, Who received the oblation of Abel in the field, and of Noah in the ark, of Abraham on the mountain-top, of Elijah on Carmel, of David in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and the widow's mites in the Sanctuary; Himself accept your oblations, your vows and tithes, and the works of your hands, and grant a good remembrance to your departed ones, a blessed hope and guardianship unto your life, through.'

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It may be just added here that some of the Liturgies are much more precise than the two just cited, in defining the effect of communion as incorporation with Christ, and the prayer of thanksgiving from the Syriac S. John Chrysostom may well be given in illustration :—

'What have we, O Lord, which we can repay Thee for all Thy bounties towards us, and for all Thy gifts, and bounties, and benefits towards us? Thou Who hast made us worthy of communicating in the Body of Thy Son, and of receiving the Cup of Salvation, His precious and saving Blood. Now, therefore, O Lord, good and loving, as Thou hast called us and led us to these blessed and quickening dainties, vouchsafe that the Body of Thine Only-Begotten Son may be mingled with our bodies, and His Blood mingled with our souls, and may be unto us for the pardon of sins, the remission of offences, food for the way of eternal life, a driving away of the devil, and for sanctification of bodies and souls, for Thou art blessed, O God, and Thy Kingdom is holy, and we ascribe glory to Thee,' &c.

So much will suffice to have said as to the Eucharistic teaching of the ancient Liturgies, and their relation to our own rite; but the caution, already given, must be repeated, against supposing that the whole of what they assert or imply can be presented in mere extracts. Not only do the gems require to be seen in their original setting, instead of in the detached fashion necessarily adopted in a catena, but the cumulative effect of thirty or forty liturgies, saying the same thing in nearly the same words, is of course lost when only illustrative specimens are selected from the various families. But the testimony of all agrees in the great central doctrine that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is the perpetual commemoration, presentation, and pleading of the Body and Blood of Christ, verily and indeed present in mystery, and offered as a propitiation for quick and dead, by the earthly priest, in direct connexion and union with His own High Priestly ministration within the veil in the heavenly places; and that all other acts or words of oblation in the rite are subordinate to, and inextricably bound up with, His one offering.

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ART. VI.—LIFE OF RICHARD WALDO SIBTHORP.

Richard Waldo Sibthorp: A Biography; told chiefly in his own Correspondence. By Rev. J. FOWLER, M.A., Chaplain-warden of St. Anne's Bede-House Charity, Lincoln. (London, 1880.)

WE have become, unfortunately, in these latter days so familiar with the announcement that such and such a person has 'gone over to Rome,' that many of us, perhaps, have come almost unconsciously to think this a matter of but trifling importance. Such an opinion, however, will not stand for a moment the test of serious thought and consideration. To change from the English Church to the Roman is, assuredly, whether right or wrong, a most portentous act. It is to give the lie to the whole previous life, to pour contempt upon the most cherished and sacred ties, to degrade to an unsanctified and graceless condition those previously held to be entitled to the highest veneration and esteem, to pour contempt on the mother that bare us, and to lower her to the level of a sect. It is well said in a work, which we believe will do more than any book published of late years to save us from these deplorable oscillations, 'To change one's religion, or even one's communion, is a very serious and solemn, nay, a very awful step to take, whatever that religion may be. On the face of things it at least looks like revolt against God's will, since we were born and reared in our first creed without any act or choice of our own, and just as He was pleased to ordain for us.' [1] This century, it is said, has witnessed about three thousand secessions from the Anglican to the Roman Communion, of which about one-tenth have been those of English clergymen. We have no statistics for testing the number of changes in the other direction, but the amount has also been considerable. Many, too, of those who had gone from Anglicanism to Romanism have returned. What are we to say of these things? Is it that in these latter days there is an amount of unchastened levity, a looseness of hold of any form of creed not known before? Or, is it that there is an unbridled licence of individualism, self-reliance, and self-assertion? Or is it, again, that there is such an earnest craving for spiritual food and sustenance,

[1] Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons, ap. init.*

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that men and women are ready to make any sacrifice if they think that by so doing they shall obtain a fuller supply? We believe this latter to be the principal immediate cause of secessions from England to Rome: and we boldly state that if it were a true belief, it is not a sufficient cause; and, secondly, that it is not true. No doubt, many a mechanic labouring hard to procure sufficient support for his family in this land might relieve himself from a considerable amount of toil and trouble, and easily reach comparative affluence, by deserting them and emigrating to Australia or America. His 'secession,' however, would hardly be justified by his increased prosperity. Supposing, however, the said mechanic to have persuaded himself that it was 'his duty to better himself,' and so to have departed regardless of his family ties, and then to find that he could not get any work in the land of his adoption, and to be reduced almost to starvation: in that case, his views would perhaps change as to the virtue of his first proceeding. The Romish Church has constructed a religion calculated with much skill to please a great variety of tastes, and to satisfy many spiritual appetites. It looks to the eyes of many infinitely fascinating from a distance. They are lured nearer and nearer. At length they spring across the chasm, and find disillusion. It is not to be supposed that the number of Anglicans who have returned from Rome after seceding represent really the number of those who have found their secession an awful mistake. By far the greater part (we know not whether to say the wiser) have elected to stay, and to make the best of what they have deliberately accepted. In that little book which so touchingly pourtrays some of the miseries springing out of these secessions, we read the following:—

'Had Eustace any wish to return to the Anglican Church, or to be restored to it in death?' 'Oh, no,' replied F.; 'his perceptions were much too keen of the solemnly binding nature of the change we have made, to admit such a thought. For myself, I confess that a time was when my mind would wander back almost in regretful desires towards that long-loved home; but A. set so clearly before me the reality of our position—having been placed by Providence in one state, and having deliberately chosen for ourselves another—that a repetition of such free choice and dedication is morally impossible; that we must go forward now steadily and trustingly or we are lost. The subject has long ceased to be even adverted to between us.'[1]

Whether this is good logic or good divinity we are not

[1] *From Oxford to Rome*, p. 165.

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concerned to inquire; it is, probably, the way in which many who have made the change and regretted it think and reason.

The important subject of change of churches is strikingly illustrated by the life of Richard Waldo Sibthorp. This biography, ably put together by Mr. Fowler, gives us the curious record of four, if not five, changes of church and ecclesiastical position. In his early days, when an undergraduate at Magdalen, Mr. Sibthorp suddenly disappeared from Oxford with the deliberate intention of joining the Church of Rome. He says himself, 'In early life I sought admission into that Church, and but for the interference of the law, being then under age, should have joined her.'[1] He was brought back, and appears completely to have discarded the notion of seceding. In due course he took Anglican orders, and soon showed himself a decided member of the Evangelical school. His great eloquence as a preacher, his intense earnestness, the rapture of devotion in which he appeared to be held, impressed his hearers marvellously. In Lincolnshire, at Hull, in London, at Ryde, he was a most powerful instrument for moving men's hearts. His sermons, strikingly original, and delivered with great wealth of language and solemnity of manner, made no transient mark. There are some still alive who testify to effects caused by them sixty years ago. Then, in the midst of a most successful career, and the most unbounded popularity at Ryde, came a sudden change; a change, we are bound to say, not in the least degree satisfactorily accounted for in this volume. His biographer thinks that he was not much influenced by the 'Tracts for the Times,' and speaks of 'other causes;'[2] but what these other causes were he does not tell us, save only to suggest a very strange cause indeed, namely, that Mr. Sibthorp was not satisfied with the correspondence of the Church of England with 'Levitical types.'[3] As it stands in this volume, Mr. Sibthorp's second secession to Rome is unexplained and unjustified. We are thus driven to look for an explanation to the special character of the man as well as to the character of that school of theology to which he had so ardently attached himself. In character, Mr. Sibthorp was eminently devout, tenderly charitable, and loving. But he was deficient in the qualities of a masculine mind. He had

[1] *Life*, p. 17. [2] *Ibid.* p. 57.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 55. This was the main cause put forward by Mr. Sibthorp himself, in his defence, but he afterwards acknowledged that he wrote rashly, and that it was no sufficient cause.

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not a firm and catholic grasp of truth. He dwelt much upon little things. He seems to have supposed that the world was to stand still, and that churches were to have no growth, and to learn nothing. Thus, he was troubled about the impossibility of addressing an epistle to the 'Church in Manchester,'[1] and to the last, though he always loved it, he persistently regarded the Church of England as an establishment. Mr. Sibthorp, in fact, as his biographer freely admits, had never grasped the position of the Anglican Church as a branch of the true Catholic Church in England. Hence, all his utterances as to her, all his views of her, are somewhat petty and unsatisfactory. His character is not to be regarded in the light of that of a theologian or divine, but in that of a saint. With his words ever pleading for Christ, his tender thoughtfulness, his open hand, his loving heart, this character, whether he was Anglican or Roman, rightly attaches to him; and, as his biographer well says—'It cannot fail to be a gain to spiritual religion, to see something of the martyr-like conscientiousness, the saintly self-abasement, the desire to be wholly like Christ, which shine through all his letters that have been preserved.'[2]

The instability displayed by Mr. Sibthorp may also have been partly due to the character of that school of theology which had influenced and formed his mind. Strange to say, one of the most fruitful sources of Romanist converts has been the Evangelical movement. This assertion will be dismissed by many as absurd: but what say the facts? Cardinal Newman has told us, in his *Apologia*, that he was originally under the influence of this school. Cardinal Manning had been in the strictest sense a member of it. Sibthorp, Ryder, Simeon, Dodsworth, Hope-Scott, Dikes, Noel, many others, had in their beginnings of religious earnestness belonged to the Evangelicals. The three sons of Mr. Wilberforce who apostatized came from the purest Evangelical source. 'These men drew scores, ay, hundreds, in their train, and of all these leaders it must be said, that as they proceeded from Oxford (so to speak) to Rome, so they had already marched from Clapham to Oxford.'[3] It is true that all these men, with the exception of Mr. Sibthorp,

[1] *Life*, p. 50. 'For how,' said he, 'could an epistle be sent to the Church in Manchester? To whom could it be addressed?' We would suggest the Bishop, a sufficiently vigorous representative.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[3] Mr. Gladstone, 'The Evangelical Movement,' *British Quarterly Review*, July 1879.

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entered Rome, not direct from the Evangelicals, but after passing through the intermediate condition of Tractarianism. But so remarkable a phenomenon in the history of religious thought as is exhibited by their origin certainly deserves close attention.[1]

The Evangelical proper is a man who bounds off into spiritualism with an eager and defiant zeal, utterly contemning restraints and checks to what he believes to be the voice of God within him. He is essentially a law unto himself. His rules are drawn from inward convictions. His religion is entirely subjective. He may or may not move in consonance with outward authority; but it is not the authority that directs him. He has the principle of lawlessness, though it may be exhibited in a perfectly harmless manner. His characteristic is individualism. He acts perhaps with a coterie of men like-minded with himself, but he does not act as a member of a body. Even in his joint actions, it is a union of forces, not a combination. He is still a law to himself, though his law may coincide with the laws of others. He would think it wrong, nay impious, to sacrifice opinions to corporate requirements, or, in other words, to submit himself to the Church. Now if this be the natural temper of Evangelicalism, it is easy to see how it may prepare the ground for the reception of Romanism. Suppose a conviction intellectually established that Romish pretensions are true, or that Rome offers higher aids to the spiritual life; then, a man accustomed to the self-pleasing of Evangelicalism accepts it at a bound. The authority of his own Church is really no bar to him. He believes that he sees the light, and rushing onwards towards it takes no heed of any intervening obstacles.

Mr. Sibthorp was certainly rash in running off to the Church of Rome, as his speedy return to Anglicanism sufficiently proved. Of course, of his conscientiousness there can be no question. He was not indeed called upon to make sacrifices such as many have endured. He had no wife. He had ample means. But it was a sore thing to him doubtless to incur the rebuke and disapproval of his friends, and to have to defend his position against numerous assaults. Dr. Newman it seems could make a joke of the matter,[2] but not so

[1] Mr. Sibthorp himself, observing on this point, says:—'perhaps not so much to be wondered at, considering the total absence of Church principles in that body.'—*Life*, p. 117.

[2] On hearing that Mr. Sibthorp was going to Oscott, Dr. Newman said to him, 'Mind you don't stop there;' and when he had returned he said, 'Sibthorp was just like the fox that had lost its tail, and now wished all other foxes to suffer the same loss.'—*Life*, p. 63 *note*.

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Mr. Sibthorp's Evangelical friends, who rained pamphlets upon him to which he was called to reply.[1] The sensation indeed produced by this defection was very great. From his prominent position at Ryde, and the fame of his preaching, Mr. Sibthorp was very widely known. Conversions to Rome at that period, before the great harvest from the Tractarians, were rare. As to secessions of prominent English clergymen, you might almost count them on your fingers. Looking a long way back, you might find a Dean of Windsor and a Master of the Savoy who had turned his back upon us: but then he was a Roman Archbishop before his arrival here, and probably a pretended Anglican throughout.[2] In the next reign you might find one, who afterwards proved himself to be a most acute controversialist against Rome, succumbing in his earlier days to Roman influences;[3] and a little later a bishop—an eccentric one, it is true—but a man not without some fine qualities, perplexing and angering his generation by his Roman fancies.[4] During the troubles, the soul of good Dean Cosin was vexed by the apostasy of many of the exiled Cavaliers; but their bitter hatred of Puritanism, and their feeling for help among the continental nations, may well explain this. More creditable to English constancy is the determined resistance made to Jesuit wiles when a Romish prince was on the throne of England, during which time, according to Evelyn, no considerable convert was made. The few clergy who seceded were poor time-servers. Creditable also in a high degree is the constancy of the non-jurors, who, with every inducement to secede to Rome, remained faithful to Anglicanism to a man. We are not aware of any important instances of clerical secession during the eighteenth century; and when the awakening of the Church of England took place, it was not in this direction that the movement tended, at any rate at first. Mr. Sibthorp's case was therefore exceedingly startling to the Church of England, and it was no less strikingly grateful to the Church of Rome. They could

[1] *Life*, p. 67.

[2] Marc Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, in the States of Venice, pretended to be converted by King James's writings, came to England, was loaded with preferment, but was lured back by Rome with the promise of greater wealth, and fell a victim to the Inquisition. He wrote books to explain both his coming and going. He was mercilessly handled by R. Crakanthorp, in the *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

[3] William Chillingworth, who has published a full account of his conversion and reconversion in his *Case*.

[4] Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. See the two volumes of his *Memoirs*, edited by Mr. Brewer.

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not make enough of the new convert at Birmingham. He was 'very much worked at church openings, and suchlike occasions where money was needed, and eloquent appeals seemed likely to procure it.'[1] His eccentricities were readily condoned. 'He was spoken of as the "spoiled convert," whom to retain much must be conceded.' His sermons had not in them a trace of Romanism. He did not shrink from saying that he wished none to follow him in the step that he had taken. His biographer infers, not unfairly, that he must oftentimes have been a sore trial to his co-religionists. 'He was rich, he was eloquent, he was popular, he was eminently useful to the cause which he had adopted; but he could scarcely be called submissive, and his orthodoxy was not above suspicion.'[2] He was striving to get spiritual good and profit in his new position. 'I would know but one thing,' he writes, 'Christ crucified; and I do find I am in a position to learn Him, if it be not my own fault.' But doubts as to whether this was really the case came upon him. The disillusion had commenced. He retired from Birmingham. 'I resolved,' he writes, 'to go into retirement, and leisurely reconsider the step I took (certainly hastily) in joining the Church of Rome.'[3] The result of his prayerful deliberation was that he returned to the old faith, and after just about two years passed as a Romanist—on October 1, 1843—Mr. Sibthorp received Holy Communion as a member of the Church of England.

Very little indeed is told us besides the simple fact. But it is clear that he had altogether misapprehended the relative positions and special advantages of the Churches. One of the most learned and intelligent of Anglican converts, after long experience of the Roman Church, and while still a member of it, wrote that the result of his experience had been to teach him that

'the notion of the Sacraments exercising any greater influence upon the heart and life in the Church of Rome than in the Church of England, admitting the dispositions of those who frequent them to be the same in both cases, is not merely preposterous, but as contrary both to faith and fact, as is the opinion that the Pope is Antichrist and the Man of Sin.'

Again:—

'What people say of those generally who have become Roman Catholics in England of late years, is that they have deteriorated as a body rather than advanced. The foremost of them have not progressed in any perceptible degree—perceptible that is by others—

[1] *Life*, p. 71. [2] *Ibid.* p. 74. [3] *Ibid.* p. 75.

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beyond the high standard which they had attained before. . . . Others, every allowance being made for the peculiar trials to which they had been subjected, have notoriously descended to a lower level of Christianity since they became Roman Catholics, from that in which they had been working previously; and some have been driven from their moorings—in appearance at least—altogether. . . . For a calm, unpresuming uniform standard of practical Christianity, I have seen nothing as yet among ourselves in any country superior to that of the English parsonage and its surroundings.'[1]

So too thought and wrote Mr. Sibthorp:—

'I am myself thoroughly persuaded that no one ought to quit the Church of England for the Church of Rome, and that Newman and his friends have greatly erred in what they have just done. . . . There is a grievous corruption of practice and of doctrine as *practically held* in the Church of Rome, but there are most painful deficiencies in the Church of England, and many great practical evils.'[2]

The devout spirit which animated Mr. Sibthorp at this time is well expressed in the following extract; but what will strike most readers with amazement is that, about a month after having made this all-important secession, the possibility of his moving back again should have been present to his mind:—

'I wish to assure you that I am aiming to be prostrate at God's disposal, at the foot of the Cross, to do and suffer whatever be His holy will. I still praise, and, unless I come to see things very differently, shall praise the Catholic [Roman] Church for her daily devotions, &c. Yes, my mind on all these subjects is unaltered. But, *as yet*, I dare not retrace the step that I have taken; and I trust, as you justly and devoutly observe, that my reasons, if they remain, may be found just and weighty when we shall appear at the tribunal of God.'[3]

By degrees, however, Mr. Sibthorp settled down quietly into Anglicanism, and began to wish for work in the English Church. He was contented to spend three years of retirement, but after that he thought himself justified in seeking employment. The Bishop of Winchester, however, did not judge it prudent to authorize this without some special safeguards. He had heard, it seems, from some officious Romish priest that Mr. Sibthorp attended Romish services, and he thought it necessary to require a declaration from him that he had completely renounced Romish errors before granting him a licence. This very natural precaution Mr. Sibthorp very much resented. He thought it unfair and unkind, and refused to

[1] *The Church's Creed, or the Crown's Creed*, by E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D.
[2] *Life*, p. 80. [3] *Ibid.* p. 79.

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accede to it. He then left Winchester for Lincoln, and about this time he seems first to have entertained the happy thought of building a set of almshouses in memory of his mother. This design he proceeded at once to carry out, and it furnished much pleasant and useful work for many years. The Bishop of Lincoln (Kaye) welcomed him to the diocese, and gave him employment in the Lincoln churches. The illustrious Pugin furnished him with plans for his almshouses, and all seemed smiling and promising for the future.

'Throughout all the arrangements there was no stint; they left no room for grumbling. Everything was thought of, and, as far as possible, provided for; and all was carried out as to the Lord, and not to men. Bits of his own handiwork are to be found in the houses, and he laid out the grounds with the greatest taste, and at much expense. The painting of the chapel, when it was built in 1853, occupied much of his devout thought and loving individual attention.'[1]

Mr. Sibthorp's views as to his past aberrations and present position seem now to have been much cleared. He wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln:—

'In the autumn of 1841 I quitted the communion of the Church of England for that of Rome. The step was a hasty and erroneous one, taken without due and prayerful consideration. The reasons which I soon after published I consider to have been altogether insufficient to justify the step, and I deeply regret their publication. I consider the Church of England a sound and healthy portion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church.'[2]

Thus apparently established in the faith, and certainly full of good works and alms-deeds, Mr. Sibthorp spent seventeen years, if not with complete happiness to himself, yet with great profit to others. But there were ominous indications that all was not finally settled. His biographer marks his isolation and loneliness. He had no friends near him. Lincoln was then thoroughly dead in the matter of churchmanship. He was dissatisfied with the Anglican Liturgy. He was struck by the saintliness sometimes reached in the Roman Church. He regrets the non-use of unction of the sick. He writes (1849):—

'I feel a very peculiar attachment to Birmingham, and an oppressive recollection of my days of interesting ministry there. I have not known a happy day since. Yet do not suppose my eyes are less open to the evils of that Church of which I am yet a priest. Indeed, it is by a strange peculiarity that I cannot shut my eyes to her beauties, or her defects.'[3]

[1] *Life*, p. 88. [2] *Ibid.* p. 99. [3] *Ibid.* p. 108.

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A strange peculiarity, indeed. The case is probably unique. He himself likens his condition to that of 'a piece of steel placed equidistant between two loadstones.' Meantime he watched with deep interest, and somewhat of amazement, the rapid progress made by Rome, and the gathering in of the rich harvest by her from the Tractarian party. He could not but feel sympathy with those who were treading the same path which he himself had trodden before.

'I cannot agree with you,' he writes, 'in your remark about Newman, Ward, Oakeley, and Dalgairns being worried out of the Church of England. None of these men were of a calibre to have been worried into such a step as joining the Roman Church. No. Strong views as to the Church, with extreme dissatisfaction with the discipline, or rather no-discipline, of the English Church, and yet more with her liturgical services, especially that of Holy Communion—these were the co-operating causes of their removal from the Anglican to the Roman branch.' [1]

We cannot do these eminent men the injustice of thinking that Mr. Sibthorp was in any way right as to the reasons of their conversion. What! leave the Church of their baptism because they saw some defects in her! Much the same would it be for a son to relinquish and repudiate his parents because he observed some faults in their behaviour. A little later Mr. Sibthorp speaks of reading the *Apologia*, as finding it unsatisfactory and not understanding it: 'The attractions of the Roman Church were to him so different.' He thinks, however, that Dr. Newman almost annihilates Mr. Kingsley. Mr. Sibthorp's mind clearly did not harmonize with Dr. Newman's. He expresses regard for him, and says, somewhat strangely, that he is improving in gentleness and tenderness; and then adds, 'If he becomes a Roman Catholic he becomes a Christian! Dr. Newman never in any degree influenced me, nor would his reasoning in this *Apologia* at all influence me, but I greatly esteem and reverence him.' [2] Perhaps the subtle niceties of the *Apologia* may not have had a direct effect upon Mr. Sibthorp, but there is no doubt that Dr. Newman's secession, and that of the many other men of mark, learning, and piety, who left the Church of England at that disastrous time, destroyed that equilibrium which Mr. Sibthorp had been so long striving to maintain. He thought he was not influenced by others, perhaps. He was fond of saying so: 'Don't suppose that I am influenced by the arguments of Dr. Manning, or any one else.' [3] But he was mistaken. The

[1] *Life*, p. 138. [2] *Ibid.* p. 141. [3] *Ibid.* p. 147.

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great Oxford movement carried him along with it: a piece of driftwood more easily detached than many, because its joints were not close. It was not argument; it was not an admiration of all that was in the Roman Church. It was sympathy, together with the awakened remembrance of the tremendous obligations he had taken upon himself at his second ordination, which carried this good but unstable man a third time to Rome. He left Lincoln in the summer of 1864, and went to London. For some time he seems to have practised the purest eclecticism. He attended S. Andrew's, Wells Street, the beautiful music at which church he always much admired, and then went to visit the Carmelite monks and the poor Clares. A curious instance of his eclectic tastes was the attempt to construct a Communion Office which should unite the virtues of the Roman Mass and the English Liturgy.[1] But the position of a Christian unattached could not satisfy Mr. Sibthorp long. He had come quite to the brink, but he hesitated for a moment to make the final plunge, dreading, naturally enough, the sneers and taunts which would be levelled at his instability and fickleness of purpose. January 5, 1865, he writes:—

'I am passing through a great conflict. You can understand the nature of it. The fact is, I fear to do wrong. Conflicting claims pull me first one way and then another; and sacred engagements, pretty clear perceptions of excesses and defects, some experience of the profit and losses on both sides—these and other things weigh heavily.'[2]

The plunge was at length made, and no doubt after it Mr. Sibthorp felt great relief. For the remainder of his life—a period of upwards of fourteen years—Mr. Sibthorp continued to officiate as a priest in the Romish Church. We shall have something to say presently of the way in which he held Roman doctrines, and his thoughts and feelings about Romish and Anglican matters, in his latter days. This we judge to be by far the most interesting part of the biography. But before we touch upon this we must say a word on this strange phenomenon of the great crop of conversions of which Mr. Sibthorp in his final change formed a part, and on the question generally of conversions from Anglicanism to Rome.

Why is the Anglican Church condemned to lose from time to time some of its children through a system which cannot certainly stand the test of reason or of historical inquiry,[3]

[1] See *Life*, p. 157. [2] *Ibid.* p. 162.

[3] 'It was to little purpose that anyone addressed to him arguments

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however attractive it may be by its unbounded claims of power and its abundant provision of devotional exercises? The answer to this must be sought first of all in the historical position of the Church of England.

Alone among the Churches of the West she has had the wisdom and the courage to break herself free from the degrading bondage of Rome without impairing the continuity of her Church life and losing her succession and her sacraments. Hence the especial antipathy of Rome to her, and the constant attempts to undermine her by way of reprisals. But why are Anglicans more apt to yield to these efforts of Rome than Presbyterians or Nonconformists, than Lutherans or Calvinists? It is because their religion is intimately and fundamentally associated with the gifts and privileges of a Church; because their spiritual sustenance is drawn from Church sources, and they have learnt to prize above all things that which the Church has to offer. The Church of Rome *seems* to some of them to have much greater provision of such blessings than their own communion. It claims to be infallible, it guarantees salvation, it undertakes the complete regulation of the spiritual life, it offers a vast apparatus of services and endless variety of religious cults. It is this which attracts our Anglicans and has far greater charms for them than for others. They are not controversially convinced, they are enthusiastically led. They are brought in not by the head, but by the heart. A higher life, a more complete surrender, a more perfect self-devotion is what they dream of, and they fondly hope to find peace from all their troubles and freedom from all their doubts.

But would it be possible for motives so utterly inadequate and insufficient as these to lead good men to an act of self-seeking and self-pleasing which must needs require a very strong reason to justify it, were not some other cause lying beneath, perhaps unmarked and unappreciated, but certainly a most powerful factor in all Anglican movements in these latter days. That cause is the individualism and independence of action claimed and exercised by the Anglican clergy generally, and which, though it doubtless has its good side, has this mischief about it, that it renders the clergy liable to start

drawn from history or antiquity as to the claims of the rival Churches in England. There his mind was made up. He never had much taste for learned research, and he now simply *put aside this branch of the question!!*'—*Life*, p. 146. This is eminently characteristic and very like some of Dr. Manning's late utterances. Fancy *putting aside* as 'a branch of the question' matters of fact on which the whole edifice rested.

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aside at any sudden impulse or fancied call of duty. This has already been noted as the characteristic of the Evangelical School, from the bosom of which Mr. Sibthorp's first secession proceeded. It was also no less the characteristic of the Tractarians, in company with and influenced by whom he went finally to Rome. It is curious to observe how in the beginning of the publication of the *Tracts* it was absolutely necessary that each man should fight for his own hand, and although one writer constantly contradicted another, and the absurdity was patent that publications coming from the same place and in a numbered series should have these contrarieties, yet the proposal made to subject them to a revising committee was scouted.[1] United action, united opinion, and the submission of the individual to the whole, are things scarcely as yet dreamed of in the English Church. What individual ever thinks of submitting to the whole?[2] If he is told by his bishop to do anything which he does not like, he writes to the *Guardian* and abuses his bishop, and gets the sympathy of his brethren, and perhaps a leading article in the *Church Times*. The extravagance of self-assertion which prevails is no doubt due to the awakening of life within the Church without adequate provision being made for regulating it. Individual action has anticipated corporate. The bishops have been feeble and timid, the Church synods slow and cramped with old incumbrances, the family life has helped to elevate the individual clerk into self-esteem and self-confidence; and so we present to Christendom the ridiculous spectacle of men running about from one Church to another, tasting this and rejecting that, and apologizing for the other, instead of accepting our Church position as a thing which must not, under any circumstances, be tampered with or called in question. Mr. Sibthorp was a notable example of this self-pleasing, a very pendulum in his vibrations; but it is only fair to bear in mind in his case, that though his Church membership, his ecclesiastical position, changed, yet the man himself never changed. He was not one of those somewhat contemptible

[1] See *Narrative of Events connected with Tracts for the Times*, by Rev. W. Palmer, p. 23.

[2] One of the venerable authors of the *Tracts* speaks some weighty words on this point. 'If the whole Church, including the Greek and Anglican communions, were to define these or any other points to be *de fide*, I should hold all further inquiry as to evidence to be at an end. In whatever way they should rule any question, however contrary to my previous impressions, I should submit to it. . . . . I have ever submitted my credenda to a power beyond myself.'—Dr. Pusey, 'Is Healthful Reunion Impossible?' p. 4.

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persons who having stepped across the boundary line between the Anglican and Roman communions straightway turn round and rail at what they have just left behind them, and strive to prove their devotion to their new creed by exaggerated laudations and songs of triumph. Not only did he altogether shrink from endeavouring to induce others to follow his example, but he had a strong repugnance to converts and all their ways. He never doubted for a moment that grace was to be had, and excellent spiritual results to be obtained in the Church of England. His mind was so fully occupied with the eternal verities, his heart so set on advancing in the knowledge and love of God, that outward forms were to him of comparatively trifling importance. He believed that he could get more spiritual good in the Church of Rome than in that of England, and he entered her communion. But he had not really changed. He was the same as of old. The heart was the same. The thoughts and expressions were the same. He corresponded with the same friends. He used the same books. He preached the same Gospel. And no one who knew him well, both in his Anglican and Roman conditions, could detect any difference between the Anglican and Roman Sibthorp.

How different all this from the history of most converts. Who that has been at all conversant with the religious world of England during the last thirty years can fail to remember many instances in which the change of creed has involved a complete change of life and character. The sarcastic smile, the scornful shrug, the bitter gibe, the scoffing at all argument, the self-satisfied assumption, the pretentious air of devotion, the affectation of strangeness to all past associations: these things mark and distinguish that most objectionable production of modern religionism, the Anglican convert. Often, alas, he or she is marked by even more pernicious signs; by a rapid deterioration of moral character, by an abandonment of all high spiritual aims, by a complete surrender to worldly influences and habits.[1]

There were none of these things in Richard Waldo Sibthorp, and thus the remarkable religious history here presented to us exhibits a portraiture probably quite unique. We see a man of the deepest spirituality, of the most abounding charity, living, as it were consciously, under the very eye of God, and with the needs of his fellow-creatures ever felt more deeply than his own, yet never able fully to satisfy himself with the outward

[1] See *The Church's Creed*, by Mr. Ffoulkes.

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expression and form of the religion which he so dearly loved, passing from one form of faith to another in search of the perfect life, and finding in none the complete satisfaction for his aspirations. It is hardly right, therefore, to speak of the varying outward conditions of Mr. Sibthorp's religious life as *conversions*. The most real and essential part of him, the inner man, was not changed, but only exhibited under different figures. We proceed to illustrate this by showing what the views and opinions of this convert to Romanism were, and how he ever kept alive in all their freshness the graces of a tender, devout, and loving spirit. He writes:—

'My fixed principle has been, and I think would always be, "Though I may prefer the Roman Church for myself, I will leave others entirely unbiassed." I don't wish to tease or worry you, but it is just to myself to say that my own junction with the Roman Church was one not of conviction, of necessity in order to salvation, but of preference in order to spiritual profiting and the serving of God in peace. The distinction is great. I preferred (shall I say that I do prefer) the Roman Church in her worship, especially her Eucharistic sacrifice, her sacramental ordinances, her discipline, her many helps to a closer walk with God, her special aids to the ministry of the Word by confession, &c. &c.; but this preference (not a mere liking, but a sense of advantage) was, and is, in entire consistency with the unquestioning belief, the most genuine recognition—I hardly know words strong enough to express my judgment herein—of salvation out of her communion. How shall I doubt this, who have known the Scotts, Cecil, Milner, Daniel Wilson, Bickersteth, Haldane Stewart, and many others, not to speak of Wesley, and Fletcher of Madeley, whose personal friends were mine? Such men were, in their measure and day, "the salt of the earth." Therefore, I repeat again, I would not stir a step to move anyone who feared and served God out of the Church of England into the Church of Rome, unless he said, "I cannot conscientiously stay as I am." Then I would tell him my views or preferences. Neither, however, could I stir to bring any one from the Roman to the Anglican communion.'[1]

With these views as to the merits of both Churches, it might be expected that Mr. Sibthorp would have gladly supported the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom. On the contrary, he utterly rejected it—or rather the proposed scheme for bringing it about:—

'My own opinion is that it will, if acted on, prove a *tuba discordiæ* in the Church of England. For, to say no more, what will the whole Evangelical body, clerical and lay, and even the High and dry, say to such an expression as to "offer the Holy Sacrifice," and that, too, "with a special intention"? Why, the idea of all this is utterly

[1] *Life*, p. 152.

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rejected by the former, and the opinion is general that the Holy Eucharist is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving—no more; and that it is a Popish superstition to maintain the contrary. The very notion of a holy sacrifice, in the sense of this circular, is repudiated, written and preached against, *utterly scouted.*'[1]

With regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice, he says, a little further on: 'I know some few of her bishops have held, and some of her clergy and laity do hold, this, but it is not her true doctrine.' Evidently Mr. Sibthorp had forgotten, if he had ever read, the treatment of this subject in the *Tracts for the Times*, and the proof there given that all the great divines of the Church of England had held the Eucharistic sacrifice.[2] It is not improbable that his views might have been greatly enlightened and cleared, and perhaps his final secession to Rome prevented, had he met with, before it took place, such a book as Dr. Pusey's *On the Truth and Office of the English Church.* He does not, however, ever seem to have had any taste for the Oxford theology. The change which Mr. Sibthorp went through from being an Evangelical of the purest type to be a Romish priest is curiously illustrated by a fact mentioned by him. He went to see his nephew, Mr. Yard, who was in 'retreat' in preparation for the Romish ministry, and he found him established at Clapham, in the very house formerly occupied by the Thorntons, and

'where used to meet Macaulay, old Mr. Grant, Mr. Wilberforce, and the leading Evangelicals, lay and clerical, of fifty or sixty years ago; the identical house where the Bible Society was set on foot, by men all great in their goodness, and some good in their greatness; the house celebrated in a remarkable article in the *Edinburgh*, some twenty years since, entitled "The Clapham Sect." Now it is occupied by another kind of saints, the Redemptorist Fathers—men, I believe, really not less holy, and certainly more self-denied as to matters of daily life.'[3]

It was Mr. Sibthorp's misfortune throughout to act far too much from impulse and feeling, and not enough from calm and sober consideration. His final secession to Rome was in reality no more a deliberate and well-weighed step

[1] *Life*, p. 153.

[2] 'In the Holy Eucharist we do in act what in our prayers we do in words. I am persuaded that on this point the two Churches might be reconciled by explanations of the terms used. The Council of Trent claims nothing for the Holy Eucharist but an *application* of the one meritorious Sacrifice of the Cross. An application of that sacrifice the Church of England believes also.'—*Truth and Office*, &c., p. 28. (This book was not published till about a year after Mr. Sibthorp's secession.)

[3] *Life*, p. 159.

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than his first and second ones had been. He had neither rightly gauged the immense progress that the English Church was making, nor had he rightly perceived that Rome was the same as ever, and that what he found intolerable in 1843 would be equally oppressive to him in 1865. He was welcomed back very kindly by the Romish authorities, and at once reinstated in his priestly functions in which he found much pleasure. The Pope 'sent him a blessing *with his whole heart.*'[1] He was soon established in regular work at Nottingham, where he spent the remainder of his long life. His teaching was studiously moderate. 'I don't think this has led me to any ultra statements, or to imitate some converts, who seem to think to make up for former anti-Catholicity by excessive language and violence, especially about the Blessed Virgin and the Pope.'[2] He looks on with amused wonderment at the rapid development of Ritualism in the English Church :—

'Copes and chasubles seem to be getting all at once into high favour. Nurse Gamp would have gloried in this fashion, and have enlarged her umbrella to protect the folds of her investiture. At York, the exhibition of church decorative dress created quite a sensation, and helped to send divers Protestant clergy to attend High Mass at our chapel; to see I suppose how they looked on living shoulders, and not on wooden frames.'[3]

Mr. Sibthorp's old high Toryism was occasionally curiously brought into collision with his Catholic sympathies. He writes :—

'We have had a great deal of election bustle and uproar here; but all ended here with remarkable quietness, and in the return of one thorough Conservative, and a second Conservative on the Irish Disestablishment question. On the Irish Church question I take a different view from my colleagues here, and voted accordingly. I consider it a breach of faith as regards the Union; anything but likely to benefit the Irish themselves—withdrawing from them the Protestant landlords and the wealthier Protestant clergy; likely to make Ireland an arena of greater struggle between Catholics and Protestants than it has been.'[4] 'I am one of the *rari nantes* in our Church who don't go along with Messrs. Bright and Gladstone.'

And not only did not Mr. Sibthorp altogether agree with his Romish friends in their politics; he also soon begins to show himself startled by their religious views. He complains that Catholics don't read the Bible at all, comparatively.[5] He was startled by the strong expressions in Dr. Newman's

[1] *Life*, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.* p. 183. [3] *Ibid.* p. 187.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 200. [5] *Ibid.* p. 204.

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letter to Dr. Ullathorne. He writes: 'Young men take in ecclesiastical matters and theological questions, as in political ones, extreme and ultra views: even the great Bossuet is now talked against and found much fault with as a Gallican, though what that means I hardly know!'[1] Faber he thinks had bad taste. The *Month* was improving, but the *Tablet* he could not stand, and had given it up. *Loss and Gain* does not much interest him, 'howbeit Newman is the author.' 'I do not go along with our people generally,' he writes, 'as regards events in Italy. Apart from the Pope's responsibility as trustee for the estates of the Church, I think his position is rather better than before.'[2] Again:—

'I don't like Newman's last letter about the Infallibility. I think it shows a want of temper and also of memory.'[3] 'You speak of the *Tablet*. I never look into it. Mr. Yard called it a detestable paper. So do I. So Ultramontane. So out-Heroding Herod. The Pope is not imprisoned nor ill-treated in any way; and in my opinion far better without than with the burden of the temporal power.'[4] 'I fear dear —— will set me down as a very latitudinarian or liberal Catholic. I cannot deny my convictions grounded on knowledge and observation of history, men, and facts.'[5]

Mr. Sibthorp's open and honest character did, in fact, not only lead him to disapprove of much that was going on around him, but also to draw upon himself some amount of censure from the authorities. He could not see tamely and contentedly the Ultramontane Romanist allying himself in an unholy union with the Infidel and the Republican, in order that by this alliance an injury might be inflicted on the Church of England. The tactics of the Liberation Society did not commend themselves to him, and what he disapproved he did not hesitate to censure:—

'Infidelity, Republicanism, and Unitarianism are bidding for support; which I hope I need not say none of them will get from me; though two attacks on the former which I have made from the public press and the pulpit have brought on me in some quarters somewhat of a snubbing, with great personal courtesy to myself, but disapprobation of my loyalty and orthodoxy, as excessive and calculated to keep down free and public discussion—in other words, to check the spread of the spirit of the age.'[6] 'I never was one of those who having left the Church of England thought it right to deny her—nor can I. I admire her for the mass of truth that is in her, while I sensibly feel her disqualifications.'[7]

[1] *Life*, p. 206. [2] *Ibid.* p. 213. [3] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 241. [5] *Ibid.* p. 245. [6] *Ibid.* p. 261.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 267.

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Mr. Sibthorp was of opinion that Mr. Gladstone had by far the best of it in his famous pamphlet-war, and that almost all the replies to him were 'evasive.' He did not think much dependence was to be placed on 'Catholic loyalty,' inasmuch as 'the test of it had not yet come.'[1] The Ultramontanes were an offence to him in their opinions, and equally so in their new fashions of vestments:—

'If poor Pugin could see now the sad changes in the externals of architecture, vestments and service, &c., which the Roman Curia makes, he would lose his mind again. All vestments are to be Roman; which reminds one of those things which the men who go about London to sell Warren's blacking wear: a sort of chasuble before and behind! The Oratory in London is giving tone to ceremonial and decorations. All is to be Roman, modern Roman, not Anglo-Catholic, as Pugin would have had it. Tasteless Ultramontanism is at the bottom of it all.'[2] 'I believe you are right about Pugin's disappointment and the effect on him, who had longed and laboured to see the Catholic Church, as to services, vestments, discipline, &c., as England knew her all through the Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet days. . . . It is now Ultramontane and Roman versus old and national.'[3]

There is much of sadness now in many of his utterances as to his position and surroundings:—

'My own position at Nottingham is rather (or, very much, I might say) an isolated one.' 'I want to lead our Catholic people into some knowledge of and reflection on Scripture truth, and not to be content with saying over the Rosary, and being present at Mass and Benediction. I remember Mr. Yard saying to me in a tone of sorrow and vexation—"It is no use to speak to our people about Jeremiah's birthplace; they don't know there was such a person as Jeremiah." And I must say it was true; of course, there are now great exceptions. The converts to our Church have been better taught.'[4]

More and more was Mr. Sibthorp convinced of the vast importance of preserving intact the English Church as the established religion of the land:—

'I regard the Church of England,' he writes, 'as such a support to the British Crown and present Constitution, that if she is pulled down they will follow.' 'I believe the existence of the monarchy,

[1] *Life*, p. 281.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 282. In another place he writes, 'All the surplices have been cut up into cottas—frightful things like bibs, not reaching even to the hips. I hold on to my little surplice, which therefore has escaped the massacre. It is one of the All Saints, Margaret Street, pattern'—(p. 294).
[3] *Ibid.* p. 284.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 289.

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Constitution, and welfare of England is dependent on the continued Church Establishment. I care not who hears me say so.' [1]

In support of this opinion, which was to him a deeply cherished one, Mr. Sibthorp did not hesitate to appear at public meetings, and to make use of his great and touching eloquence in support of the Established Church. The effect of this was so great, especially as coming from one in his position, that he was able virtually to defeat the Liberationists at their own meeting.[2] As regards 'things near,' he writes :—

'I feel most concerned about what you and others, perhaps, may suppose would not trouble me—the efforts making to disestablish the Church of England.' [3] 'Will Newman accept the honorary fellowship? I cannot say that I quite approve the matter. I don't like the universities of our land to be separated from the Church of England.' [4] 'Can it be right or judicious, to say the least, for the President and Fellows of Trinity to receive such an adversary of the Established Church as a fellow? I love the Church of England with all her faults and defects.' [5]

Again, when he was drawing very near to the end, he writes to his old and long-tried friend, Dr. Bloxam :—

'I wish to express to you my entire and decided disapproval of Dr. Newman's last step, "the Cardinal's hat." Oh! it is a very sad step. I don't mince the matter. You may let him know it. Whatever you do, "do not be tempted to leave your present position," is the closing advice of your old friend. I see how the wind blows, but do not blow with it. Grace be with you.' [6]

His biographer remarks upon this passage :—

'These are the strongest words which Mr. Sibthorp ever used on this subject. And they show most touchingly that the disillusion was—shall we not say it?—complete. That which he had sought and fancied he had found in Rome fails him at last. For, in truth, the Rome which he had loved, and so persistently sought after, was really no more. Even post-Tridentine Rome had passed away, and given place to the Rome of the Vatican dogma. And now Vaticanism hangs like a dark cloud over his dying hours, and as regards churches and systems he feels every prop and stay falling away from him.' [7]

Towards the last he had to endure great bodily anguish together with terrible depression of mind. Holy Scripture and the English Prayer Book were the books to which at the

[1] *Life*, p. 298. [2] *Ibid.* p. 301. [3] *Ibid.* p. 322.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 338. [5] *Ibid.* p. 342. [6] *Ibid.* p. 362.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 362.

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last he looked for comfort, and in his will he left directions that he should be buried in an Anglican cemetery with the Burial Service of the Church of England.

Enough, and perhaps more than enough, has been said to illustrate Mr. Sibthorp's ecclesiastical position and history. It would be utterly unfair and misleading if the reader were left under the impression that this is the most important side of his life, or that it forms the most characteristic part of Mr. Fowler's biography of him. Throughout all his changes of ecclesiastical position, Mr. Sibthorp preserved the essential unity of the devout life, and faith and trust in the Saviour; and the single eye to His honour and glory was equally conspicuous in him whether Anglican or Roman. His growth in religion is evident from his youth upwards, and we are quite at a loss to understand why his biographer, after having told us that he was 'always of a devout tone and temper,'[1] seeks about for and tries to settle chronologically what he calls his 'conversion.' This is to give unnecessary support to that mischievous dream of the Wesleyans that each Christian must have a definite and fixed time of conversion, which may be ascertained and dated. No sooner was Mr. Sibthorp ordained than the power and persuasiveness that belonged to him manifested themselves. His earlier ministry is thus described:—

'There was at this period a force, vividness and scriptural truth about Mr. Sibthorp's ministrations which won for them acceptance even with the fastidious, and worldly and indifferent. His preparations for the pulpit were the evident fruits of severe and well-directed study. His sermon was never written.[2] It was delivered from notes. But it was no crude, hasty, and immature effort. Slight, indeed, was the portion of dross mingled with the ore. The gem was elaborately set. It came rounded, sparkling and polished from the crucible of study, reflection and prayer.'[3]

He was devoted to pastoral ministrations, and admirably skilled in this by far the hardest part of clerical duty. At Ryde, the attachment of his flock to him was enthusiastic. One of them writes of his preaching:—'He took me almost into the presence of God, and this feeling did not leave me for a length of time.'[4] 'He could preach for an hour with intense animation, and the sermon was yet short in the estimate of his hearers.'[5] His Christian counsels to those who were in trouble were admirable. He writes to one:—

[1] *Life*, p. 20.
[2] His biographer states in a note that this is not true of all his sermons.
[3] *Life*, p. 33. [4] *Ibid.* p. 51. [5] *Ibid.* p. 53.

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'You are now called to be perfected through sickness, and I believe God is accomplishing his will concerning you, which is your sanctification, by causing you more than ever to experience what a reed a Christian is in himself and in his present condition. . . . Again and again I have seen reasons to admire the goodness of God in dealings which at the time tried me most severely; and if in this dark state such satisfaction can be derived from a glimpse, how much more we may be sure it will be in the world of light and of full revelation of the righteous ways of God.' [1]

His changes seemed only to deepen the earnestness of his spiritual life. After that of 1841, he writes—'I must earnestly pray for that grace, without which I cannot do a single good act, nor will a righteous disposition, to work in me the mind of Christ, to conform me to His Image, and to make me wholly and for ever dedicated to His service.' [2] Soon after he sends as a message to an old servant his 'earnest hope that she is trying to keep on the brink of heaven, ready to step in at a moment's notice.' [3] 'To me,' he writes, 'to live is Christ. There can be nothing to compare with this! This poor and empty world! Oh! how to be pitied are they who think they see in it what is satisfactory. If God be ours, what do we want?'

The following was written about a fortnight after his return to the Anglican Church:—

'This year is now getting on pretty far into its last quarter, and will soon be among the years that are past. But ah! what progress has it seen in each of us towards the kingdom of heaven, where years will be unknown? what advancement in conformity to the image of Jesus? what growth in grace? what work done for God? This is the main thing: being the end for which time is given and continued to us.' [4]

A few years later he writes:—

'How touching is that exhortation in the 122nd Psalm, verses 6 and following. I do bless God that I can truly say that my soul feels united with such an one as De Rentz in the Church of Rome and John Wesley in his own Church; but with the *Tablet* kind of men I have no union nor sympathy. They seem to me not to know what manner of spirit they are of.' [5]

The following is a very sad utterance:—

'What a comfort it is to have God to go to, and to be permitted to carry to Him our wants and cares! But for this I should quite sink; for, independent of personal trials and temptations, my past life has given me such insight into the two great antagonist Churches

[1] *Life*, p. 60. [2] *Ibid.* p. 69. [3] *Ibid.* p. 73.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 78. [5] *Ibid.* p. 110.

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of this day—those of Rome and England—that I know not how to find rest for my foot in either. I cannot follow —— and his confrères into their Mariolatry and bigotry; nor can I find satisfaction in the freezing High Churchmanship of Dr. —— and others of his class; while the major part of the Evangelicals appear full of bigotry in their way, and idolatrous of their own right of judgment and action.'[1]

Mr. Sibthorp's work as chaplain in the newly-consecrated chapel of his Bede-houses is well sketched by his biographer.

'No one who ever attended a service there conducted by Richard Sibthorp could easily forget it. His whole look, attitude, manner, were as eloquent as his solemn and searching addresses; and all were, so to speak, in devout harmony with the thought that here were some aged Christian souls being led to God and His worship by their aged and much tried friend and benefactor. His marvellous reverence showed a man surrounded, indeed, by others, yet alone with God. It was not merely recollectedness, it was *absorption*. He breathed an atmosphere of prayer, which attracted into it the colder devotional feelings of his fellow-worshippers.'[2]

Thus he was as an Anglican. The following must suffice to indicate his temper and feelings when he was returning to Rome:—

'I would know and do God's will in my own rather peculiar case, and I pray God that my own may be put to death in the matter. It is a great matter to live the hour to God as we shall wish to have lived it when we come before the Judge of all.'[3]

We cannot trace any change in the feelings and language of Mr. Sibthorp after his final return to Rome, and we are assured there was no essential change in his teaching. In the pulpit at Nottingham he still preached Christ crucified as he had done at Lincoln. He shrank with horror from anything like Mariolatry. He writes to a remonstrant clergyman:—

'You speak as if I did not hold any longer to the "one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." I assure you that I know but of one Mediator of atoning righteousness, even that same Jesus Christ.'[4]

Again:—

'I want to live in and on Christ, and to bring others to seek the same (as it was with Lacordaire)—the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, apart from which there is neither victory nor happiness.'[5]

Quotations might be multiplied, but these will suffice to show that Mr. Sibthorp always maintained a special and singular devotion to our Blessed Lord. Indeed, the distinctive

[1] *Life*, p. 111. [2] *Ibid.* p. 123. [3] *Ibid.* p. 157.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 185. [5] *Ibid.* p. 205.

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peculiarities of the Romish devotional system, which have grown to such portentous dimensions in modern days, are scarce alluded to in any of his letters. No one would have been more shocked at the notion that the Blessed Virgin was 'co-redemptress with Jesus,' that 'she merited by congruity the salvation of the whole world,' that 'she acted as mediatrix with the Mediator,' that 'the salvation of the world was granted by the Eternal Father, not only to Christ, but also to the Virgin,' that 'Christ obtained nothing by His merits which the Virgin Mother of God did not also gain out of congruity,' that 'Mary so loved the world that she gave her only-begotten Son.'[1] These blasphemies, we are sure, would have revolted Mr. Sibthorp, as they did, indeed, Cardinal Newman, when brought to his attention. But Mr. Sibthorp either was unaware of what divines of his Church had ventured to write, or he deliberately shut his eyes to it, and adopted an eclectic standpoint. Indeed, he appears to have read Romish devotional works but little. *S. Francis de Sales* (whose saintship has lately suffered such an unfortunate abatement) and the *Life of the Curé d'Ars* were favourite books with him, but they do not attract as much or as frequent commendation as the works of the Rev. Baldwin Brown and the Rev. Samuel Cox. Keble's *Christian Year* was ever his companion, and the works of Dr. Goulburn and Dr. Pusey are mentioned with praise. But the most thorough proof of the unity of Mr. Sibthorp's life, and of the continuity of his devout grasp of the great saving truths of the Gospel throughout, is furnished by his last work, on which, indeed, he was occupied up to the very time of his death—*The Daily Bread.* This book is intended to provide a little sermonette for every day of the year, together with some verses of hymns. Of these discourses, Mr. Sibthorp was able to finish 358 out of the 365. The Introduction to the book rightly characterizes the matter of it:—

'If one is sick of useless controversy, and strifes that are unprofitable and vain, he will find the author himself to be such an one, who will tell them that all is vanity, save God, and Christ, and life in Him.'

The sermons are such as might be preached by a devout Anglican; the hymns are taken from Anglican sources, and no clearer proof of the entirely un-Roman character of the book could be given than that which is furnished by a reviewer in the *Tablet*, who says: 'The book is written in what is

[1] See *The Truth and Office of the English Church*, pp. 150 *sqq.*

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almost a foreign language—certainly an unfamiliar dialect to the Catholic reader.'[1]

We now take leave of this singular, but devout, and in many respects admirable man. In doing so we must not forbear a word of praise for the way in which his biography has been put together by Mr. Fowler. Intimately acquainted as he was with Mr. Sibthorp for many years, he has been able to give many touches and explanations which another could not have furnished, and he has done his work in an excellent spirit and with much taste. There are faults in the book no doubt, but these are partly inseparable from the character of the materials. The paucity of these has made it somewhat jejune in some of the most interesting parts, but their abundance in the latter years should not have tempted the compiler to heap up so many letters in the same strain. Mr. Fowler's own remarks and criticisms are always judicious and well expressed.

The memory of Richard Waldo Sibthorp is not likely to perish so long as the beautiful building on the hill of Lincoln, erected by him in memory of his mother, and dedicated to S. Anne, remains to show the taste and skill of the great architect Pugin and the munificence of the founder, who gladly adopted his beautiful designs. From first to last Mr. Sibthorp must have spent on S. Anne's Bedehouses during his lifetime some 50,000*l.* His other charitable donations were manifold and on the most liberal scale, and when he died his principal wealth consisted in a collection of old china, of which he had been a skilful collector for many years, and which he directed in his will should be sold and the proceeds be divided between S. Anne's and Earlswood. He 'rests from his labours and his works do follow him.'

ART. VII.—BRIGHT'S ANTI-PELAGIAN TREATISES OF S. AUGUSTINE.

Anti-Pelagian Treatises of S. Augustine. Edited by W. BRIGHT, D.D. (Oxford, 1880.)

THE Board by whom the studies of the Theological School at Oxford are controlled and directed have lately decided

[1] *Tablet*, October 4, 1879.

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on a change of no small importance. They propose to break up the huge and unmanageable mass of dogmatic theology into three separate subjects, between which the student may take his choice, and, in his reading, they direct his attention to the subject so chosen, rather than to any particular book which they may require him to read. The examination will aim at testing his grasp on the principles with which the suggested books are concerned. The student will thus work with a definite aim before him; he will have a thread to follow, as he makes his way along; even if he loses something by narrowing his attention to one especial field, he will gain infinitely more than he loses by securing intelligent possession of the matters which he handles, instead of being left, at the end of his course, with a vague and insecure hold on a system of doctrine which deadens by its mass and bewilders by its variety. An accurate grasp on any one of the main theological subjects is a sure method of entry upon all the other subjects with which it is so intimately united.

One such subject, so proposed by the Board, is that of the Doctrine of Grace, with its bearings on the questions of nature and free-will; and the literature suggested for study under this head is naturally taken largely from the works of S. Augustine. It is in order to enable the student easily and conveniently to cover the prescribed ground that Dr. Bright, to whom the Theological School already owes so much, has brought together into a single volume the Augustinian Treatises which the Board advise for study, and within which the subject receives its chief discussion. The book is intended, primarily, for Oxford use, and it will win from Oxford, first of all, the grateful acknowledgment of the care and skill with which Dr. Bright brings to the use of the student his great learning and his dramatic freshness; but many, outside the immediate needs of Oxford, who are anxious to travel through the discussion by which questions of such momentous issue and deep-seated interest were first sifted and settled, will most thankfully welcome a book which enables them to follow the line of the great argument so thoroughly and so clearly.

Especially will they thank Dr. Bright for the Introduction with which he prefaces the *Treatises*, and in which he traces the whole course of the intellectual conflict from the first movement of Pelagius in 405 down to the famous and decisive Council of Orange in 529. Dr. Bright is here at his very best. His historical knowledge, always vivid and minute, gains force and unity and solidity from his mas-

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terly perception of the theological issues at stake. Dr. Bright's handling of dogma is singularly firm and delicate; he has a clear eye for its living and spiritual force; he can allow it all its strength, without diminishing its freshness or its mobility. Few will read his excellent exhibition of the struggle without winning a new sense of the depth and reality of the vast interests involved in that critical hour of the Church's dogmatic movement, and a new and wondering appreciation of the skilful success with which she then controlled and mastered the conflicting forces, which, at a later date, she allowed to break out into such disastrous and fatal opposition. Nor will their gratitude end here, for Dr. Bright has bravely attempted to distinguish the voice of Catholic judgment from the voice of that noble and eloquent champion, to whom the victory of the deeper over the narrower truth is so largely due. The Church, which has cherished the name of the great Augustine with an admiration and an affection given to but few even of her greatest children, is yet free from all bondage to the letter of his writings. She is not his, but he is hers. The Spirit that is in her, that abides in her large heart, is no creature of the day. It arrives at each successive crisis, knowing the past as well as the present: it will outlive the troubles with which each generation, in turn, puts its nerve to proof; it is not carried off its balance; it retains its coolness, its self-possession, its secure control; it estimates without exaggeration; it decides without excitement or distortion; it can never fall into the partiality of fanaticism. Within the great unity of the gathered Church, all the thrilling questions of each passing hour find their level, their proportion, their subdual, their due discipline. It is this calm and sound judgment, so priceless, so assuring, which is so terribly maimed and weakened by the ruinous divisions of Christendom. But, in the days of S. Augustine, that large judgment, in spite of peril and doubt, could still find room and force to act; and Dr. Bright has most skilfully instanced the lines of division at which it parted from the extreme and unbalanced logic to which the fervour of Augustine gradually lent itself. It is possible—

'to believe in the reality of internal grace, as *enabling* the soul, which responds to its touch, and which does so respond by its assistance, to achieve what would otherwise have been beyond its capacity, without admitting that this touch *determines* the response which it solicits and makes possible.' Again, 'we may believe that the sin of the first man entailed on his posterity a condition of sinfulness, ... which involved a disorder and taint of the whole inner nature. . . . .

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while yet we may avoid language which would suggest a literal imputation of Adam's sin to each of his descendants, admit that sin can bear only a modified sense in regard to what is not personal, acknowledge a certain operation of grace in the production of goodness among the unregenerated, and decline to adopt a rigorous application of the doctrine of inherited condemnation to all who die unbaptized.'

We cannot but think that all who read these careful and frank words will welcome them with a sense of glad relief. They clear off a whole network of dark and intricate troubles which have clung about the strong truths which underlie the Augustinian argument. Such intellectual difficulties as they leave unsolved are difficulties large as history, deep as human nature, real as life itself: they are not difficulties which cramp our vision and paralyse our heart; they are those for the solution of which we can await, without anxious unrest, the hour when we shall know even as we are known.

For there is this essential difference between the Pelagian and the Augustinian positions: that the former is clear and intelligible in its logic, but obscure, and undecided, and shifty in its handling of those great facts of the moral and spiritual world, which the latter interprets with triumphant and harmonious mastery, even though its logic be driven at the last into the mystery of paradox. Yes, its logic may suffer itself to become paradoxical; for is not life itself a paradox? Is not man himself a being hung between two worlds, subject to the logic of heaven and to the logic of earth, at once a thing of eternity and a thing of time? What but paradox can adequately express a creature whose existence becomes intelligible in an Incarnation, in the God-man, in the Word that took flesh?

The Pelagian is at his best when dealing with the man *κατ' ὄψιν*, the man as you see him at first sight, the man as common-sense estimates him; this is what makes his position so plausible. Man is, for him, an individual, pure and simple: his virtues and his failings are his own affair: he has relations and connections with God, with his fellows, but he is, at the base, himself and no other, clear-cut, separate, isolated, bounded, alone. His will is his own; he moves it as he chooses; if not, surely, he is fated, he is irresponsible: how can he be condemned for that which he could not help doing? He cannot sin except in cases where he knew, and could do, the right, and yet refused. He can only be guilty of a fall there where he could have stood. This looks plain and simple enough; let us try on a little further.

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There is nothing sinful in man, then, except that which he freely wills: his nature, then, his impulses, his affection, all these must be good and pure; for God is good, and does not create man evil, and man does not fall until he wills sin. Man, then, is born *now* as pure as he was in Eden, capable of perfection. Children are begotten free from taint. Did not God Himself institute marriage? the natural passions cannot be evilly inclined of themselves. Men, then, could be absolutely innocent before Christ came; this would be true, even though few, or none, succeeded. God required innocence by the law, and He cannot have demanded the impossible.

The position is becoming strained and anxious; let us try on yet a little deeper.

Men could be innocent before Christ came: they possessed the conditions of sinlessness, even though over-weighted by temptations and allured by bad examples. They yet had the entry into the kingdom of heaven; the door was not shut; and the virtues of the Jews, the devoted faith of the Patriarchs, the passionate adoration of the Psalmists, are the fruit and proof. These men are praised of God, acceptable to God. Not without God, indeed, could they have achieved this. This the Pelagian will gladly allow: man in his unaided strength could not have entered heaven; but God had aided him always and in all places. He had given him originally the very powers by which to act innocently: these were of God, not of man's own. And to the Jew He had added the immense support of the law; He had made known to man His ways; He had promised him the assured reward; He had backed him by all the aids that His pastoral care had devised. To do more than this would be to destroy the conditions of goodness; it would force the freedom of choice; it would stultify the very perfection which it wrought. Christ came to raise these aids, these inducements, to their highest power, to remove hindrances, to break down barriers that ancient sins had heaped together, to reveal the perfect way of holiness. Invited by the strong attraction of His love, men put forth their inborn capacities for good; guided by His entire knowledge, they put forth these capacities without fear and without error. Here is the gain. Surely, to go further than this is to be Manichæan. And here the Pelagian advances from defence to attack. The Augustinian, he asserts, denies the reality of man's free-will, which, according to him, has been lost by the sin of Adam. He calumniates marriage, denying that it is ordained of God. He denies to

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the saints of the older dispensation any freedom from the tyranny of sin; he even refuses to the Apostles of Christ any genuine purity and holiness. Man, according to him, is no good creation of God, but is a creature born in lust, whose very nature has in it a taint of corruption. Nor does baptismal grace succeed in liberating him: by it sin is but shorn, the roots remain imbedded in the evil flesh, and from them springs again the full growth of sin.

Here is the case for Pelagius, a case starting from most obvious and plausible premisses; and nothing, it seems to us, exhibits more decisively the mystical profundity that belongs to the most ordinary and universal emotions of daily human life than the discovery, under the pressure of the Pelagian controversy, how flat and poor and inadequate is the attempt of plain common-sense to give any intelligible significance to the religious experiences of mankind. The Pelagian logic finds itself in helpless collision with all that most deeply and strongly stirs the human spirit. It could make nothing of all that mighty language with which S. Paul read out the miserable impotence of man, the tyrannous bondage of iniquity. It could make nothing of words that spoke of slavery, of imprisonment, of a horrible body of clinging corruption; nor, again, could it enter into that overpowering joy with which S. Paul knew himself to be caught up by the compelling force of a grace that violently forced him from himself and dragged him a willing captive, enslaved to righteousness, behind the chariot-wheels of Christ.

The great words of redemption, of renewal, of the new creature, the cry of the Psalmist against the sin in which his mother conceived him, the imploring cry to another, to God, for the renewal of a clean heart and of a right spirit, the unsounded depth of utterances which spoke of a sonship that could never be born out of the blood or of the will of man, of a freedom made for us by the Son, of that drawing of the Father without which none could come to Christ, of that gift of God by which alone we can become sheep of the Son's own fold: all this sleeps in the Pelagian's ear; he has no logic wherewith to meet and understand it; he stares at it, and wonders, and passes by; to him it is exaggeration, it is misleading jargon; his narrow common-sense is helplessly staggered by these tremendous paradoxes. And yet the very poorest, the most ignorant, of men understand and welcome every syllable of this astounding language. These strange words it is that have run like a flame through the dark and foul houses of woe and crime, and have moved the

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passionate heart of the masses, and have built up from the hopeless and the lost the wonderful Church of Christ. The rich and the cultured have been again and again attracted by the easy clearness of Pelagianism: it has never deceived the suffering or the poor. To them, to the sinner, to the dying, those voices of S. Paul and of S. John, dark and mysterious as they may sound, strike home, strong in the force of a truth that is understood and grasped and held fast and known in full and clear security. It is no speculative puzzle that these paradoxes of Augustine express: they embody the spirit of all redemption, of all prayer, of all adoration; it is the very life-blood of the Incarnation that is at stake.

There are three main positions which may be singled out of the mass of Augustinian argumentation in order to make clear to ourselves the spiritual domain into which the Pelagian logic never enters.

First, the Holiness of God Himself. What could the Pelagian make of that? Was His Holiness the issue of His free choice between good and evil? Must it have been possible for God to sin in order that His Goodness should be real? Was there no necessity in this Holiness of His? and yet, if necessitated, was it therefore no true Holiness?

Such a remembrance of the eternal and absolute nature of God, of binding necessity yet of perfect goodness, carries us to our second main position, the conception of a freedom which shall be, not the thin and abstract and empty openness of choice imagined by the Pelagian, but the full and concrete expression, unhampered and undeadened, of the entire being. Choice is determined by love. In order to be free to choose what we ought, we must be able to love what we ought. A voluntary action is an action we love to do. To will the good, we must love the good. The Fall lost us our love for the good: we can love it no longer with all our souls, and hence we have lost the power of willing it. We are not free any longer to choose the good, but do we, for that, sin under compulsion? No, we sin by loving the evil; we will the evil because we love doing it. We freely choose sin. The condemnation is, not because we are dragged along by sin unwillingly, but because we, with all our being, delight in wrong.

Given that delight, sin is certainly inevitable, necessary: but the necessity does not diminish or negative the sin; for it is that inevitability that itself constitutes the sinfulness. This is sin, that man so loves it that he cannot help sinning. This is sin, that a man so loves darkness that he cannot ever abandon it.

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And now we pass easily to Augustine's third main position. Man, to be freed from sin, must be freed from his love for it: and his love is the issue of himself; it is he himself who is corrupt, dead to life, prone to death, inclined to the things of darkness. To be saved from sin, then, he must be saved from himself. His love must be changed; he must gain the renewal of his power of loving, and so choosing, God.

To restore him his freedom of will God must remake his desires, his affections, his impulses, his spiritual appetite. This is Grace, the gift of God, by which a new heart is created with a new power of love. The restoration of free will unto Holiness means, then, the infusion from above of the Holy Ghost into the soul of man, by which he is delivered from himself, changed, refashioned, made regenerate, a child of God, an heir of the Kingdom, being a member of Christ and of His Church.

From these three arguments it is easy to pass down to most of the minor problems dealt with in this controversy. The will of man will no longer be treated as an isolated and independent individuality; it now will seek to find its freedom, not in separation from, but in union with, the supreme will of God. Man's will works at its freest when embraced and enclosed within the life of the higher and omnipotent love. It will win its true freedom from the prevenient and stimulating energy of a will that inbreathes into it its own activity and its own desires.

Or again, Augustine will easily meet the persistent inquiry, Does God demand of man the impossible, since man has not the power to fulfil the demands of holiness? He demands, indeed, what is impossible to *man*, but possible enough to the divine energy which is always at hand to raise man to the level which of himself he cannot reach. Man cannot fulfil the law, just because man of himself can do nothing at all.

Did, then, the saints of the Old Testament accomplish nothing? Nay, they did much; but what they did was never their own doing: it was Christ in them, the power of the coming Redemption. The Lamb has been slain for them already from the foundation of the world. Pelagius denies to Christ His eternal efficacy.

So, too, the inheritance of sin becomes intelligible. For, though free choice of evil must be confined to each soul separately, yet disorder of the affections, weakness of will, tendencies of inclination, are all capable of transmission; and these have the nature of sin, if by sinfulness is meant the tendency to love the wrong. And, again, concupiscence

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retains its evil taint even when it is driven out of the spirit into the region of blind and fleshly habit; for though the will, fortified of God, refuses and is free, yet the very existence of wrong desire has in it the conditions of sin, it expresses a taint which we cannot wholly repudiate; blind and instinctive as may be its working, its very wrongness is itself offensive to God and humiliating to man. Thus, apostles themselves may be found still battling with a corruption from which they have yet to be delivered.

In all this Augustine is firm and real and large, manifold as human life.

If behind it all there yet looms the awful burden of that last question, Why, if God be the sole stimulant of the human will, is not that stimulus altogether and universally sufficient? —then all we can say is that the mystery begins for S. Augustine *there* where it inevitably begins for all human life. His argument becomes mysterious just where all life becomes mysterious; and, if so, the very mystery becomes a pledge to the reality and rightness of his argument. Well would it have been if he had stayed his feet at the edge of the dark and inevitable abyss. He attempted the impossible task and left behind him, as the fruit of his rash effort, a terrible heritage of error, out of the shadow of which man's wounded and stricken soul is but now securing its escape. Dr. Bright's tender but unhesitating judgment on the unfortunate exaggerations, into which his very passion of devotion to God drove the great Doctor as the controversy pressed, is given in the fiftieth page of his Introduction. We would urge all, who wish clearly to grasp the issues raised, to read the Professor's historic treatment of them, and then to turn to those wise and powerful propositions printed at the close of the volume, in which the Council of Orange summed up the Catholic judgment on this long war of thirty years.

Dr. Bright has simply reprinted the Benedictine text. After the Introduction he does not attempt any apparatus of notes or aids. The treatises are, we suppose, selected for him by the needs of the School of Theology; otherwise it is impossible to resist a wish to have had one specimen treatise from the later stage of the discussion, in which Augustine had developed his statements on Predestination. Without this we are hardly carried through the whole argument, and a warning in the Preface would have forestalled any danger of misunderstanding. For the sake of this we could have spared the treatise *De Gestis Pelagii*, the argumentation of which hardly goes beyond the boundaries of the other treatises

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given. One other little complaint we will allow ourselves: the headings of the sections, taken from Abbé Migne, are so slight as to be almost useless; they do not give the continuity of the argument, and have a disjointed and unmeaning air, and in many cases fail to fix on the prominent topic of the section they represent, and go off on a side issue: *e.g.* the heading to chapter lxvii. of the *De Naturâ et Gratiâ:* the comparison of sin with disease is quite incidental to the main gist and purpose of the chapter; or, again, in chapter xxv. of the same treatise, the statement that 'certain heretics must be dealt with by prayer' conveys singularly little of the force of the chapter. These are but two slight instances of a general failing in most of the headings to be of any assistance to the reader towards grasping the distinctive character of the chapters. But we would not close with a complaint. We would rather express our hearty thanks to Dr. Bright for his bold and instructive Introduction to a most helpful volume.

ART. VIII.—THE SUNDAY SCHOOL CENTENARY.

1. *The Church and the Sunday School.* A Sermon preached in Gloucester Cathedral at the Sunday School Centenary. By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
2. *Certain Letters upon the Sunday School Centenary* in the *Guardian.* 1880.
3. *A Short Account of Sunday Schools in Hull.* 1803.

THE commemoration of the labours of Robert Raikes and the Rev. Thomas Stock has recently occupied the mind more or less of Englishmen throughout the world. Nonconformists as well as Churchmen, Australians as well as Englishmen, have vied with each other in paying honour by lectures and speeches and monster gatherings of children to the memory of the Gloucester printer and philanthropist, and to the importance of the Sunday-School movement. In these days of scepticism, when Homer is not permitted to own his ballads nor Shakspeare his plays, Raikes and his co-adjutor are not to enjoy the claim of original design unquestioned. A Methodist here and a Unitarian there, in a

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preceding century, are known to have assembled and instructed outcast children during the leisure hours of the Lord's Day; but as their individual labours began and ended with themselves, they could only be regarded as the big drops which precede the coming downpour. The successful and widespread efforts of the saintly Cardinal Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in the sixteenth century, alone may challenge the men of Gloucester. None who have visited Milan Cathedral on a Sunday afternoon can forget the grand sight of boys in the southern aisle and girls in the northern, assembled in hundreds, to receive instruction by slates, and books, and lectures. Still, as for the last three centuries, knots of boys may be seen carrying a large cross, and their voices heard in chorus: 'Fathers and mothers, send your children to learn the Christian doctrine, or give an account for it to God.'

Long before the movement began in England, the influence of Milan had made itself felt in Roman Catholic countries, and Sunday Schools have been, if not universal, far from uncommon in Germany, France, and Italy. We could wish that this fact had been more generally recognized during the Centenary. The simple interests of truth demanded some fuller expression of Christian sympathy, although it is probable that ignorance of the facts, rather than a studied oversight, was chiefly to blame for a somewhat uncharitable omission. What S. Charles Borromeo did for his Archiepiscopal diocese, Robert Raikes and his colleague did for England. The union of a layman and a clergyman in laying the foundation of the system was a happy omen of that combined effort on the part of the clerical and the lay element in each congregation or parish in the benevolent work of Christianizing the neglected children of the poor. It would be a serious indictment against the entire system, if it could be shown that it relieved the clergy of the Church of England of the duty which, in the Rubrics and Canons, is imposed upon them, of publicly catechizing, *i.e.*, instructing their little ones orally, in the House of God. So far, however, is it from being true that the one must necessarily supplant the other, that it will be found that the public work of catechizing gives support and coherence to the other. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that the tendency of our national system of education will operate more and more to the extrusion of the religious element from the daily school, and to the same extent render the Sunday School a more indispensable institution of the Church, demanding all the resources which the clergyman can call into active operation.

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Two questions naturally ask for an answer in connexion with the commemoration which has just taken place: 1. Does the Sunday School system deserve all the complimentary things that have been said of it? 2. Will the occasion have done anything to remove its blots, and to render it a more effective arm of the Church, using that term in its widest sense?

In attempting to give some reply to the former question, we bear in mind the serious charges which have been brought against it. It has been said that parents have been induced to take advantage of responsibility accepted by others, not only to omit their natural duty of instructing their own children in religious duties, but to abandon themselves to laziness and utter neglect of public worship on the Lord's Day. 'The parent now,' says the Bishop, the title of whose sermon stands above this article, 'far too commonly, simply sends the child to the Sunday School, and surrenders all the sacred duties of home-teaching to others, scarcely cares to inquire what it is that is taught, or how it is taught.' Statistics have been adduced in support of this grave accusation. But it may be said in extenuation that statistics are proverbially deceitful, and necessarily untrustworthy, unless the area that supplies them is sufficiently extensive to compensate for any local peculiarities. Again, the chaplain of one of H. M.'s prisons has given us a melancholy picture of the inefficiency of Sunday Schools to keep their pupils out of gaol. The testimony, such as it is, affords us no true argument against the success of the Sunday School system. Surely none are so irrational as to suppose that an hour or two's teaching out of the Church Catechism or the Creed can counteract the miserable influences of a drunken parent or an ungodly home. Has Mr. Horsley measured those influences with the result of his own lessons, given to the inmates *daily* in the quiet of their prison life, and can he record his experience of the result? He must do this, if his intention was to disparage the work of the Sunday School. The only inference we can properly draw is that all human institutions whatever, and even Divine institutions administered by human hands, are imperfect and full of blots.

The benefits, in short, of Sunday Schools are imponderable. We cannot predicate what the present condition of the poorer and more neglected classes would be at this moment had Raikes never lived, or had his unpaid army of volunteers never been called into active service. Before we can estimate the benefit which they have rendered to Society and to the

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individual scholar, we must go to the wards of the hospital and listen to the last words that fall from the sick man's lips; we must follow the soldier dying from his shot wounds upon the battle-field, and discover the direction of his last thoughts; we must consult the sister of mercy and the Christian nurse, who, for the love of Christ and His children, devote themselves to the work of lessening and softening the sufferings of the sick, and learn from them how much more easy is the task of comforting or teaching in the case of those who have been taught to associate some real meaning with such words as *Redemption* and *Atonement*, and are already familiar with the facts of our Blessed Lord's life and death, before we have any right to question the amount of usefulness of which the Sunday School system has been productive.

A priori, those who entertain the notion of the uselessness of the Sunday School contradict the dictates of common sense. There is a moral force in *all* voluntary self-denying effort, which must produce effect as surely as any other moral or natural force. At the beginning of the movement, in the old city of the West, a century ago, women were at first *hired* for one or two shillings a Sunday, and we find at the end of fifteen or twenty years the enterprise had well-nigh failed. One or two earnest and noble-hearted youths then resolved that it should *not* fail, and to prevent the failure enlisted fellow-labourers in a purely voluntary adventure. Enthusiasm was soon aroused. The third annual report of the Sunday Schools established in Hull, in the first year of this century, lies before us. The Report speaks encouragingly of progress, and recites three several instances of personal conversion among the most depraved portion of the population. The benefit spread to the parents. 'The teachers,' the Report says:—

'have also had the satisfaction of knowing that the benefit of the instructions given to the children of the schools has extended to some of their parents. A poor woman, who has lately manifested a religious concern of mind, was asked whence it arose, and she replied that she had been deeply affected by hearing her two boys sing at home the hymns which they had learned at the Sunday School, and added, with tears, if children prayed to God and sung His praise, it was time their parents should do so too.'

During the late centenary we may remark, in passing, that there were not wanting proofs of the growing value of such indirect influence upon the children's homes. An anecdote related, we think, by Lord Shaftesbury still clings to our memory. A man and his wife had wandered into some church,

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and the sermon had so wrought conviction upon their consciences, that they mutually made confession of their sinful past, but not knowing in what form to approach or address the Throne of Grace bethought themselves of awakening their Sunday School child, that she might teach them 'how to pray.'

The Hull Report was written in 1803. From that time advance has been made with such rapid strides that we now hear of *twelve millions* of scholars among our English-speaking population passing under the humanizing influences of *one million and a half* of volunteer teachers. It may be that these teachers are, like other volunteers, far less capable of drilling recruits than regular officers of the line; but it would be as incredible that water should refuse to rise to its level as that real and lasting benefit to society and to the Church should not follow so large an exercise of pure religious philanthropy, undertaken from a simple desire to promote the highest interests of these young children, and to awaken within them the consciousness of a higher destiny. If this million and a half of teachers are really animated with a high motive to look upon each one of these twelve millions of children as precious in his Creator's eyes, as a feeling, thinking, conscious *ego*, entering into all the relations of family, school, neighbourhood in childhood, and when some twenty years have rolled away combining them with fresh relations to the employer, to the new home, to the State, and to the Church, it is simply impossible to over-estimate the potentialities of this wide-spread system.

But there is confessedly another side to the picture. The Sunday School has not produced the results that might reasonably be expected of it. A hundred years are long enough to test the efficiency of any system. Children of unpromising parents have become fathers and grandfathers, who might be expected to exercise a 'godly influence' over their families; an influence which might reasonably aid, if not altogether supersede, the Sunday School. Yet Churchmen and Dissenters alike have to lament the same neglect of public worship among the labouring classes, the same indifference to all spiritual interests. So long as the 'missing link' between the Sunday School and the Church has not been found, it must be conceded that failure must be written over its past history, and the Centenary celebration will have served little purpose, if there has been spent too much time upon self-satisfied congratulations, too little upon well-directed efforts to supply its defects and to remove its blots. We shall now presume to point out what, in our opinion, those defects and blots are.

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They have reference both to the children that are found in the schools, and to those who never come to them. As the attendance is voluntary, and positive punishments are out of the question, it is absolutely indispensable that the school should attract the children to itself; and to attract them it must be made attractive. Of course, personal manner and gentleness of treatment are in themselves attractive, but mistaken ideas of the *aims* and *methods* of instruction may go far to counteract their influences. Education is an art, and the art should be learned by the teacher of the Sunday as well as of the Day School. He should know the natural order in which a child's faculties are developed, if he would make his lessons not distasteful. He should deal with the child as the first Apostles did with the early Church, occupying him with the *facts* of the creed, rather than with the dogmas inferred from those facts. His teaching should be *concrete*, not abstract, showing *e.g.* what sin is, from conscious sinful actions, tempers, desires. He should lay upon the memory, in collect, hymn, or passages from Scripture, nothing that has not first passed through the understanding. His teaching, like that of the Great Teacher, should draw largely upon the child's great faculty of *imagination*, and be pictorial and vivid. The clergyman should meet his teachers weekly, and so, becoming the living link between the Church and School, show them on each occasion not only *what* to teach, but *how* to teach. The School would thus have cohesion as well as power.

If the Sunday School were made more attractive, the School age would advance, and the missing link between the School and Church be more likely to be found.

During the Centenary week, a great diversity of opinion manifested itself upon the function of a Sunday School as a teacher of definite doctrine. This diversity is the natural result of the variety that exists in the Day School. Where the clergyman has it in his power to reach his children daily in the class-room, and to make the religious lesson a real element of the every-day work of the School, the Sunday School is then at liberty to discharge its special mission as the awakener of religious consciousness, and the educator of religious feeling. The Sunday School teacher would in such cases simply aim at developing the inner power of a parable, or showing the force of a scriptural emblem. The school hour would be happily spent in listening to a story told by the teacher himself, or one read to the class by each member in turn, diversified by hymn and prayer. If, on the other hand,

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the Day School be inaccessible to the clergyman, or too large for his individual instruction, and the children be shut out by the school regulations from all Church teaching, it is his clear duty, if he be faithful to his vows, to take the only opportunity which lies within his reach, and to make the Sunday School the organ of more definite instruction. But even then he must be careful not to attempt to make his children, in the first instance, subtle theologians or clever controversialists. They may become theologians, indeed, but be so without knowing it. A knowledge of the Church's doctrines, and of the reasons for remaining within the pale of the Church, should be the result, if possible, of indirect rather than direct teaching, in the first instance.

There can be no question, indeed, as to the value of the Church Catechism as a manual for teachers, as well as for catechumens. It was the wisdom of our forefathers to make the words of our Church Catechism an exercise of memory from the earliest years. A good teacher will follow the lines of the Catechism, and make its clear and definite utterances the basis of his oral interpretation and instruction. And even the mechanical repetition of the words, themselves imperfectly understood, may prove to be a most valuable help to the further instruction of ill-prepared children, when under instruction for Confirmation. The Rubric of the Prayer Book distinctly commands that all children should be publicly instructed 'in some part of this Catechism.' And the mind of the Church is plainly expressed that all its children should 'learn their Catechism.' It is, perhaps, to the neglect of this systematic teaching that we may attribute the melancholy fact that so many of the pupils of Church Sunday Schools drift away into Nonconformity or indifference. Older children, at least, ought certainly to be led, directly, and explicitly, to examine the foundations on which Christ laid His Church, if we are to expect them to abide, in after years, 'in the Apostles' fellowship' as well as in 'the Apostles' doctrine.' From the silence of the sacred writings as to their own witness to themselves, regarded as the foundation of the Church, and their clear witness to its foundation upon the Apostles, 'Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone;' from the promise left of His perpetual presence with His Church, and from His warning, and that of His inspired Apostles, to preserve a real and visible union; from the ordination of individual men, commissioned at definite places to 'set in order' what would otherwise fall into disorder, to supply 'what is wanting,' and to 'ordain presbyters;' the

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children would receive some clear bias in favour of Church order, as against the disorder of uncontrolled private judgment. Are children too young to understand the evil of schism? We answer that they are not too young to understand the unity concretely taught by the Apostle under the figure of the human body:—'There is *one* Body,' as well as 'one Spirit.' The youngest child may comprehend that, if the illustration has any true significance, it implies organic unity. There may be two eyes and two feet, and two hands: but if there is to be order, and not disorder, in the body; if hand is not to counteract hand, or foot foot; there must be one brain to direct them all, and one heart to regulate the brain. Let only the natural method of instruction be adopted in the inculcation of Church teaching; let the fundamental fact of all education be borne in mind, that children cannot be expected to sympathize with mere abstractions, and then the youngest Sunday School child may learn to know why he is, and why he ought to be, a Church child, and not a wanderer. Abstract dogmas, whether in respect to Church doctrine or Church discipline, may be learnt by the teacher, but they should be presented to the mind of the scholar in a shape in which they can be assimilated to his own conception and spiritual nature. Inattention to the natural method of opening an access to the child's mind for definite and clear doctrine has induced the majority of Church teachers to omit Church teaching altogether, and to limit instruction to those truths which the Church holds in common with the various forms of Dissent. The natural consequence of this colourless teaching is what we have to deplore, and what the colonies deplore, namely, that Church children grow up amongst ourselves, or arrive at distant lands, believing themselves at liberty to choose their spiritual teachers, as they choose their bakers and shoemakers.

It may be objected that the great majority of our volunteers are not intelligent enough, nor sufficiently acquainted with the technical methods of teaching, to follow the lines which have been laid down. Our reply is that the true remedy must be found in the technical education of the clergyman himself. The Chief Shepherd emphatically laid it upon His servant that he should 'feed His lambs,' and the prophet has beautifully pointed out that 'the lambs shall feed *after their manner*.' It is their manner to thrive upon milk, not upon hard roots. The Sunday School teacher must be the link between the lambs and the under-shepherd. He must learn from him at the teachers' weekly meeting in

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what manner he should deal with the lesson of the following Sunday. Should it be objected that only a clergyman here and there is himself capable of understanding the intellectual wants of children, we reply that his own professional education has been radically defective if, when placed in charge of his fold, he is 'unapt to teach.'

The Centenary will have done some real work if our Bishops have had brought home to them the incapacity of many of the clergy as teachers and catechizers. Successful teaching is the foundation of successful preaching. The warden of the Theological College should be an enthusiastic teacher, from whose daily lectures, not only doctrinal or pastoral truths are conveyed, and lectures on the art of teaching delivered, but so conveyed and so delivered as to become living illustrations of such art. Were this made an integral part of the future clergyman's education, the bounden duty of public catechizing would not, as now, be shamefully and regularly shirked as an unpalatable task, but the child would grow up, looking back with feelings of happy association upon the Church as well as school, interested in the lessons of the pulpit in after life, and able to give a reason to the infidel why he is a Christian, and to the separatist why he is a Churchman after the manner of his fathers.

To supply the missing link between the School and Church, the clergyman must keep his eye upon his children emerging from childhood. He must look, not only to his teachers, his appliances and his methods, but to *himself.* He has now, more than ever, to deal with voluntary attendance, when threats and penalties, school feasts and bribes, are of no avail. His only weapon is personal influence. To secure this influence, he must not only look for a teacher of a Sunday Bible-class similarly endowed with himself, but become to his band of young men the everyday 'guide, philosopher, and friend.' He must follow them to their homes and their trades; he must encourage them to consult with him in all their difficulties and temptations. He must call to his aid the appliances of Church guilds, and engage them in one or other of the various departments of Church work. On Sundays he should muster them under some competent volunteer in class-rooms, separated from the younger children, in the vestry, or in his own house. He should make his instruction much more elastic, so as to cover the *works* of God in nature as well as His Word. He should make his ideas familiar with the modes of Divine government in both, and with the consequences of disobedience to Divine law, whether written in the moral or

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physical world. A French curé once complained to an eminent philosopher of the apathy and irreverence of his congregation. 'Tell them,' said the philosopher, 'of the glorious wonders of creation: that each star is a sun with its attendant planets, that those streaks of brightness in the sky are composed of indistinguishable dust of such suns, separated from each other by millions and millions of miles, whose light takes thousands and tens of thousands of years of lightning-like velocity to reach our globe.' When next they met, the curé, in reply to the inquiry as to how he fared with the experiment, exclaimed, 'O, worse than ever; they were excited and irreverently clapped their hands in Church, and cried *bravo!*' It will be hard to prove the impropriety of tracing the love and Fatherhood of God, even on a Sunday, in Nature, Providence and History, as well as Grace. Better still, perhaps, it would be to hold a weekday class as well, when no traditional scruples would interfere, and opportunity would be more freely offered for discussing the beauties of our best poets, and enforcing the lessons of sanatory and economic science. An occasional ramble into the country, in view of the green fields, the blue sky, and the rolling waves, with the opportunity of

> 'Making sweet friendship with the stones and flowers,'

would immensely add to the personal influence of such an outgrowth of the Sunday School.

For lack of space we must pass over our views upon the 'methods' as distinguished from 'appliances,' and speak of the clergyman himself in his relation to the elder youth of the humbler rank. We have already spoken of the charge brought against the Sunday School, that it has relieved the clergyman of the duty imposed upon him of instructing and catechizing his children in their early years. It would be an indictment of a graver character still if it could be shown that the clergyman devolved upon others the inalienable duty of advising and watching over his young men during that eventful period when each

> 'Steps into life and follows unrestrained
> Where Passion leads or Prudence points the way.'

A felt interest and a true sympathy is all that is needed. For want of this the youth turns his back upon school, and church, and parson, to none of which he may have felt much attraction. He is now powerfully influenced from *within* and from *without.* The sense of independence and the

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proud consciousness of self-support, as he begins to earn his own wages on the one hand, and the allurements of doubtful companions and the natural longing for fresh air on the other, are forces antagonistic to the clergyman's Sunday School, if there be no such counteracting force of sympathy and comprehension of the difficulties of the situation. What then should the clergyman do? He should look for the required influence in himself, as he meets his old Sunday School scholar in the clubs and guilds of the parish. He should meet him in the temperance hall or the coffee club, or the choir practice, or the concert room. He should meet him in a botany or geology class, or in whatever department he has himself a speciality. If a cricketer, he should not be ashamed to don the flannel trousers, and show with his willow how fields are won. Add to all this shorter and brighter services, and still shorter and brighter sermons, simple, human, searching; above all, add free and open access to God's House, where each can worship the Fatherhood in the bonds of a common brotherhood; in short, let the youth of the future find and feel his place in the Church of Christ, Who would 'give to *every man* His work' amidst the minor ministries of life. Then when the next Centenary shall come round, the missing link will be found to give strength, consistency, and completion to the chain which binds the hearts of the young to the Church of the Redeemer. Meanwhile be it ours to work or blunder on in faith. He, who loved the little ones, will own and bless all who with so much patience and faith and love are trying, as best they may, to crush out evil from these young hearts. That work cannot be lost, so long as it is carried on for love to Him, Who was Himself once so little in the cradle of Bethlehem.

The object of this paper has been not to depreciate the loving labours of true-hearted Christian volunteers, who sacrifice their Sunday rest from a real love to the souls of the young whom they gather round them. Our desire is to point out the duty of giving to the work a more definite aim and purpose, but so to give it as to make it acceptable and pleasing to those whose affections we wish to win to the side of the Church, as against an active and ever-fluctuating Dissent, of faith, as against a prevailing unbelief, and of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, as against that animalism and devotion to the things that perish which everywhere characterize so large a portion of the working classes.

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ART. IX.—CONFIRMATION.

1. *What is the Distinctive Grace of Confirmation?* A paper read before the chapter of the South Eastern Division of the Upper Llandaff Rural Deanery. By F. W. PULLER, B.A., Vicar of Roath. (London, 1880.)
2. Χρίσις τελειωτική. *A Discourse of Confirmation.* By JEREMY [TAYLOR], Lord Bishop of Down. (1664.)
3. *The Seal of the Lord.* A Catechism on Confirmation with appropriate Devotions, unto which is added a Form of Daily Prayer for Young Persons. By A. P. FORBES, Bishop of Brechin. 120th thousand. (London, 1879.)
4. *Confirmation, or, Are you ready to serve Christ?* By the Right Reverend ASHTON OXENDEN, D.D., late Bishop of Montreal. 512th thousand. (London, 1880.)
5. *Notes for Lectures on Confirmation,* with suitable prayers. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., Master of the Temple. 11th Edition. (London, 1878.)
6. *Instructions and Devotions for Candidates for Confirmation.* By the Rev. B. WEBB, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street, 2nd Edition. (London, 1877.)
7. *Catechism on Confirmation.* With Directions and Devotions. By a COMMITTEE OF CLERGY. 130th thousand. (London, 1879.)
8. *The Rite of Confirmation.* A Catechism by the Rev. CHARLES S. GRUEBER. (London, 1879.)

BISHOP GRAHAM of Chester once told a story which is worth remembering. At the time when the theological term Regeneration was attracting much attention, it was proposed that the Bishops of England should issue a common document, which should carry weight from its unanimity. When they had met together, and had discussed the question for a time, Bishop Graham suggested that the best plan would be for each Bishop to write down his own definition of the term 'Regeneration' as a preliminary. This proposal commended itself to the Bishops, who at once dipped their pens with a view of carrying it out. Words, however, did not flow freely from the pens, and at last one by one the Bishops left the room, and two only were left, Bishop Wilberforce, and Bishop Graham, who looked up, and said with a smile, 'I do not think, my Lord, we two shall agree in a definition.'

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At the present time, if the Bishops had to write down each his own view of Confirmation, it is scarcely probable that they would be so much at a loss. The constant administration of the sacred rite, accompanied as it now is with one or more addresses, would do much to forward the formation of opinion. It is true that every parochial Clergyman must be perfectly familiar with the Baptismal Service, and yet that many discrepant views have been held about Baptism. For too often the words become familiar, without producing much effect upon the reason, and men use the words without fully recognizing the teaching they convey. The fact also may be that the reasoning powers are not much called upon in the administration of Baptism. Few, except in the larger towns, have to prepare candidates for adult Baptism, and Bishops are rarely chosen from men who have had experience in large towns. It is otherwise with Confirmation. From the moment a man is ordained, preparation for Confirmation comes practically before him, and he has to make up his mind on its teaching. This is true even of schoolmasters, who feel it a part of their duty to shape the moral and spiritual development of their pupils, and often undertake their preparation for Confirmation.

It is however very much to be feared, that if the Bishops individually wrote down their views of Confirmation, nine-tenths of the result would be unrecognizable by the judges, to whose verdict the Church of England incessantly refers, 'the holy and ancient learned fathers and doctors.' If we may judge from the addresses given by the Bishops, and from the general consensus of books issued as helps to the parochial clergy in the matter, Confirmation is still too often regarded as merely an edifying ceremony, wherein the candidate takes the vows of Baptism upon himself in a solemn manner, and relieves the god-parents[1] from their responsibility. Some again say in a similar strain that it is a special time of choice, when the young person, having arrived at the maturity of the reasoning powers, is to make a choice between a religious and a worldly life. This is the constant theme of one of our Bishops in his addresses: so that

[1] Alexander Ales thought himself justified in foisting this view into his translation of the Prayer-Book. In his rendering (*Ordinatio Ecclesiæ*, &c., Lipsiæ, 1551) the second initial rubric before the Confirmation Service commences thus, 'Primo, ut pueri propriam fidem confiteantur, et se ratam habere testentur confessionem, quam Patrini eorum nomine fecerunt in Baptismo, et ut *Patrini exonerentur illa sponsione facta pro infantibus Ecclesiæ.*'

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he invariably tells the candidates, that if they do not feel that they can, then and there, once for all give up all desire for a worldly life, they had better not come up to him to be confirmed. This solemn appeal, at a time when the feelings of the young are naturally highly wrought, has been productive of a result the reverse of that which was intended; so much so that one of the most trusted of his clergy has been accustomed to assemble his candidates for a last general address, and then bid them not pay heed to the Bishop's appeal.

This strangely low view of Confirmation prevails even where we should expect a greater attention to the teaching of antiquity, so as to be somewhat startling in its general adoption. It is found, for instance, in the published addresses of the learned Bishop Kaye of Lincoln, as well as in the popular writings of Bishop Oxenden.[1]

If this be the true meaning and end of Confirmation, the rite is a purely modern invention, and we may well believe it to be, what Melancthon called it, an 'otiosa cæremonia:' and (though the Wesleyans a few years back wished to invent a similar ceremony) yet such a ceremony would be one of purely human origin, and we could well do without it. For we must never forget that the renewal of the baptismal vows, edifying and advantageous though it be, was introduced first into the English Office Book at the last review in 1662, and has no place in any other known office book. Before that time the Bishop was directed to test the children publicly in the Catechism, in which they had been previously publicly instructed. If therefore Confirmation be the subjective acceptance of their position by young Christians, it is a ceremony peculiar to the modern English Church: and even in the Church of England it is an usage only two hundred years old, and, though a suitable and laudable ceremony, a merely human institution.

It is pretty clear that the Bishops in 1662 did not think they were doing otherwise than perpetuating an Apostolic ordinance. For the Nonconformists (who had been probably specially stirred by the recent attack on Confirmation by Daillé) objected to Confirmation, and to the service in which it was administered, declaring that the Articles stated it to be a corrupt following of the Apostles. The Bishops told them in

[1] Archbishop Wake is an illustrious exception. In his *Commentary* on the Church Catechism he says: 'We piously presume that, by the fervent prayers of the Bishop and the Church, those on whom he now lays his hands shall also receive the Holy Ghost, if they do but worthily prepare themselves for it.'—(Part VI. *Of Confirmation.*)

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answer that they were mistaken: that the Articles did not say as they would interpret them, and that Confirmation was an Apostolic rite. But though the Bishops gave this answer to the 'ministers,' they introduced alterations in the Confirmation Service, which, however edifying or excellent their design, are capable of a most unfortunate interpretation.

The alterations seem to have been due to Cosin, who can hardly have accepted a low view of the rite. Only one alteration, the introduction of the Lord's Prayer, was for the better. The previous omission must point to a time when Confirmation was part and parcel of the Baptismal Office: for it is hard to suppose any service complete without this prayer. One rubric which has been omitted we can ill spare; it specially said that the grace of Confirmation was to give 'strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil.' The next rubric used words which again linked us on to the old Canon Law in the West, which required that candidates should be 'perfectæ ætatis:' 'it was ordained (it said) that Confirmation should be administered to them that were of *perfect age*.' The adoption of part of another rubric as an address brings into prominence a word which most probably was originally a misprint. In 1549 the wording ran that children should 'ratify and *confess*' their baptismal vows, make open profession of their faith; this is spoken of later on as their 'confession.' In 1552 this became 'ratify and *confirm*,' though if the alteration were intended, the latter word would probably have been 'Confirmation' instead of 'Confession.' Still, however it be, the altered word now finds a place in the text of the address, and gives some shadow of reason to one of our Bishops, who, with lack of humour, as well as of theology, invariably addresses the candidates, 'You who are going to confirm.' Again, the introduction of the question and answer gives a kind of colour to the same view; while, lastly, the alteration in the title (especially as it appears in the Table of Contents) seems to degrade the office. No longer is it 'Confirmation, where also is a Catechism,' but it now runs 'The Catechism, with the order of Confirmation.' In the older form 'Confirmation' was the important and prominent rite for which the Catechism was a continuous preparation; in the present 'The Catechism' seems to assert a pre-eminence.

It is not easy to give reasons for these alterations; probably many influences were at work. For ten years Confirmation had been in general abeyance; the 'ministers,' in their rejoinder, drew attention to the 'thousands in England that

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never yet came under the Bishop's hands.' It may have been thought well to make the administration of the ceremony more generally edifying and popular. Still it is much to be feared that from their action for some reason or another, and from the general tendency of men to lessen their obligations and depreciate their privileges, there have resulted the modern weak and low views of Confirmation prevalent amongst ourselves.

The paper of Mr. Puller, the title of which comes first at the head of this article, is an earnest attempt to recall attention, where it has flagged, to the high importance of Confirmation arising from the distinctive grace which this ordinance conveys to the Christian soul. It is carefully compiled and modestly written, and it is very much to be hoped that it will reach the eyes of the Bishops and their advisers.

Pointing out that the Church of England claims to depend upon the Holy Scriptures as explained in the Early Church, Mr. Puller carefully examines the full witness of Scripture to the gift conveyed in Confirmation, and then appeals to the testimony of the Fathers. He argues 'that Confirmation sets up in the soul a new relation to the Holy Ghost which it had not before; so that, although in baptism the Holy Ghost operates and works on the soul by His purifying, consecrating, regenerating influence, yet that He does not impart His indwelling Presence until He is given in a new way by the laying on of hands.' We can scarcely follow him to this trenchant conclusion.

His view is supported, however, by arguments which command attention, if not conviction. For the Scriptural argument we must refer to Mr. Puller's book itself. The whole question of the conveyance of the gift of Regeneration to the Apostles is most mysterious. The Church ever regarded the actions of our Lord at His Last Supper as full of the deepest mystery; but there has been no consensus of opinion about the teaching of the girding Himself, or of the lavipedium. Mr. Puller maintains that the gift of Regeneration was granted to the Apostles by the breathing on them in the evening of the first Easter Day. This would answer to the gift now bestowed on us in Baptism; the glories of Pentecost being reserved as the special grace of Confirmation. In our Blessed Lord's own Person the early Fathers delighted to see the distinction between His baptism in Jordan by S. John, and His subsequent and consequent Confirmation by the FATHER on the bank of the Jordan, when descent of the HOLY SPIRIT was manifested by the fluttering and settling of somewhat after

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the manner of a dove.[1] Similarly S. Peter in his sermons combines, and yet separates, Baptism and Confirmation; as, for example, when a short time after the illapse of the Holy Spirit in Pentecost, he said:[2] (1) 'Repent, (2) and be baptized for the remission of sins, (3) and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.' This answers wonderfully to the 'principles of the doctrine of Christ,' as given by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews:[3] the first four of which are (1) Repentance, (2) Faith, (3) Baptism, (4) Laying on of hands, or Confirmation.

If we look to the present teaching of the Church we find that in the East there is little difference from the primitive doctrine, whereas in the West there has been a change.

Mr. Puller gives a quotation from a French translation of a theological treatise by a Russian Bishop, which does not vary from the earliest teaching. In the *Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία*, issued by the authority of the Eastern Patriarchs and chief theologians[4] in 1643, the same is expressed. The following will be found on p. 161 sq. of the Leipsig edition of 1695:[5]

'*τὸ δεύτερον μυστήριον εἶναι τὸ μύρον τοῦ χρίσματος· τὸ ὁποῖον ἤρχισεν ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον, ὅπου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκατάβηκεν εἰς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους . . . ἀπὸ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο γενοῦνται οἱ καρποὶ τοῦτοι· Πρῶτον, διατὶ καθὼς μὲ τὸ βάπτισμα ἀναγενόμεθα, τέτοιας λογῆς μὲ τὸ ἅγιον μύρον γενόμεθα μέτοχοι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, βεβαιωθέντες εἰς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ αὐξάνομεν εἰς τὴν θείαν χάριν . . . Δεύτερον, διατὶ μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὕτως εἴμεσθεν βεβαίοι καὶ στερεοὶ ὀπού δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ βλάψῃ καθόλου ὁ νοητὸς ἐχθρὸς τὴν ψυχήν μας.*'

At present the best recognized Greek Catechism is that of Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow, first published in 1765; it was issued in English with a most interesting preface by Robert Pinkerton in 1814. Of Confirmation he says:[6]—

'Through this holy ordinance, *the Holy Ghost descendeth upon the person baptized*, and confirmeth him in the grace which he received in his baptism according to the example of His descending upon the

[1] Bishop Jeremy Taylor, *Χρίσις τελειωτική*, § 1, i.
[2] Acts ii. 38. [3] Heb. vi. 1.
[4] It was drawn up by Petrus Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kieff, revised by Meletius Syrigus, protosyncellus of Constantinople, and issued with the signature of the patriarchs and theologians.
[5] The fruits of Baptism are said to be (1) Forgiveness of Sins; (2) Regeneration; (3) Membership in the Body of Christ.
[6] *The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia.* By Robert Pinkerton. Edinburgh, 1814, p. 178. The translation was made from the Sclavonic, and fairly represents the Greek version, which omits the word 'visibly' altogether, as indeed would be expected.

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disciples of Jesus Christ, and in imitation of the disciples themselves, who, after baptism, laid their hands upon the believers; by which laying on of the hands of the Apostles, the Holy Ghost was [visibly] conferred.'

In some modern manuals there seems to be an approximation to Western doctrine, and the *χαρίσματα* are more emphasized as the special gifts of Confirmation.[1]

In the West, however, this grand teaching became gradually obscured, because (as it would seem) the bishops became less careful of their duties. Confirmation was less frequently and so less surely administered, and, in consequence, less importance became attached to it. In the East, Confirmation has been for many centuries administered by the priest (as the deputy of the Bishop) immediately after Baptism,[2] with Holy Chrism, consecrated specially for this

[1] Cf. *Σειρὰ ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων πρὸς χρῆσιν τῶν ἱερατικῶν σχολείων. Τομὸς* Ε. *Ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1870, p. 73. *Ἐπίστολαι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκολουθίων τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἀθήνησι*, 1851, p. 134 *seq.* These extremely interesting letters were published in S. Petersburg, and translated from the fifth edition into Greek. The following extracts seem to display Western influence:—'Before we come to write about the service for Holy Baptism, I must remind you that, as all the mysteries in general have the force of communicating to us the grace of the Holy Spirit, so each of them contains peculiarly in itself its own proper gift of the Holy Spirit, under somewhat we can feel and see.' After having described the ceremonial of Baptism, 'Then candles are given to the sponsors in token of that immaterial light which enlightened the infant, and made him fit to receive the second mystery given by chrism of ointment, viz. *perfectness in the faith.* As in Baptism the man is spiritually washed by water from the filth of sin, so in the anointing, viz., when the body is anointed with the chrism, the regenerate one is sealed and stablished (*στερεοῦται*) in the truth of the faith, and then are communicated to him the spiritual virtues of grace (*κοινωνοῦνται αὐτῷ αἱ πνευματικαὶ δυνάμεις τῆς χάριτος*), because of the contests which are required of the Christian.' In the other Catechisms we have seen, the work of Plato is taken as the basis. *Κατήχησις ἢ ὀρθόδοξος διδασκαλία. Ἀθήνησι*, 1868—used in the High School of Smyrna, and commended in an encyclical letter by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople. *Σύνοψις ἱερᾶς κατηχήσεως, ὑπὸ* Β. Δ. *Καλλίφρονος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, 1869. *Κατήχησις ἤτοι ὀρθόδοξος Χριστιανικὴ διδασκαλία* (translated from the Russian), 1851. See also *Exposition de la doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique Orthodoxe*, par W. Guettée, prêtre. Paris et Londres, 1866, p. 131. The Synodical answer, drawn up in 1672, and included in those sent to the Nonjurors in 1718, is not very explicit:—'The second [sacrament] is that of the Holy Ointment, by which we receive spiritual strength, to enable us to speak boldly the belief of our hearts.'—*The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*, by George Williams, B.D., Rivingtons, 1868, p. 69.

[2] Some writers, therefore, do not separate between the distinctive graces of the two. *''Αμφότερα τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα ἀπαρτίζουν ἕν τι ὅλον, καὶ ἡνωμένα, ὡς νῦν, ἐπετελοῦντο ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸ τῆς Λειτουργίας, ἵνα οἱ βαπτισθέντες κοινωνήσωσι τῶν ἀχράντων Μυστηρίων. Ἀμφότερα εἶναι ἡ θύρα εἰς*

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purpose by the Metropolitan. In the West, for some time, it was admitted that a priest might be specially empowered in some cases to convey the gift of Confirmation, but, gradually, (we need not say as the Venerable Bede does, 'propter arrogantiam'), it became rigidly restricted to the episcopal order. At the same time, bishops, as a rule, became more and more worldly (with great and shining exceptions), and from lust of power were so much occupied in politics and pomp that the Confirmation of the young was neglected. This appears from many hints from many quarters. In the *Magna Vita* of S. Hugh, of Lincoln,[1] we read that a proud young bishop would not so much as get off his horse to bestow the grace of Confirmation, but would anoint the children with the consecrated chrism sitting on his horse (equo sublimis) while his attendants buffeted and scolded the children for being afraid of the kicking and fighting horses of the bishop's courtiers. Neglect like this must have fostered low views of the ordinance, though Sanders[2] tells us that in England Confirmation was more sought after and valued than in any other nation. As it was now divorced from Baptism,[3] it became necessary that the child should have cause to remember his Confirmation, because, 'though in a Christian country it is presumed that every one is baptized, it does not follow that every one is confirmed.'[4] Much dependence, therefore, had to be placed on the child's memory. When the father of Benvenuto Cellini wished him to remember having seen a salamander, he boxed his ears; so the ceremony of a slap on the face was added to Confirmation, to impress the child's memory.[5] It seems to have been in the thirteenth century

τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἑπομένως ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἄλλων Μυστηρίων.' Λειτουργικὴ ὑπὸ Π. Ῥομπότου—ἐν Ἀθηναῖς, 1869, p. 259. This reminds us of the language of S. Cyprian :—'Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari et esse filii Dei possunt, si *sacramento utroque* nascantur, cum scriptum sit, "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei."' Ep. lxxii. Ad Stephanum de Concilio, Parisiis, 1726, p. 128. See also the next Epistle, Ad Jubaïanum, p. 136. S. Hilary of Poictiers also has the phrase 'in Baptismi et Spiritus *Sacramentis*' (*Comm. in S. Mat.* cap. iv. § 27).

[1] *Magna Vita*, ed. Dimock, London, 1864, p. 140.

[2] Sanders *de Schismate Anglicano*, Ingoldstadt, 1586, p. 262. William of Paris, in the thirteenth century, as quoted by Bp. Taylor, speaks of the neglect in his time: 'Propter cessationem confirmationis tepiditas grandior est in fidelibus, et fidei defensione.'

[3] The chrismatio in Baptism amongst the Latins, and the signature of the cross amongst ourselves, testify to the ancient combination of the rites.

[4] Silvestrina, *Summa*, s.v. Confirmatio.

[5] It is true that Klee (*Les Dogmes Chrétiens*, French translation,

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that the custom began of delaying Confirmation till the child was of 'perfect age,' (which is explained to mean twelve years old, when he would be capable of minor orders,[1]) that his reason might be educated as a better preparation for the grace. This, again, gave rise to a declaration of faith being required from the candidate, and the notion gradually gained ground that the rite was more a duty required of the recipient than a means of a direct gift from God.

It is easy to understand, therefore, that the reformers should make light of that which was now spoken of in a different manner than was to be found in Scripture or the earlier Fathers. No wonder that Melancthon said:[2] 'ritus Confirmationis quem nunc retinent Episcopi est prorsus otiosa cæremonia.' No wonder that Daillé attacked, and Basnage mocked at, Confirmation; for when Sainte-Beuve answered Daillé he had to weaken his own argument by explaining and weakening the statements of the Fathers. Over and over again he has to say:[3] 'Gratia sanctificans intelligitur per hanc vocem, *Spiritus Sanctus.*' His position would have been much stronger if he could have shown, as the Eastern Church can, that the same teaching remains, without need of explanation, as it was gathered from the inspired writings by the Earliest Church.

In England we have inherited from the Western Church the custom of deferring Confirmation till some years after infant baptism. This has led to a confusion of teaching until with some there is no room left at all for Confirmation.[4] At

Paris, 1848, tom. ii. p. 233), following S. Carlo Borromeo, tries to speak of this as the knightly accolade of the Christian soldier, but that is not the general explanation. Martene (*de Ritibus*, tom. i. p. 91, Antwerp, 1763) says he cannot find the alapa mentioned earlier than in Durandus in the thirteenth century. We read of something like it in the twelfth. When S. Hugh of Lincoln had been confirming in a village, and was just starting to the next, an old peasant came in, and declined to walk to the next village, for the rite. S. Hugh confirmed him, and then gave him 'a severe slap in the face for having so long delayed the holy rite.' Perry's *Life of St. Hugh*, p. 229.

[1] Gratian, *Decretum III. De Consec.* dist. v. cap. vi. glos.

[2] *Loci Theologici: Corpus Doctrinæ*, Strasburg, 1580, p. 494. His statement that Confirmation 'olim fuit exploratio doctrinæ, in qua singuli recitabant summam doctrinæ,' appears wholly destitute of foundation.

[3] *Tractatus de Sacramentis Confirmationis et Unctionis Extremæ*, auctore Jacobo de Sainte-Beuve.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1686, p. 26, 141, &c.

[4] It has been possible for the S.P.C.K. to publish the following:—'Every one who is united to Christ in Holy Baptism is placed in the Kingdom of Heaven; receives all the blessings which are given to the members of that kingdom on earth in virtue of his union with Christ; *all the gifts* of the Holy Ghost; he inherits these blessings at once'!!

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present there seems to be increasing a happy inclination of the Bishops to admit candidates at an earlier age than was customary a few decades back, so that there may be some hope of restoring the primitive teaching, as the primitive practice is approached. To this teaching Mr. Puller's paper is a valuable handbook, and may perhaps reach those who would avoid a longer treatise. The *Discourse of Confirmation* by Bishop Jeremy Taylor will prove very useful reading after Mr. Puller, and it will be a great blessing if wider attention can be gained for their teaching. For we are bound to remember that individual Fathers and Councils have maintained that none had a right to be regarded as a perfect Christian until he had received the grace of Confirmation.[1] If the main object of the rite be the conveyance to the soul of the 'unspeakable gift' of God, it can scarce be administered at too early an age. Parish priests in the country have too frequent experience of the fall into sin of adult candidates on their return from the distant Church appointed for the Confirmation. One good might be drawn from the presence of so many *otiosi Episcopi* in England, and Confirmations might be held yearly in almost every village as well as town; then none could speak of it as an *otiosa cæremonia*.

If this be the teaching about Confirmation, it may be asked, what should be the preparation? In the East it is clear that none is required; the infant is baptized, confirmed, communicated, at one and the same time and place. The Church of England requires that children should be taught the Catechism, and be catechized in public, 'so soon as they shall be able to learn.' If only these directions were carried out, the great majority of books issued as helps to preparation for Confirmation would be rather helps to catechizing. They might be called preparations for going to Church, or for saying the Confession, or for saying the Creed, or for saying the *misereres* after the Commandments, which are in effect renewals of the baptismal vows. Of this sort are Dr. Vaughan's *Notes for Lectures on Confirmation*, which have scarce anything to do with Confirmation. At best they might be used as a class-book of colourless teaching for a weekly lesson on religious topics to children in the elder half of grammar schools.

But what can be said about Bishop Oxenden's *Confirmation, or, Are you ready to serve Christ?* It does not speak

[1] S. Thomas determines: Morituris hoc sacramentum dandum est ut in resurrectione perfecti appareant.'—Pars III., quæ. lxxii., art. viii. § 4.

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highly for the spiritual or intellectual calibre of English-speaking candidates or their teachers, that this small tract should have reached a sale of more than half a million. No word is said in it of any grace being conferred in the rite. The acute Mr. Spurgeon has recorded a severe estimate of the Bishop's works in terse terms, which may be thought to apply to this tract. He says: 'Why Oxenden's books sell we do not know. We would not care to have them for a gift. "Milk for babes," watered beyond measure.'[1]

For Confirmation there should be special distinctive preparation, after proper catechetical instruction in previous years. For this previous catechizing, Dr. Mill's notes[2] are perhaps unequalled for concise suggestiveness as far as they go. But for the special instruction Bishop Forbes' *Seal of the Lord* is very useful, and so is the *Catechism* of the Committee of Clergy, though perhaps both are too short. Those who think a fuller manual is more needed will find what they want in Mr. Webb's practical *Instructions and Devotions for Candidates for Confirmation*, a manual meant especially as a text-book for the oral teaching of a class of more educated catechumens. Mr. Grueber's catechism will hardly be found of so much use with candidates. It is more adapted *ad clerum*.

We owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Puller for having drawn attention to our shortcomings. Much is due to him for the manner, as well as the matter, of his treatise; for while the matter is a somewhat severe rebuke to our present practice, the manner of his writing entirely disguises the reproof, or, at worst, makes it very palatable. The matter is the work of a learned and thoughtful scholar; the manner is that of a Christian priest.

That we have inherited our present laxity in practice and doctrine from the mediæval Latin Church is pretty clear from the very name Confirmatio. Such a name is not to be found in any ancient Father.[3] The nearest name in Greek is τελείωσις, which S. Ambrose would represent as *Perfectio*, S. Cyprian as *Consummatio*. But *Confirmatio* would only imply a buttress to strengthen a building already complete, whereas the other names imply the addition of somewhat of material importance to the completeness of the structure, and not merely its stability. At the beginning of the seventh century

[1] *Commenting and Commentaries*, London, 1876, p. 149.
[2] *Lectures on the Catechism*, Bell and Daldy, 1856.
[3] The word is found in the second Canon of the first Council of Orange, A.D. 441; but after much explanation the Canon remains obscure.

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S. Isidore of Seville does not use the word *confirmatio*, but at the end of the century, Sonnatius, Archbishop of Rheims, uses it, and Theodore of Tarsus has it in his Capitula; in the ninth century it was in common acceptance. By somewhat emphasizing the laxity, we in England have departed still further from the practice and doctrine of the Primitive Church. The best way of acknowledging our indebtedness to Mr. Puller is to further his view as much as possible, for we have much to regret and much to learn.

The practical conclusion will be that Confirmation must be held as of far greater importance than for the last couple of hundred years or so it has been regarded. The Bishops must be urged to encourage the presentation of children at an earlier age. The present Archbishop of Canterbury must be aware that it requires some moral courage for a young man to offer himself when of fully adult age. In too many cases the rite is postponed so long as to be finally neglected. The late Baron Alderson learned late in life the lesson that Mr. Puller would teach, and was confirmed at an advanced age at Christ Church, Albany Street. We have known of a case in which a very eminent statesman refused to allow his sons to go to a great public school until they had been confirmed and had become communicants, in order that they might have full supplies of grace to enable them to meet the dangers which would surround them.

One objection will unquestionably be raised to the earlier age for which we would plead. There will be a missing of the edifying ceremony of an intelligent renewal of the baptismal vows. It would hardly consort with the 'spirit of the age' to suggest a rehabilitation of the Canon of 1571, which refuses to let any one contract marriage or be a god-parent, who cannot aptly answer all parts of the Catechism; but an earlier age for Confirmation would necessitate the institution amongst ourselves of a 'Catéchisme de persévérance,' the need of which the Board School system has brought into prominence. The children would soon learn that they cannot say their prayers without practically renewing or acknowledging their allegiance to their baptismal vows.

Another objection would arise perhaps from the extra work, which, at all events at first, it would entail on the Bishops. One method of obviating this has already been referred to; another, which Bingham tells us was suggested in the Mediæval Church, is in full progress in our midst. 'The Canons in some places obliged Bishops to visit their whole dioceses once every year; and if they were so large that they could not do

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so, then they were to divide their dioceses and make them less.'

Still if the practice cannot be amended, the truer doctrine must be preached and taught. 'Si in hoc Episcoporum negligentia peccatum est hactenus, negligentia damnetur, non id quod per se bonum est,' wrote George Witzel three centuries and a half ago; in whose further suggestion we would earnestly join:—'Consulantur de hoc mystico ritu antiqui Canones, et renovetur ita actus ille sacer ut de baptizatorum atque in fide Christiana Confirmatorum profectu gaudeat universa panegyris Christianorum.'[1]

ART. X.—SOME RECENT EPISCOPAL CHARGES.

1. *Ten Addresses at the Triennial Visitation of the Cathedral Church and Diocese of Lincoln.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. (Lincoln and London, 1879.)
2. *Six Addresses on the Being of God.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. (London, 1880.)
3. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lichfield at his Primary Visitation.* By WILLIAM DALRYMPLE MACLAGAN, D.D., Ninety-first Bishop. (London, 1880.)
4. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Worcester, at his Visitation in June,* 1880. By HENRY, Lord Bishop of Worcester. (London, 1880.)

THE opinions of those who are of highest authority in the Church should by right claim our respectful attention, though they may not at all times command our assent. Bishops' charges are in some sort their 'ex cathedrâ judgments,' before which John Henry Newman was wont to quail. 'Di me terrent, et Jupiter hostis,' he exclaimed; 'it is because the Bishops go on charging against me' that I fear. We may be able to regard with greater equanimity episcopal utterances,

[1] *Wicelii Methodus Concordiæ,* cap. viii., and *Via Regia.* These will be found in the appendix to Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum,* London, 1690, p. 759 and p. 710.

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and sometimes even venture to criticize the actions of 'Jupiter hostis' himself; still, in all seriousness, the solemn expressions of opinion which Bishops deliver in their charges, whether upon doctrines of the faith, ceremonial practices, or questions before Parliament, must and ought to have great moral weight. That they are not infallible is but too evident, because they are not infrequently contrary to one another. A comparison even of those charges mentioned at the head of this article would supply instances of such contrariety. We should hardly expect the Bishop of Lincoln, for instance, and the Bishop of Liverpool, to coincide in their opinions; yet the utterances of each, when charging his clergy, would claim our serious attention, because each holds the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and each from his position is able to focus the somewhat divergent lines of opinion which belong to his own particular school of thought.

The area over which an Episcopal Visitation should operate has usually been confined to the clergy and churchwardens; but the Bishop of Lichfield, following the earliest precedent, would extend its action to the laity generally. 'It is not,' says Bishop Maclagan, 'the clergy only—nor the churchwardens, these rulers of the congregation—but the whole body of the believers—"the brethren"—whom the Apostle desired to see.' The reference is to the words of S. Paul: 'Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city.' And then the Bishop adds: 'Is not this still the proper scope and character of every Episcopal Visitation?' This might have been possible in the infancy of the Christian Church among the sparse Christian population along the coasts of Asia Minor; but in a modern English diocese to 'visit' all 'the brethren' will certainly remain impracticable, until we have had a series of Bishoprics Bills. However, the Bishop of Lichfield touched as much life as he possibly could in his Primary Visitation, for he appointed 'twenty-two centres scattered over the length and breadth of his diocese,' whereat to meet and address his clergy. The 'addresses' of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol were also, we believe, delivered in different places, and were attended, not only by the clergy, but also by 'others of the Archdeaconry.'

The subject-matter of a charge may be but a few dry statistics, of value only or chiefly to those who live in the diocese, a brief *résumé* of Parliamentary measures, the repetition of some watchwords or shibboleths, and a peroration of hopes and fears; or, it may present a vivid picture of Church life in a large English diocese, as the Bishop of Lincoln does;

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or it may deal with some fundamental truth, as the Bishop of Gloucester in his addresses 'On the Being of God'; or it may aim at being a deliverance, a manifesto upon most of the grave questions which, in respect of belief or practice, agitate the minds of Churchmen throughout the land; such is the charge of the Bishop of Lichfield. The recent Episcopal charges which we have selected for consideration may be in some degree regarded as representing different types of charges. We will deal with them *seriatim*.

The Bishop of Lincoln's charge, which is divided into ten addresses, was delivered during his Triennial Visitation in October last. At the outset he is occupied with the subject of Cathedral Reform. Having made reference to a code of laws and statutes which appertain to the See of Lincoln, he lays his finger on the cause of weakness in the Cathedral system, the 'prima mali labes,' namely, non-residence. But non-residence itself is in one respect a consequence as well as a cause; it is the result of Cathedral bodies having had very little to do. A stall was rather looked upon as a position of 'otium cum dignitate' than as the prelude to hard work; and the very cities which surround Cathedrals are still supposed to be infected with the inertia of the ecclesiastical body. The two suggestions which the Bishop of Lincoln (qualified to give advice, as he was himself a member of the Cathedral Commission a quarter of a century ago) would make to the Cathedral Commissioners would do much towards removing what remains of the old stigma of capitular inactivity. 1. Assign specific duties to every Dean and Canon Residentiary. 2. Require residence from them all. Bishop Wordsworth lays down as the *minimum* of residence eight months annually.

The Cathedral should be, what it has become in the metropolis, the centre of light and life to the diocese. And, therefore, we were glad to see that one of the subjects of the Church Congress for 1880 was 'The Cathedral System—how to reform it, so as to strengthen the relations of the cathedral to the diocese, and to make each cathedral a more efficient centre of religious activity.'

Dr. Wordsworth's idea of the relation of a Bishop to his clergy is evidently very different from that of Cardinal de Bonnechose. His clergy may be his 'regiment,' and may march when he says 'march'; but he feels, at any rate, bound to consult them before the order is given. 'Bishops,' he says, 'ought not to be autocrats, but should look to their presbyters for advice,' a maxim as old as 'the days of S. Ignatius.' It is common to hear fragmentary quotations from

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S. Ignatius in support of the authority of the Bishop. Thus, 'Do nothing without the Bishop' is a hackneyed quotation in favour of the exclusive prerogative of the first order of clergy, whereas in almost every instance, where S. Ignatius commends the dignity of the Episcopal office, he is careful to connect with it 'the presbytery.' But the Bishop might have referred to an earlier and an inspired source for this principle, namely, to the Acts of the Apostles, to the account of the first council of the Church at Jerusalem, at which 'Apostles and elders came together' for consultation. It is evident, therefore, that not only in the second century, but also from the first, the idea of the Bishop acting independently, and taking no council with his 'Senatus,' was unknown. In an amusing note, the Bishop of Lincoln says: 'Episcopal individualism' is of 'modern growth.' Bishops used not to employ the pronoun '*I*,' but the plural '*we*,' and did not speak of '*my*' diocese, &c., but of '*our*' diocese. Perhaps some will think the old mode of speaking was only an instance of the 'plural of majesty.'

Dr. Wordsworth next directs his attention to the education of the clergy. He thinks that Cathedrals should revert to one of their original purposes, and become our chief means of maintaining sound learning among the clergy, when ancient colleges and universities no longer provide it. It is with no intention of superseding the old university training that the Bishop proposes that Cathedrals should henceforth supply Schools of Theology; for, without going the length of the Bishop of Worcester, who would find from an University staff of teachers 'an unrivalled opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge of Divine things,' he describes the benefit of University education as one 'greatly to be desired.' That the supply of graduates from the ancient universities is on the decline, may be gathered from the fact that three-fifths of those ordained during the ten years previous to Christmas 1877 were from Oxford and Cambridge; whilst at the Trinity Ordination in the last year there were only 53 per cent. of the candidates who had passed through the old curriculum. It is useless to laud the advantages of a college training, when for many reasons those who have the benefit of it turn their energies in other directions than that of 'the Church.' The question is, how in the existing state of things can the standard of literary and theological, yes, and spiritual, attainments, be kept at such a height, that the clergy may be well abreast of the intellectual currents of the age, as well as stored with the treasures of the past. The Bishop of Lincoln thinks that one important function of Cathedrals is to meet in

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some measure this need; and 'the Lincoln Theological College for the training of Candidates for Holy Orders' is the expression of this opinion in the concrete. The college was revived under the late Chancellor, now the Bishop of Truro, and about half of its students have been supplied from the two universities. Without being infected with what has been styled 'the Gentleman heresy,' we may yet express a hope that the training of theological colleges may not ultimately take the place of, but only supplement, the usual university course; when a fairer system of Church patronage shall have been adopted, when vexatious litigations shall have ceased, and the present fears concerning the future of the Establishment shall have found their settlement, one way or the other. Whilst, with the Bishop, we deplore the change which has come over 'our ancient colleges and universities,' we must not forget that already in a Keble College, and we trust soon in a Selwyn College, we shall have foundations, the express purpose of which is to bring up the sons of English Churchmen in the faith of the Church of England, and also to provide, at a moderate cost, the 'training' needed for a well-educated clergy. We must strike a middle course between the narrowness of the Seminary system and the absence of any distinctive preparation for the priesthood. It certainly is, as the Bishop of Worcester says, 'a thing of great importance' that we should have 'continually a supply of men qualified to command influence and even respect from all sorts and conditions of men;' but the question remains, *how are we to get them?* Two thousand new churches were built between 1844 and 1874, but the annual average of clergy ordained between 1864 and 1873 was sixty-four below what it had been between 1844 and 1853. And, according to a system of averages reckoned by Mr. Armfield, there was a deficit of forty or fifty clergy last year, taking the increase of population at the rate of three hundred thousand per year. A deficit in quantity will surely in this case lead to a deterioration in quality in the long run; it is, therefore, as it has been wisely said, time for those who are in charge of the ship, to inquire into the causes why it is getting undermanned.

After a glance at Continental Europe, a lament over the spread of sceptical opinions, and the tendency of Western Christendom towards 'deifying the Roman Papacy,' and a brief account of the Lambeth Conference, we come, in the Bishop of Lincoln's second address, upon the Burial Question. That Bishops are not prophets, at least, in the principal meaning of the word, is very evident from the remarks here

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made upon Mr. Marten's Act. 'We may,' says Dr. Wordsworth, 'thankfully hail what appears to be a peaceful solution of a question which seemed to threaten the continuance of the Church as a national establishment.' He was not alone in this view of the effect of the Public Health (Interments) Act of 1879. But political dissent was anything but satisfied with this peaceful solution, and hence recent scenes in the Houses of Parliament. As we have already dealt with the Burials Act, we need not state again the just grounds of complaint which, as Churchmen, we have urged against a measure, which has been clamoured for only as a step towards a further invasion of the property of others. We cannot, however, pass by this subject without again commending the Bishop, whose charge we are engaged in reviewing, for the noble stand which he made in defence of the Church's rights. He was the mouthpiece of the opinions of at least 18,000 of the clergy, who affixed their signatures to a memorial against the principle of the new Act; and we are glad to hear that besides the 600 clergy of his own diocese, who have signed the address of thankfulness, the clergy generally have been allowed the opportunity of uniting with them in the expression of their hearty approval of their Bishop's conduct in the House of Lords. We knew, however, that all hope of resisting successfully the present measure was at an end, not only because the vote of Dissenters contributed such a large factor in the formation of the present majority in the Commons, but also on grounds which Lord Beaconsfield alluded to in language of thinly veiled satire in the House of Lords. All Churchmen could do, after recording their solemn protest against this 'unfair' measure, was to support with all their power the amendments of the Archbishop of York and of Lord Mount Edgcumbe. The exclusion of places, where there are already unconsecrated grounds, or grounds of which portions are unconsecrated, from the operation of the Act; and its cessation, 'so soon as such unconsecrated burial-ground or cemetery has been provided,' would have very much modified its effects, although these restrictions did not touch its principle, which is, that every one has a civil right of interment in the churchyards, without being a member of the Church; and it is upon this false basis the Government Bill (and not only its predecessors) was drawn. We have already said, that whatever weight may attach to episcopal utterances, we cannot credit them with anything approaching to infallibility, as they labour under the defect of being contradictory. Now the Bishop of Worcester, though he cannot give up without a pang the 'old

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churchyards, which surround our parish churches,' and would rather they should be 'kept to the use to which they have been hitherto devoted, the burial of the dead according to the rites of the Church of England,' yet expresses his wish for 'burial-places for the dead, *open to common use.*' What is meant by the words which we have italicized, if there is any need of explanation, may be gathered from the following statement: 'I confess that I have never consecrated part of a cemetery provided by a Burial Board without pain in observing the hard line of separation which divides the portion assigned to the use of members of the Church of England from that which is devoted to the burial of other persons.' We think the Bishop of Worcester is hardly consistent with the motto which he takes as his own, 'laudator temporis acti,' when he gets upon the Burial Question. We remember how, about thirty-seven years ago, Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter was most careful to require a clear line of division between the unconsecrated ground and that which he was about to consecrate for the new cemetery in that city. Whilst the Bishop of Worcester is stationary or retrogressive in some matters, he praises 'the time to come' in others. It is rather difficult to gather from his Charge what are his precise views on Consecration. He speaks of 'the act of consecration' being 'the perpetual appropriation of the ground to the sacred purpose,' &c.; and then he adds: 'May we not rightly consider every particular grave in which the body of a departed friend is placed to be consecrated by the service which we use in burying it?' According to the first view it is consecrated ground before the funeral; according to the second, it becomes so afterwards. On the other hand, Dr. Wordsworth is certainly not chargeable with any obscurity as to the effect, either of Consecration or of the Burials Bill. He says, in writing in acknowledgment of the Address to which we have referred previously, 'this Burials Bill takes away God's things from Him'; 'this measure, if it becomes law, will be a national act of sacrilege.' By consecration 'our churchyards' . . . have been solemnly dedicated 'to the Blessed Trinity,' &c. It is usually held that the power of consecration resides in the Episcopal order, and, therefore, the act of burial, even though accompanied by the ministrations of a priest, cannot have the effect which is ascribed to it by the Bishop of Worcester. Without entering upon the results of Consecration, as given in the *Summa* of Aquinas, the first of which is 'quandam spiritualem virtutem per quam apta redduntur divino cultui,' or occupying ourselves with the question whether churchyards may be rightly

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said to be set apart by 'consecration' or 'benediction' (a distinction without a difference where unction is no part of the ceremonial in either case), we have all been accustomed to regard Consecration as imparting a certain sacredness to the ground as a permanent result, not simply dependent on our use, but on previous episcopal blessing; so that as we pass the lich-gate of a churchyard the associations of the place fill us with a reverent awe. This is no doubt an old-fashioned view of the matter, but we must ask to be allowed to prefer it to the modern one, which seems to be content with the legal bearings of the act of Consecration, and to ascribe to that act but little meaning or efficacy besides.

The next four Addresses of the Bishop of Lincoln are mainly taken up with Proceedings in Convocation, and deal with five topics, namely, 'The Athanasian Creed;' 'Burial Service,' especially in reference to unbaptized persons; 'The Ornaments Rubric;' 'The Draft Bill on Rites and Ceremonies;' and 'The Lectionary.'

With regard to the *Quicunque*, perhaps it would be impossible to find so calm and able a defence of the use of this Creed as the Bishop here provides in a dozen pages. He first quotes authorities for it, secondly gives the 'Synodical Declaration,' which the Convocation of Canterbury resolved should be appended to the Creed, and lastly answers objections. The authorities given are the Thirty-nine Articles, Richard Hooker, Dr. Waterland, and Richard Baxter, who says: 'I unfeignedly account the doctrine of the Trinity to be the sum and kernel of the Christian religion; and in the *Athanasian Creed* is the best exposition of it I ever read.'

As to the Synodical Declaration, we need only say that the deliberations of the two Provinces end in leaving the Creed and the prefixed rubric as they were. Dr. Wordsworth shows that many of the objections raised against the Athanasian Creed are of equal force against the Apostles' Creed. Thus the Athanasian Creed has no author, neither is the author of the Apostles' Creed known. The Athanasian Creed was never received by a General Council, nor was the Apostles'. The Athanasian Creed was not received in the public Liturgy by the Eastern Church; neither was the Apostles', &c. The absurd objection, that to receive another creed contravenes a decree of the Council of Ephesus, is at once confuted by reference to the words of the decree. The Council forbade the reception not of ἄλλο σύμβολον, but of ἑτέραν πίστιν. The Bishop reminds those who object to the use of the Creed on high festivals as unsuitable at such times, that it is a hymn as

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well as a symbol of faith. 'It is not,' says Dr. Newman, 'a mere collection of notions, however momentous. It is a psalm or hymn of praise, of confession, of profound, self-prostrating homage, parallel to the canticles of the elect in the Apocalypse.' We believe the opposition to this Creed has been made to turn too much upon the doctrine of everlasting punishment; and, consequently, something deeper still has been comparatively lost sight of. The Creed is an abiding witness to the necessity of faith, and asserts that there are such sins as sins of unbelief. An age which regards sin only as it affects creatures—only in relation to opinion, life, property, social order and the like—cannot bring itself to accept the truth, that there are sins which are only against God. Unbelief is not regarded as *moral* evil, because to believe is considered to depend upon the conformation of the brain, external circumstances, &c.; not on an act of the will, under the influence of Divine grace. Faith is identified with mere opinion; and, therefore, to believe or not to believe in any doctrine cannot be a matter of such immense importance. The Athanasian Creed is hated, not only because it points to the eternal consequences of sin, but also because it makes unbelief a sin at all. Herein lies the explanation of the late Mr. Brewer's assertion: 'There is no safe ground between infidelity and the Athanasian Creed.'

In condemning the suggestion that the damnatory clauses should be expunged, the Bishop of Lincoln incidentally delivers a very important testimony as to the limits by which a National Church is restricted in dealing with formularies: 'It is not competent for any particular Church, such as the Church of England, to tamper with ancient formularies which are not her property, but belong to the whole Church of Christ.' The Bishop of Lichfield makes a similar remark. The principle here laid down is a vital one. There are certain limits as to dealing with Church questions, whether they affect ceremonial actions or doctrines, which the 'quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus' assign, not only to a National Church, but to the whole Church. Even the infallibility of the Pope is to some degree, Roman Catholics admit, 'tied up.' He is, according to the Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops, 'limited' in its exercise by the creeds already in existence, by preceding definitions of the Church, by the Divine law, by the constitution of the Church, &c. There is in some quarters a distrust of the actions of our Convocations, arising upon a fear (which may indeed be, and we trust is, baseless) that Convocation, in its exercise of the power with which it is entrusted, will feel itself less 'tied up' than the Pontiff himself.

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If the counsels of the Bishop of Lincoln are followed, we are assured that ancient precedent, Catholic custom, and universal consent, will have their due weight in the deliberations of that body to which Churchmen rightly look for guidance.

We cannot altogether commend the utterances of the Bishop of Lichfield upon the subject of the Athanasian Creed and 'The Eternal Future.' Upon this, and other grave questions, he delivers his mind; though, perhaps, it would have been wiser to have waited until a longer experience in the Episcopal office and deeper theological attainments should have added their value to his opinions. His kindliness of disposition is evident; his piety and devotion breathe in every page of his charge: but there is a feebleness of grasp and a too great subjectivity in dealing with profound doctrines. With regard to eternity of punishment, and 'Universalism,' he says of the latter, or of something closely akin to it,

'If we are asked, whether it may be possible that such a happy issue may be in store for mankind as that suggested by the naturally attractive theory of which I have spoken, we can only answer, that with an infinite God, and one whose name is love, all things are possible that the human heart can either desire or conceive. Nor need we condemn nor repel those who, prompted by the tenderness of a loving spirit, are led to "faintly trust the larger hope."'

We are aware that the Bishop has since repudiated any tendency in himself to accept 'the naturally attractive theory.' But a Bishop has to do more than aver his own orthodoxy: he has 'to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word.' And in Bishop Maclagan we expected firmer lines of eschatological teaching. The Athanasian Creed cannot now be given up on the ground of its unsuitableness to be repeated by mixed congregations. Its abandonment can only be brought about by the discovery that it teaches something *untrue*, and holds up before mankind a delusive terror. 'Men,' it has been said, 'die of all diseases; creeds, of *only* one—that of being found out.'

On the *Burial of the Dead*, which is considered in the Bishop of Lincoln's fourth address, we have only two comments to make, in addition to what has already been said on 'The Burials Bill.' We were rather surprised to find the Bishop speaking not unfavourably of some service to be said over the unbaptized. We fear the effect would be to lessen the feeling of necessity for the Sacrament of Baptism. It may betray a very low state of religious belief, yet it is nevertheless true, that the object of securing the recitation of

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the Burial Service over the dying child often impels the parent to run for the priest, when the spiritual privileges bestowed by the Sacrament would not be a sufficient motive for hastening its administration. Moreover, a service of 'prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer and portions of Holy Scripture,' and 'approved by the Ordinary,' when used over the unbaptized, must tend to obscure the line of demarcation between the realm of nature and that of grace. The argument, that in large towns, where there are vast populations with but a very few clergy, numbers of children will be found who have not been baptized, and that not through the fault of parents, but because 'the labourers are few;' and that it is hard to deprive such children of some form of burial, is one which seems to us to be of little force. We believe the country would be more affected by a provision such as is proposed than large towns. And for this reason; in large towns, there are cemeteries close at hand, where those who are interred are unknown to the officiating minister, who asks only for the 'Burial Extract' before he proceeds with the service. Doubtless, multitudes are married and buried by the Church in our great cities, who have never received the Baptismal gift. In the country, where every one is known, the provision, if a desirable one, would prove a greater boon. The other point we would notice, clearly connected with the foregoing, is the Bishop of Lincoln's remarks on lay-baptism. Numbers die unbaptized, because, though our people in other respects may not have such a high notion of priestly power as is entertained elsewhere, they think no one, whatever be the extreme necessity of the case, can baptize but a clergyman. It has ever been held that all that is required for valid administration of Baptism in cases of necessity is that it be done in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and water poured upon the child at the same time. Bishop Wordsworth gives some Church of England authorities, and the decision of the Upper House of Convocation in 1712, as to the efficacy of Baptism when received with due matter and form. He simply states that lay-baptism was allowed in the Ancient Church. The passages which are commonly adduced in favour of this practice are such as these. Tertullian (*de Baptismo*, c. 17): 'laicus reus erit perditi hominis,' if he neglects this duty. S. Jerome: 'Baptizare, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis.' Both Lutherans and Roman Catholics admit the validity of lay-baptism: the latter, as usual, are very explicit. 'Baptism can be licitly and validly administered by male or female,

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infidel and heretic.' There is no fear of the last-named concerning themselves about the baptism of infants, save to prevent it. And we need not therefore enter upon the difficult question which arose between Stephen and the upholders of re-baptism in the third century. The practical bearings of the subject of lay-baptism cannot be exaggerated, when we consider the increasing difficulty of finding clergy for our large towns, and the perils of birth; it would seem to be a primary duty that doctors and nurses should be made acquainted with what can be done in cases of emergency.

The next Address of the Bishop of Lincoln, which is upon the 'Ornaments Rubric,' has attracted considerable attention, a portion of the argument having been reprinted for general circulation, and published by Messrs. Parker. The Bishop's views, if we mistake not, have undergone some change as to the authority for vestments. He regards the Ornaments Rubric as the 'battle-field of two contending parties,' and it is evident which he thinks has most right on its side. In the one camp he places those who would enforce the literal interpretation of the Rubric, and therefore make the Edwardian vestments obligatory. In the other camp he disposes of those who accept the recent decisions of the Final Court of Appeal. The Bishop evidently feels the force of Mr. Parker's 'learned researches' into those 'recent decisions,' or, rather, into the mistaken grounds on which they were based, too strongly to adventure himself into the ranks of those who are satisfied with the Ridsdale judgment. He seems even to give a slight hope that it 'may be set aside by future judicial determinations,' though he advises obedience to its decisions as the best policy. There is a feeling which many share respecting the Ridsdale judgment who have never worn a vestment, and who care little for what is called Ritualism, to which no one has given better expression than Mr. Hubbard, who, in a paper read before the Oxford Diocesan Conference, said, 'the decisions of the Judicial Committee' have 'failed to obtain acquiescence, because they bore the appearance of being determined by the consideration of what would satisfy the requirements, not of the *Law*, but of *public opinion*. Any one who has followed the controversy provoked by the Ridsdale judgment must feel deeply distressed at the position in which that judgment is left by the calm, searching, and convincing pamphlet letter of Mr. James Parker.' [1] However, the Bishop

[1] Paper read in 1878 before Oxford Diocesan Conference by the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P. London: Vacher and Sons, 1878.

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neither enters the Ritualistic nor the anti-Ritualistic camp, though his face is towards the former. He avoids Scylla and Charybdis, and takes the middle line, that the Edwardian vestments are legal but not obligatory. We have not space to follow the Bishop's argument on this matter. He thinks the vestments *were* obligatory, and that some change in the law took place between 1640 and 1690, whereby they became only *permissible;* and that this change may be traced in the wording of the Rubric. Thus, the 'Ornaments Rubric,' as it stood in the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., was imperative as to the use of vestments—'*The Minister*, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministrations, *shall use* such ornaments in the Church,' &c.: whereas in 1662 the words became *general, passive*, and *permissive*—'Such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall *be retained* and *be in use*.' We are not so convinced as the Bishop that this change of expression is evidence of a change in the law; as the injunctions of the Rubrics from first to last are bound up with and regulated by the same Act of Parliament. It might have been, as he suggests, 'a wise and conciliatory condescension to the scruples of Presbyterians and others;' but, if so, they must have been satisfied with a change of words, which at any rate did not much affect the substance of the Rubric. The conclusion of the Bishop of Lincoln seems very equitable and agreeable to sound sense, and useful for the time being:—

'A charitable consideration is due to the opinions of a large number of the clergy and laity, who, while they think that no vestment ought to be *required* of any clergyman but a surplice, are of opinion that the vestments ought not to be prohibited; at the same time that they readily allow that the vestments ought not to be introduced by any minister except under careful control, and with the goodwill of the flock.'

The way out of present difficulties on Ritual, according to the Bishop of Lichfield, is to resort to the Bishop, and abide by his decision. Yet this, were it done, would hardly prevent diversity of use. The diversity between parish and parish would be exchanged for that between diocese and diocese. Moreover, when Dr. Maclagan quotes the Prayer-Book Preface, that those who 'doubt' or 'diversely take' anything 'concerning the service of the Church' should 'always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese,' and then abide by his order, he does not add what follows, 'so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this book.' In this proviso lies the point in question. The settlement of such a funda-

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mental question as the meaning of the Ornaments Rubric cannot appertain to any individual Bishop, but is a matter of national interest. The Bishop has to administer the law of the Church, and not to adapt it in order to meet any special set of circumstances. We must look to the Church of England in her Provincial Synods, acting in a constitutional manner, for the final settlement of questions which affect the whole Church; but yet acting within those limits by which the Synods of a National Church should be restricted. We must not give those 'who seem determined at all hazards to defy all authority of Bishop, Court or Crown, and to accept no judgment but their own,' the possibility of replying to this charge in the words of Sir Thomas More, who, when thus addressed by the Abbot of Westminster, 'You ought, sir, to think your own conscience erroneous, when you have against you the whole council of the nation,' retorted, 'I should, if I had not for me a still greater council, the whole council of Christendom.'

The next important matter in the Bishop of Lincoln's Addresses is his reference to the Draft of a Bill framed *to provide facilities for the amendment from time to time of the rites and ceremonies of the Church*, which was accepted by the Convocations of both Provinces. The views on this subject of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Bishop of Worcester are diametrically opposed to one another. Dr. Wordsworth inserts the Bill in detail, and then adds, 'the wisdom of the action of Convocation in this matter will be generally recognized by the clergy and laity of the Church.' Dr. Philpott says, 'I cannot help expressing my alarm at the prospect of any such measure being adopted. If I could think it possible that the sanction of the Legislature should be given to it, I should be distressed for the future of the Church of England.' And then the Bishop of Worcester gives some reasons for this grave assertion. He thinks Convocation hardly qualified, as now constituted, to deal with the matters which would be brought before it; that the laity should be consulted; and that this Bill would throw open the door to agitation, and give 'occasion to perpetual controversy.' There may be some truth in the Bishop's dark forebodings, and to facilitate changes is undesirable; but has he anything better to propose as a mode of dealing with existing difficulties?

The next twenty pages of the Bishop of Lincoln's Charge are taken up with 'the Lectionary.' He proposes, as is well known, a revision of the *Table of Lessons* of 1871, and gives his reasons, marking defects in the present Lectionary, and

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sustaining his complaints by interesting examples, in the lessons from the books of Genesis, Job, Proverbs, &c.

Amongst so much that is of importance, it is difficult to make a selection, but there is only one address more to which we can extend our comments, that is, the seventh, which is on *Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister.* A clergyman had written to the Bishop asking him whether he should administer the Holy Communion to one who had married his deceased wife's sister, and the reply was in the negative. In this address he gives the reasons for that decision. The Ordination Vow 'to minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as the Church and realm have received the same,' is the first ground on which he bases a clergyman's duty to refuse communion to those who have contracted such a marriage. For the doctrine of the Church, he of course points to Canon xcix., which refers to the Table of Degrees. But the whole argument of the Bishop of Lincoln rests on the Divine Law. He regards Chapter xviii. of Leviticus as conclusive on the point. The law he says was not only for the Israelites, as some object, but for all; and the whole question is to be judged from the standpoint, that man and wife are *one blood.* He then refers to Christian antiquity, and, *more suo*, charges the Church of Rome with departing from it, by granting dispensations to allow such marriages, thus 'having been tempted by the lust of lucre and of power to swerve from the rule of her fathers.' He then glances at the social consequences of repealing the law. We think, since the time when this address was delivered, we may congratulate those who regard marriage as something more than a civil contract on the successful meeting at S. James's Hall, and on the rejection of the bill, the second reading of which Lord Houghton proposed in the House of Lords. The majority of eleven against the bill, we are thankful to say, was brought about by the votes of the Bishops. Sir Thomas Chambers will doubtless lose no time in pressing his motion in the House of Commons—'that in the opinion of the House, it is expedient that, at the earliest moment, marriage with a deceased wife's sister should be made legal.' What then are the clergy to do if this incestuous form of marriage should be legalized? We cannot do better than answer this question in the Bishop of Lincoln's words: 'If the Civil Power thould legalize such marriage by its authority, would he (*i.e.* the Parish Priest) not be charged with disloyalty to his Sovereign, and to the government of his country, if he refuse to do so? He would be placed in a painful

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dilemma; but his course is plain. He must obey God rather than men.' And the paragraph concludes with these notable words: 'It will be an evil day for England when the Civil Power engages in a conflict with the Church of God, and proclaims war against the ministers of God.' We do not for one moment suppose that the House of Commons will throw out Sir T. Chambers's Bill as that House is at present constituted, though the 'earliest moment' for its introduction has not yet come. But we trust that some plan will be devised, whereby the consciences of the clergy may be protected; and that such marriages, as they will be rendered valid only by the law of man, may not be able to command the Rites of the Church.

We must now turn to the six Addresses delivered by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Their subject-matter is very different from that which has hitherto occupied our attention. Bishop Ellicott has chosen the highest of all themes for consideration, 'the Being of God.' He apologizes to his audience for bringing forward what might seem 'to be a strange subject for a Christian, and especially a Christian minister,' to descant upon. Recent events, however, have, if such were necessary, more than justified his choice. The fact that a constituency has been found to select an atheist for their representative in the House of Commons will give to his pages an additional interest and value. When belief in a Supreme Being is considered of less importance than political bias, it is time to consider whither we are drifting.

The first Address is introductory, and simply 'marks out the ground,' suggesting the stand-point from which the subject is to be regarded. The lines of thought are not merely to be severally tested, but, like so many threads woven together, are to form a cumulative argument. The threads themselves will be of different texture and fibre, and each one will be in advance of its predecessor in potency, thus giving what the Bishop aptly calls an *ascensive* nature to the proofs which he adduces.

There are four grounds, apart from Revelation, for believing in the existence of God, namely, 'the general consent of mankind,' 'the existence of the universe,' 'the presence of final ends in nature,' and 'the moral law.' The argument from 'Consciousness' is not dealt with, nor that of the necessary relation of our moral measurements to an Absolute and Infinite Standard of Perfection, as dealt with by Aquinas. The Bishop, we may notice, evidently inclines to the doctrine, though without adopting it, that the soul has *innatas cogni-*

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tiones,—some innate perception of the truth of the existence of a Divine Being. We hardly, however, agree with his conclusion, that 'these proofs of the existence of God would never have been drawn out by so many of the clearest and most powerful intellects, if there had not been in all those minds that innermost conviction that God is.' It seems to us that these endeavours to prove the existence of a Divine Being can hardly amount to an evidence of the presence of any clear and universal intuition. We readily admit that it is more fitting, and, we would add, reverent, to speak of 'considerations' than of 'proofs' or 'arguments' when treating of the existence of God; and to set before us the task of formulating, rather than originating, 'the idea of God in the human mind.'

The first argument is drawn from the general consent of mankind. In this respect the Bishop pursues a different order from that of Barrow, who proves the Being of God from 'the framework of the world,' and then from 'universal consent.' But the arrangement is arbitrary; it may be a reflex of the relative potency of the different grounds of evidence to the writer's own convictions. We think, nevertheless, the steps of progression would be more regular if Barrow's order of commencement had been followed. We should thus ascend from material to mental, from mental to moral, and from moral to spiritual, regions of inquiry. The argument from 'universal consent' is supposed to be damaged in the estimate of the present day by a wider and more trustworthy research into the opinions of remote and barbarous tribes, as well as by a juster appreciation of atheistic Buddhism. Men may sink so low as to lose all the higher instincts of their nature; yet the absence of all religion amongst such is really no more an argument against 'general consent' than the existence of men who have lost their limbs may be made a ground of evidence against the fact that the human body is as a rule provided with arms and legs. Some, again, have endeavoured to weaken the argument from universal consent by depreciating the religious opinions of primitive times, because man's mental powers were not then developed, and therefore his religious notions were of little worth. Dr. Newman, be it observed, in his *Grammar of Assent*, reverses the picture, and regards man's ideas about religion as more likely to be trustworthy in his initial than in his final state; the former being natural, the latter artificial; since civilization has developed some elements of his being, *e.g.* his intellect, to the expense of others, *e.g.* his conscience.

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Of the four ways of accounting for this general belief in God, namely, instinct, tendency, deduction, tradition, the Bishop seems disinclined to make a selection, for which we commend his prudence. He does not, however, leave the 'insoluble problem' without dealing Mill a side-long blow for choosing the third, and thus attributing to barbarous tribes a logical process of which they were extremely unlikely to be capable.

The proofs of God's existence, which may be derived from the contemplation of the universe, are considered in the third and fourth Addresses. The fact that the universe exists attests the existence of a Creator, and the tendency of science to unify the forces of the universe only strengthens the presumption of the Oneness of the Being from which it emanated. In reply to the objection, that efficient causes are to be excluded from our conception of causation, Dr. Ellicott makes the telling remark, 'We are to limit ourselves to the conception of causation, without importing into it that which would seem to be its very essential idea—efficiency.' But although the existence of God may be demonstrable *à posteriori* 'per creaturas,' or possibly *à simultaneo* from the idea of a necessary and Primal Ens; yet the act of creation itself is something unthinkable. The action of the human will supplies but a faint analogy to the creative act of God, and, as a principle of origination, is itself incomprehensible. After all, it is by *faith* we understand that the worlds were made. Creation is a mystery. Reason may point to its necessity; but it cannot form a conception of the first emergence of primordial matter.

The argument from design is next insisted on. In nature, the Bishop finds order, law, harmony, progress, adaptation, and finality. The fact that all things have emerged from far fewer types and simpler elements than was once supposed makes, as is well said, the transit from the Architect to the Creator more easy. As we go back from the complicated to the simpler, from the organized to the elementary, we gradually, as it were, approach the brink of creation, and thus find that 'the Designer of all things, and He who caused all things to be,' are one and the same Person. The Bishop is on the whole less clear in stating the objections to the arguments, than the arguments themselves. The three leading objections to the argument from design are well stated and answered in Maitland's *Steps to Faith*. The chief objection arises from the fact that the argument itself used to be strained. It is only presumptive, not demonstrative. It points in a

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certain direction, whither you may look for an explanation of the wonderful adaptation of nature. The Address on 'the Being of God as evinced by the moral law' is to our mind the least strong in the series. Perhaps, the reason is that arguments are not at home in that region. 'Conscience,' says the Archbishop of York very finely, 'is not a demonstration of God; it is something better and higher—*a way to God*.'

The final chapter is devoted to a consideration of objections, and of the 'evolutionary hypothesis' regarded as a 'theory which, it is contended, renders, from a scientific point of view, the existence of God, considered as a cause of things, superfluous and unnecessary.' It seems perfectly monstrous that such an application should be made of the evolutionary theory; and we heartily share the author's sentiments when he says (p. 156) that 'the more evolution is pressed upon us as the fundamental and persistent process of nature, the more urgently will the hypothesis be needed of an originally initiating and directive First Cause.' This is followed up by a criticism of the hypothesis of natural selection as being incompetent to account for the forms of life evolved in a limited time on the earth. It should not be forgotten that *this*, as a means of accounting for evolution, not evolution itself, is the Darwinian hypothesis. Bishop Ellicott's power seems to us to lie rather in abstract thought and logical suggestiveness, than in clearness of definition and aptness of illustration. These would have aided us, and brightened our path, as we traced the converging lines of evidence which lead us to the threshold of Revelation, and point unmistakably to the steps of a Throne, and to One Who sitteth thereon.

Art. XI.—EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.

1. *Everlasting Punishment.* Lectures at S. James's, Piccadilly. By E. M. Goulburn, D.D., Dean of Norwich. (London, 1880.)
2. *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* In reply to Dr. Farrar. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. (London, 1880.)

By the overruling guidance of the Divine Spirit which indwells and informs her, the Church of God has, at different periods of her eventful history, directed her conscious thought

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now on this, now on that, portion of the Deposit of the Faith committed to her keeping, now on this, now on that, portion of the great Revelation of Moral and Religious and Theological Truth, of which she is the appointed Witness and Guardian. The external exciting cause of these special movements of thought has mostly been the rise of heretical speculations, which forced controversy upon her, and compelled her to the express formulation, in carefully selected language, of the truth which she has always held, though not always, it may be, with equally clear intellectual consciousness, nor with that realized sharpness of outline which arises from its close contrast with error. At such pregnant epochs her Almighty Head has usually raised up some one or more Saints of commanding intellect, of clear spiritual insight, and of earnest tenacity of purpose, who have been her leaders and champions in the defence and confirmation of the Faith, and the chief guides, under the influence of God's Holy Spirit, in framing those clear statements of important doctrines which are the priceless treasure of all succeeding generations of Christians. The palmary example of this is of course the controversy as to the Person of Christ, of which S. Athanasius was the centre. In a less degree the same may, perhaps, be said of that on the relation of Divine Grace to the Free-Will of man, in which S. Augustine took so large a part. But there is a clear difference between these two cases, in that the latter did not contribute any fresh clauses to the generally accepted Creeds of the Church, and was altogether more local, affecting only the Western half of Christendom, either at the time or afterwards.

This narrower, more merely local, this purely Western and Latin, character has marked with a certain insufficiency the results then arrived at on the exceedingly difficult problems, the discussion of which was brought on by the questionable teaching of Pelagius and Cælestius and their supporters. Much was left unsettled of the deep questions, as much philosophical as religious, then raised. What was settled—and that may perhaps be best summed up in a stanza of the lovely rhythm of good King Robert,

> Sine Tuo Numine
> Nihil est in homine,
> Nihil est innoxium,—

the great practical truth, namely, that without the ever-acting power of the Spirit of God upon him, man is morally and spiritually helpless and lifeless: this was indeed most

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precious and most vital. But when speculation ran up into the mysteries of God's Eternal Predestination and Fore-Knowledge and their relation to the Free-Will of man, and a turn was given to it which was more philosophical than Scriptural, and the argument was grounded more on Reason than on Revelation, the benefit was more doubtful. Looking at it from our point of view, centuries later, when we can estimate more justly the evil effects of the superstructure which Calvin, and those who further developed his teaching, raised upon the foundation originally laid by S. Augustine, we are not sure that we are not justified in saying that the mischief done is certain. Compared with the East, Western Christendom was, in its early centuries, unlearned. It could furnish but few minds capable of dealing with such subjects. The intellect of Augustine consequently dominated and controlled Western theological thought, then and afterwards, too exclusively. The Church may never with safety 'call any man her master upon earth.' That, with its resulting party names and narrow denominationalism, is the special characteristic of Schism, at once its parent and its offspring. Of this faultiness and deficiency of treatment of the grave topics of God's dealings with the soul of man and man's response thereto, we, in these days, are reaping the results. There are evident signs of fresh movement on this whole class of questions. By strong reaction from the horrifying excesses of Calvinism; by the earnest questionings of thoughtful minds, such especially as have been brought up under the influence of narrow and imperfect forms of Christianity, as to the enigma of Life, past, present, and future; by the erratic ventures of Free Thought in every possible direction; grave and anxious difficulties, as to points which are felt intimately and vitally to concern every human being, and which touch fundamentally the moral evidence of Christianity and even of Theism, have been brought into open daylight, and demand an answer: or, if that may not be, at least the tenderest consideration.

What was God's design in the creation of intelligent beings, angels or men? Are they inherently, or only conditionally and possibly, immortal? How did evil get in amongst them? Is it possible that all may be saved? Is it possible that any may be lost? If God foresaw the loss of any, as we must suppose He did, why did He create them? How long does their probation last? Is it continued after death? When is the great issue settled in individual cases? If adversely, is the ensuing doom for ever and without hope?

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We believe we have put the most important question first; that (we mean) whose answer will rule our conceptions of those that follow, and of the answers to them. And to our first question Dean Goulburn supplies a thoughtful answer in the fourth, by far the most important of the series, of his S. James's Sermons of the present year:—

'Are we to suppose' (he asks, p. 92) 'that God called creatures into existence merely as a sphere for His benevolence, and that the happiness of these creatures was the main end of the creation—the end in which God acquiesces, and beyond which He has no other?'

He points out that, on this hypothesis,

'it is impossible to believe that any creatures will be permitted to suffer everlastingly; we are driven to suppose either that, after the infliction of a certain amount of punishment, impenitent sinners will be restored and brought back to God's favour, or that He will, in the exercise of His Divine power, annihilate them, and so cause their sufferings to cease. This view imperatively demands that, in the furthest point of sight to which the mind's eye can reach, there shall be none but rejoicing and happy creatures around the throne of God.'

But to the question 'Will this account of the matter . . . stand the test of facts and of Revelation?' he says, 'I answer unhesitatingly, No.' And he proceeds to show that God must have had 'some other object distinct from and beyond that of the happiness of His creatures, such, for example, as the manifestation of that awful justice, purity, and holiness, which, no less than love, is a part of His character;' that He made all things 'for the manifestation of His own glorious attributes;' that His own Glory is 'the ultimate end' of all His actions, and so must be of ours, as it was of Christ's; that, in thus making Himself the centre of all things, alike to Himself and to all His creatures, and His 'self-manifestation' the great end of all that is, 'the great Creator, who has an independent and underived existence,' acts at once according to the absolute rights, and to the inherent and essential 'necessity' of His nature.'

We believe that this is so. Nay more, we believe that it is a thought that needs especially to be brought into prominence in the present day. It is instructive to note how minds of the calibre of Butler and Mozley have seen and have insisted on the solemn truth that the character of God is not one merely of irrespective benevolence, but that His holiness and His justice are as truly parts of it as His love and mercy. We say 'parts of it,' according to the language we must use, though the truth perhaps may be that His attributes,

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though distinct (as one may say) externally, *i.e.* relatively to the occasions and subjects upon which they are manifested to the apprehension of the creature, are in themselves identical, *i.e.* are all Love, which 'God is.' We mean that possibly the truth may be that God, being always in Himself the same, is to each creature just that which itself, especially its own moral and spiritual condition, permits or compels (for we may perhaps express it equally truly either way) Him to be; and that in every case, without exception, such moral and spiritual condition, as fixed in quality (though not, of course, in degree), when probation is over, is the total and abiding result of the action of the individual Will, in its own personal relation throughout the period of probation, to God's offers, and drawings, and grace, and is a result for which the individual will is solely and completely responsible by virtue of that irrevocable gift, that inalienable prerogative, of liberty of choice, which is an essential part of God's Image in man, and which, therefore, He Himself cannot force, *i.e.* annihilate, though He can confine its operation to its own individual sphere and to its consequences within that range.

If it be asked, Why then did God give this awful power of Free-Will, through which, wrongly exercised, as He foresaw it would be, evil has entered into the world of angels and of men? we answer, So only were morality and the love of God possible. God longed, as a means towards the great inclusive end of His own Happiness and Glory in His own Self-Evolution and Self-Manifestation, for the answering love of creatures morally like Himself. In creatures without Free-Will, *i.e.* in whom either was no Will at all, or the Will was absolutely, *i.e.* mechanically, overruled by external pressure on the part of God, neither morality nor love could really exist. The desired and necessary end could be attained in no other way. The awful risk must be faced, or there could be no result at all. Without Free-Will and its risk there had been no creation of moral and spiritual beings possible; nothing beyond material nature, with its uniform blind submission to external law; or possibly (the thought is barely conceivable) only beings with merely intellectual and reasoning powers, memory, and thought, and calculation, seated in, or working through, a highly organized material brain, but with no will, no conscience, no moral nature, no capacity of loving or being loved, no character, no individuality, no real self. But all this had been, even on the grandest conceivable scale of force and of extent, no worthy or adequate manifestation of God, Who 'is Love.' All this could have yielded

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no satisfaction to His supreme desire and claim and right of adoration and of love, nor yielded any point of contact whereat a union of the Creator with the creature, such as the Incarnation is, had been possible. If then, it may next be asked, moral life and capacity of loving God in creatures were impossible without Free-Will, and Free-Will could not be without the possible risk of misuse, and God foresaw that that risk would be actualized in the case, if it were but of one only among the myriads of His intelligent and moral creatures, that there would be if it were but one of whom it should be said, It were good for him that he had never existed, why did not God's mercy and love forbid creation altogether? To this query, as we have said, we think Dean Goulburn's sermon, *Everlasting Punishment not Inconsistent with God's Purpose in Creation*, supplies a sufficient answer; and that without entering, by way of further easing of the difficulty, on any comparison or balance between the sum total of the unspeakable happiness of those creatures who shall attain the end of their being, and the misery of those, however many or few, who miss it by their own fault, and so glorify God only in being monuments of His awful justice and holiness.

We say it is well that this aspect of truth should be brought forward in these days, because we think there has been on all sides, orthodox as well as unorthodox, too great a tendency towards an *exclusive* dwelling on the Loving and Fatherly character of God. This has been doubtless one of the results of the reaction from Calvinism. But there is grave moral and spiritual danger in forgetting the correlative truths, of the awful Majesty of God as the All-Holy, 'of purer eyes than to behold iniquity' and 'that will by no means clear the guilty;' and of His supreme rights and claims, as sovereign Lord and Master by right of Creation, on the conscience of the creature for absolute self-surrendering obedience and submission, active and passive, to His Will, when that Will is with sufficient clearness ascertained.

We think, then, that if such primary principles be admitted to lie at the very foundation of the general subject of God's dealings with mankind, then the difficulties raised as to the existence of evil and suffering in the Creation; or as to punishment, present or future; or the nature and duration of the latter—all which are subordinate parts of the general subject—are in a way to be accounted for, and (we think) in the estimate of thoughtful minds, to be removed. For, as to the administration of such primary principles, we can have no hesitation in trusting absolutely

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either the infinite and absolute Justice and Love of God as equally operative in every case, or that perfect heart-searching knowledge which He alone does or can possess of the inward history, with all its temptations and ignorance, or with all its knowledge and opportunities, of each several soul, which enables Him with unerring accuracy to know both when probation is over, and further moral change (*i.e.* of quality) impossible; and what is the exact position, on this or that side, for or against God, of the great dividing line of judgment (κρίσις, separation); what the exact degree of its nearness to Him, and further capacity of growth towards and in Him, if on the right hand; what the exact degree of alienation from Him and of consequent loss, if on the left. All this we can safely leave to Him, sure that 'the Judge of all the earth' will 'do right,' and remembering (1) that mystery, impenetrable mystery, must ever necessarily attend, *for us*, the Being and the doings of God; and (2) that we now, at any rate, see so small a part of His doings, especially of their ultimate issues, that what to our limited sight may seem a straight line may be really a portion of an almost infinite curve.

But of the restriction of probation to the present life, the calling in question of which is, perhaps, the worst and most dangerous feature of Dr. Farrar's shallow, excited and self-contradictory book, *Eternal Hope*, or of the endlessness of the condition finally adjudged at its close, we cannot, looking at once at Revelation and at life, permit ourselves to doubt.

On this practically most important point Dr. Pusey says (p. 17):—

> 'A further probation after this life is clearly a mere human imagination. "Universalism" itself does not require it. It is only a human theory, devised to make "universalism" plausible. A continuation of the discipline of the soul, a preparation for the Beatific Vision, a development of faculties as yet undeveloped here, continued influences from God maturing the soul, a purifying it from the stains of sin—of this or the like there is no question.'

Even a heathen moralist like Plato—as Dr. Pusey (p. 4) shows by a quotation from the *Gorgias*, and the same might abundantly be shown of Aristotle—studying the observable facts of human nature, could see clearly enough that habitual misuse of moral choice, in lifelong sin against light and conscience and acknowledged moral law, lands men in an incurable and incorrigible, and so hopeless, state, for which nothing remains but its inevitable attendant of hopeless misery and loss in standing alienation from good. The condition of

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those who sin against the greater light and grace of the Gospel must necessarily be worse. It is childish to argue, as some do, that an eternity of punishment is an unjust penalty for sins committed in time, in a longer or shorter space of earthly life. For this rests on an inadequate and wholly mistaken estimate of what sin is—on a forgetfulness that it is a question of *quality* and not of *quantity* or duration or time taken in committing. The essence of sin lies, not in the external act done, but in the amount of consciousness, of wilfulness, of defiance of the known Law and Will of God, on the part of the inward will. The outward act may be slight, or, however serious, may be short; but its effects remain, in the altered set of the will and the abiding pollution of the soul (until it is cast out by real repentance bringing the will back again to God), and in the (it may be) irreparable moral injury done to others, as well as the dishonour to God. A woman's adultery is but a single brief act; but it alters for ever and irrecoverably her whole, both inward and outward, relation to her husband.[1] So with the soul and God. Sin is the contradictory of God. Its end and aim is the annihilation of God. Its essence lies, when its tendencies are perfected, in defiant hatred of God, seated in the will of the sinner, *i.e.* in the centre of his *self:* that is to say, it would, when 'finished,' dethrone God and deify Self in His place; thus 'bringing forth death,' *i.e.* absolute cutting-off from God, with whom alone 'is the well of Life.' So long as this is so, God *must*, by the very law of His Being, by the bare fact of His existence, condemn the sinner and the sin. And this, as all the other moral and inward consequences of sin, is not an arbitrarily imposed penalty which might conceivably not have been, or been other, but is a necessary consequence, wrapped up in the very nature of sin as sin. That repentance, *i.e.* change of will, is always possible, after whatever persistence in wilful sin, cannot (we think) be seriously maintained on either Scriptural or natural grounds. We believe, with Aristotle, that the will may be so broken down as to become helplessly fixed in evil, and the moral

[1] On these grounds we should doubt the accuracy of Dr. Goulburn's language in his note on p. 15:—'Even the aggregate sin of the whole human race is *finite: it has its limits.*' Any sin is an infinite evil, does infinite dishonour to God. We cannot talk of sin being *finite*, having limits, as if it were a measurable quantity of something material. It is as if one should talk of *finite poison, i.e.* poison which only affected that part of the body with which it was in actual contact (like a blister on the surface), whereas its tendency, and if not arrested its result, is to annihilate the life of the whole.

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perception so extinguished that men may come to see no beauty in goodness that they should desire it.

Nor does Holy Scripture warrant us in expecting that God may in such cases, be they many or few, violate His uniform moral order and work a miracle in the forcible turning back of the alienated will towards Himself after the discipline of life has failed. We may even say that *He could not do so;* because it would be the denial of the Free-Will which Himself has given.

'God,' says Dr. Pusey (p. 31) 'willeth that we should be saved. But He willeth not to do violence to our will, which He holds sacred, as the finite image of His own infinite Will, free, after the likeness of His own Almighty Will, Who doth whatsoever pleaseth Him. . . . Man has still the power to refuse even the overwhelming, sweet, attractive, all but compulsory, power of the love of God.'

People sometimes speak as if we were to conceive of God's Omnipotence as absolutely without restriction, and that in all spheres of operation—intellectual, moral, material. But surely this is a superficial view. The Almighty is a Law unto Himself. He cannot transgress the necessary conditions, whether intellectual or moral, of His own Self-existent Nature and Being. He is what He is; and, being what He is, He is the crown and perfection and pattern of all Being, and cannot be other than He is. Thus, whatever would be a real contradiction, intellectual or moral, is impossible and inconceivable, even, perhaps we should rather say, most of all, in the Divine Nature, which, unless conceived of as conditioned by Itself, and consistent with Itself, must seem whimsical, arbitrary, and grotesque.

That God will always accept sincere repentance is indeed most true. For His own love, while it condemns, longs for the sinner; and the infinite submission, in life and in death, of His Divine Son in man's nature is an infinite reparation for the infinite wrong done by sin to Him Whom it would dethrone and annihilate, and so has rendered forgiveness possible. What must be remembered is, that we have no grounds for believing that God will interfere to render that repentance possible which a man has, wilfully and persistently, put away from himself, until by habitual sin he has rendered himself incapable of it.

And that the time for repentance is limited to this life would seem to be the uniform teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Church; while certainly, if this be so, it must be the height of cruelty to give hints, as Dr. Farrar does, of possible renewed opportunities of that essential moral change

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in the unseen state. Of moral *development* in that state, in the direction already taken, we concede the largest possibility; but that is altogether another thing. The Church has always held that. Hence her practice, from primitive Christian and even from Jewish days, of Prayer for the faithful departed, the withdrawal (not prohibition) of which by our own Reformers we of later days have come to see has been attended with serious practical loss to English religion. We are glad to observe that, in his Preface, Dean Goulburn says:—

'I entirely share the feeling, which is now so commonly avowed, that Protestants have not given that prominence to the doctrine of the intermediate, as distinct from the ultimate, state, which Scripture so clearly asserts, and the assertion of which is quite necessary to exhibit, in full symmetry and significance, the orthodox doctrine of the Last Things' (p. vii.).

It is needless to say that Dr. Pusey says the same.

Of course no treatment of this subject can avoid touching on the word *αἰώνιος*. Dr. Pusey and Dean Goulburn alike devote some valuable pages to its discussion; both referring to the late Rev. J. Riddell's note on the word subjoined to Dr. Pusey's sermon (1864) *On Everlasting Punishment*, to which sermon his present work, actually occasioned by Dr. Farrar's Westminster Sermons, is really an Appendix. We are glad to find that the Dean objects to one attempted mode of lowering the meaning of *αἰώνιος* by appealing to the *χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι* of Rev. x. 6. He says: 'If you ask me to conceive of Time and Space as *really and objectively annihilated*, my answer is, that my mind is not so constructed that I *can* conceive of such a thing.' No doubt he is philosophically correct. Time and Space are necessary conditions of all created and finite existence. Only God is absolute 'Spirit,' and so *immensus* and *æternus*, alike unrelated to Space and to Time. The Dean might have added a protest against the very common mistranslation of that text, which really means, as the context shows, 'There shall be no more delay,' and so have cut away the ground from under the baseless inferences founded upon it. Eternity in the sense of *Timelessness*, unbegun, unending, is only predicable of the Divine Existence. Our belief is that *αἰώνιος* has a distinct meaning from *Eternal* in that sense. Distinguishing between the *æternitas à parte antè*, in which God existed alone before Creation was, and the unending succession of Time, and of Ages, which began with Creation, and which is called the *æternitas à parte post*, we should say that a survey of the New Testament usage of *αἰώνιος* points to its exclusive use of the latter. In the

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æternitas à parte antè there was no Time, there were no *αἰῶνες*. It was not even itself an *αἰών*; for *αἰών* means an age which has a beginning, and, however long, an ending. With Creation Time began, and with Time an *αἰών*, which was itself a terminable period, though immediately succeeded by, or rather passing into (for *συντέλεια* implies an overlapping), and that (it may be) insensibly, or, at least, not always catastrophically, another *αἰών*, to be itself succeeded by another and another, without end. This endless succession gives rise to the phrase *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* [seven times in New Testament; six in Doxologies, once (S. Luke i. 33) of the Reign of Christ]; or the stronger form *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* [seven times in the Epistles, always in Doxologies, and fourteen times in the Apocalypse, *i.e.* six times in Doxologies, twice of the Life of God, once of the Life of Christ, once of the Reign of Christ, once of the reign of His Saints, three times of torment, *scil.* of the worshippers of the Beast, of the fallen Babylon, of the Devil]; both forms denoting that which goes on age after age. Adjectivally the same is expressed by *αἰώνιος*, which no more means 'age-long,' *i.e.* lasting for an age, and then ending with the end of the age, than *æternus* means ending with the *ætas*, but means 'ages long,' *i.e.* going on, age after age, during the *æternitas à parte post*, *i.e.* from the moment (within the period since Time began) at which that to which the epithet is applied began, and onwards without end. Thus *αἰώνιος*, which occurs seventy-one times in the New Testament, is used fifty-five times of eternal life, glory, &c., and seven times of eternal fire, judgment, &c.; twice in the phrase *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*, which means, in the Divine eternity *à parte antè*, before time and æons began; once in *μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου* (Rom. xvi. 25), which means, not as A. V. *before the world began* (which would rather be *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*), nor *through eternal ages* (as the Revised English Bible of Drs. Jacob and Green), for the ages are not eternal *à parte antè*, but *during the times of the ages*, *i.e.* that preceded the fulness of time. The passage is exactly parallel to Eph. iii. 9: *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, where A. V. paraphrastically, but correctly, has 'from the beginning of the world.' It is remarkable that *αἰώνιος* is but once applied to God (Whose Eternal Self-Existence is otherwise expressed, as, *e.g.* Rev. i. 4, 8; iv. 8; xi. 17; xvi. 5); and this, we think, illustrates its true meaning of *never-ending existence in time*, and so looks to the eternity *à parte post*, and not *à parte antè*. And its immediate connexion, in the one place of its occurrence (Rom.

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xvi. 27) with the mention of *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι*, seems to point to some such meaning as 'God Who presides over, and orders, the course of the ages, and guides their development and succession.' Compare the one parallel, 1 Tim. i. 17, *τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων*, where, very curiously, as in Rom. xvi. 27, and nowhere else, except Jude 25, the doxology which follows is addressed *μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ*. The remaining five occasions of its use are: once of the Spirit (if the reading be not *ἁγίου*); once of the Gospel; once of the Covenant; once in a doxology; and once of Onesimus, who, returning to his master, Philemon, a baptized brother in Christ, becomes his for ever in the abiding relationship of the everlasting Communion of Saints. Excluding the seven passages in which it is applied to punishment, its meaning in which is the point under discussion, there is, *in the New Testament*, absolutely no ground for Dr. Farrar's assertions that 'there is no authority whatever for rendering it everlasting;' that 'it is used over and over again of things transitory.' All his argument in support of which (*Eternal Hope*, Excursus iii.) is based on fifteen passages of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.

Dr. Pusey's work, which has all the marks of exhaustive fulness and scholarly accuracy which we are accustomed to look for from him, must necessarily take its place as a standard work on this solemn subject; all the more so from its calm judicial fairness, and its repudiation, in the name of the Church and of Theology, of the ignorant extravagance of much popular language, of Calvinistic origin, which has provoked the reaction of which Dr. Farrar's book is one among many evidences. He rightly appraises the elements of truth in that reaction. Taking the four points on which Dr. Farrar dwells, he says of the first, 'The physical torments, the material agonies of eternal punishment,' that it is 'a point not declared to be essential to the belief in Hell.' The second, 'the supposition of its necessarily endless duration for all who incur it,' he strenuously and learnedly maintains as the belief of the Catholic Church from the first, as of the Jews 'before or about the time of our Lord,' and afterwards 'until the theory of the limitation of its duration *for the Jew* was invented by one who lived after the Ascension of our Lord' (p. 100)—*i.e.* by the Rabbi Akiba, of whose teaching, as of that of the Talmud, on this point, Dr. Pusey gives a very full and most interesting summary. Dr. Farrar's third stumbling-block was 'the opinion that it is thus incurred by the vast mass of mankind;' of which Dr. Pusey says that 'it has no

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solid foundation whatever;' that 'most of us, happily, in our youth heard nothing of all this, or of the Calvinistic dogma of "reprobation," except to hear it rejected as something terrible.' Of the fourth difficulty, 'that it is a doom passed irreversibly at the moment of death on all who die in a state of sin;' he remarks that it is 'probably a misconception'—*i.e.* that it should be clearly understood that, in accepting it, we must mean by 'a state of sin' such a state 'as excludes any presence of God's grace, however invisible to man, in the heart.'

Looking at the whole controversy, we may well adopt the following words of Dr. Pusey (p. 102): 'Amid all which is so sad, Dr. Farrar may, unintentionally, render good service to the Church and to souls by forcing attention to the intermediate state.'

Furthermore, we feel sure that our readers will thank us if, with a view to guiding their thoughts on this whole subject, so difficult and so momentous, we present them with his very valuable summary of twelve principal propositions, which may be regarded as certainly true, and, if so, are fundamental to the whole question:—

'1. Without Free-Will man would be inferior to the lower animals, which have a sort of limited freedom of choice.

'2. Absolute Free-Will implies the power of choosing amiss and, having chosen amiss, to persevere in choosing amiss. It would be self-contradictory that Almighty God should create a free agent capable of loving Him, without being capable also of rejecting His love.

'3. The higher and more complete and pervading the Free-Will is, the more completely an evil choice will pervade and disorder the whole being.

'4. But without Free-Will we could not freely love God. Freedom is a condition of love.

'5. In eternity those who behold him will know what the bliss is eternally to love Him. But then that bliss involves the intolerable misery of losing Him through our own evil choice.' [We suppose this would be more accurately worded: 'But then *the possibility of* that bliss involves *the possibility of* the intolerable misery of,' &c.] 'To lose God and be alienated from Him is in itself Hell, or the vestibule of Hell.

'6. But that His creatures may not lose Him, God, when He created all His rational creatures with Free-Will, created them also in Grace, so that they had the full power to choose aright, and could not choose amiss, except by resisting the drawing of God to love Him.

'7. The only hindrance to man's salvation is, in any case, the obstinate misuse of that Free-Will, with which God endowed him, in order that he might freely love Him.

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'8. God wills that all should be saved, if they *will* it, and to this end gave His Son to die for them, and the Holy Ghost to teach them.

'9. The merits of Jesus reach to every soul who wills to be saved, whether in this life they knew Him or knew Him not.

'10. God the Holy Ghost visits every soul which God has created; and each soul will be judged as it responded or did not respond to the degree of light which He bestowed on it—not by our maxims, but by the wisdom and love of Almighty God.

'11. We know absolutely nothing of the proportion of the saved to the lost, or who will be lost; but this we *do* know, that none will be lost who do not obstinately to the end and in the end refuse God. None will be lost, whom God *can* save without destroying in them His own gift of Free-Will.

'12. With regard to the *nature* of the sufferings, nothing is matter of faith. No one doubts that the very special suffering will be the loss of God (*pœna damni*): that, being what they are, they know that they were made by God for Himself, and yet, through their own obstinate will, will not have Him. As to "pains of sense," the Church has nowhere laid down as a matter of faith the material character of the worm and the fire, or that they denote more than the gnawing of remorse. Although then it would be very rash to lay down dogmatically that the "fire" is *not* to be understood literally, as it has been understood almost universally by Christians, yet no one has a right to urge these representations, from which the imagination so shrinks, as a ground for refusing to believe in Hell, since he is left free not to believe them'—(pp. 22, 23.)

We will only add, as to this last point, two remarks—

1. That but little would seem really to be gained in mitigation of the thought of Eternal punishment by the elimination of the element of 'pains of sense' from our conception of it; since it is admitted that its chiefest anguish must lie in the gnawing consciousness of hopeless separation from God and from good, of everlasting association with evil, within and without, of failure to attain the end of our being, of moral degradation and death and nonentity, of the loss of all self-respect and hope, of 'shame and everlasting contempt.'

2. That really deep thought on this awful theme—thought that is not deterred from facing its realities by such features as, very naturally, strike the imagination, *primâ facie*, with more especial but, perhaps, with disproportionate horror—seems compelled to admit that 'pains of sense' must be a part of everlasting punishment. Man's material organization is an essential part of himself: 'body, soul, and spirit' are his constituent elements, without any one of which he were more or less than man, or, rather, could not really be. Death is

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the casting-off of the gross visible part of our materiality, whereby, during this present life, we are put into necessary relation with the objects of this lower world, and at the same time protected from the overpowering impact of the objects of the spiritual world, and is the introduction of the man to the tremendous realities of the unseen. But it may well be doubted whether it is the complete de-materialization, even for the time of the intermediate state, of the soul and spirit. Our belief is, as we have intimated above, that the Divine Being alone is purely and absolutely spiritual; that all created beings, being finite, are localized in space, are here and not there, and must move from place to place (Holy Scripture clearly indicates this of the holy angels); and so are defined in space by a material envelope. We use the word 'material,' of course, in its strictly philosophical sense. The 'material' of superhuman or 'celestial' bodies may be ethereal and subtle in the highest degree. There may be almost no limit to the tenuity of matter; for matter is relative to the acuteness of the percipient. The invisible air in an empty room is as strictly 'material' as its floor and its walls. What is 'material' is not, then, a question of what is to our present perceptions visibly and palpably apparent. And the highest vital and sentient powers in man may well reside really, not in the grosser body which we see, and which is their instrument for operation and manifestation, but in some subtler material organism which we cannot see, and which may remain, after it has thrown off its grosser husk at death, as the abiding material tenement of soul and spirit, even in the intermediate state. So remaining it may, very conceivably, be the subject, in the most literal sense, of 'pains of sense' of a degree of acuteness, of which the grosser organization of the present life is incapable. Something like this seems to lie in the narrative of the rich glutton's experience in Hades. He had sinned in over-indulgence of the organ of taste: he suffered in that organ, by a retribution which not only was just as an imposed penalty, but was (may we not think?) a necessary consequence. And so it may well be in the case of other perversion or abuse of man's material nature, which is so grievously prostituted to the service of iniquity. Was it not, in S. Paul's estimate, a main point of 'the terror of the Lord,' knowing which he persuaded men, such men as Felix, that 'every one must receive *τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος*? Does not conscience itself witness to the truth and justice of such a retribution? And if, as the story of the rich glutton intimates, such retribution is immediate, even in the

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intervening disembodied state, with what 'fearful looking for of judgment' must the lost anticipate its greater intensity after the resurrection and final sentence at the judgment-seat of Christ?

As to the question of 'fire,' and its action, whether in Hades during the intermediate state, or in Hell after the Resurrection, we know not, perhaps, what fire is. Scripture expresses, as it only can, the deeper realities of more spiritual states of being by terms which designate the corresponding objects or agencies in this our present earthly life. So here we may, perhaps, apply the important principle of proportionate interpretation, and understand the Bible representations to mean that which to the then organization (possibly, as we have said, far more acutely sensitive) shall be what fire, inward or outward, is to the present bodily frame.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Collects of the Day. An Exposition, Critical and Devotional, of the Collects appointed at the Communion. With Preliminary Essays on their Structure, Sources, and General Character, and Appendices containing Expositions of the Discarded Collects of the First Prayer-Book of 1549, and of the Collects of Morning and Evening Prayer. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. In Two Volumes. (London: Rivingtons, 1880.)

THIS lengthy title gives so full an account of the contents of Dean Goulburn's book that we need only add to it our sincere recommendation of these volumes to our readers. The work is eminently characteristic of its author. All who value the piety of the matter and the gracefulness of the manner and style of the devotional works of the esteemed Dean of Norwich will find this new treatise not below the standard of any of its predecessors. And, to many readers, the Collects of the Prayer-Book, thus explained and annotated, will open a new and most profitable field of thought and inquiry. The preliminary essay is very interesting, and it will help many of its readers to appreciate the beauty and dignity and masterly conciseness of an ancient collect in contrast to the vapid and verbose effusions of most modern prayer writers. As to the much disputed meaning of the word collect, the Dean of Norwich, after proposing the three usual explanations of its meaning—a collection

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or gathering up of the people's prayers by the officiating priest; or else the gathering up, or condensing in a succinct form, of the teaching of the day's Epistle and Gospel; or, finally, the gathering of the people for divine worship, *collecta* being merely an abbreviation of the phrase 'oratio ad collectam'—comes to this decision: 'To my mind this last explanation of the word seems to be, not indeed the most attractive, but the most likely to be the true one.' A more charming present than this book for the Sunday reading of young people could not easily be found.

The Worship of the Old Covenant, considered more especially in relation to that of the New. By the Rev. E. F. Willis, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1880.)

It is probably a common experience of those, who have ever turned to examine the structure and symbolism of the English Liturgy, to feel that there is in it a variety and complexity of references and affinities which seem at first disorderly beyond recall. Now one aspect of the manifold act, and now another, comes into prominence: at one moment the worshipper is with the Ancient Church beneath the thunder and the smoke of Sinai; at another he is standing as with the crowds in Galilee to be taught by the Word of Wisdom; now he is joined to angels and archangels, now to the chosen twelve in the first Christian Church, the upper chamber at Jerusalem. And under all this multiplicity of relation and suggestion there lives the mysterious dualism of the Sacrifice and the Feast: a dualism whose perfect reconciliation is indeed prophesied alike by the analogous conceptions found in almost every worship, and by the anticipation of the Christian consciousness, but which yet remains as the source of two streams of thought which no human mind can perfectly, and at the same moment, blend in one. And if the first impression which is given by the English Liturgy be of variety and confusion, rather than of order or simplicity, far more is this the case when the student turns to the worship of the Eastern or of the Ancient Church. Thus in the *Liturgy of S. Chrysostom*, with the sustained and intense symbolism of its elaborate ritual, with its continuous and dramatic remembrance of the very details in the life and works of Christ,[1] with its exclusion of the element of time in the enactment of the heavenly mystery,[2] the thought of unity seems lost in the exuberant wealth of meaning, as the sunlight is broken by the luxuriance of a tropical forest.

There are two thoughts which must make every Christian scholar patient, and reverent, and hopeful in his bearing towards this appearance of disorder in the Church's worship. For first he must have learnt that such an appearance often belongs to the first aspect of divinely ordered systems; that 'it is ever a mark of human origin when a scheme is simple to the human mind.'[3] In the depth and

[1] Cf. Romanoff, *The Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom*, p. 7.
[2] Cf. Hammond's *Antient Liturgies*, p. xxxvii.
[3] O'Neill, *Christian Unity*, p. 178.

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complexity of God's earlier revelations, whose ranges of meaning stretched still into infinitude before the author of the 119th Psalm; in the apparent irregularity of the moral order; in the fragmentariness of nature and the lawlessness of genius; in all these he must have been trained to suspect a unity not of this world, whenever he seems to see disorder working together for good. For, 'lo, these are parts of His ways: but how little a portion is heard of Him.' Such an unity, then, he may well hope to find hereafter in the complexity of the Catholic Liturgies; their Pattern is in the Mount, from whence no light can quite unbroken reach this earth.

And, secondly, the appearance of disorder is an unfailing note in the outcome of a long development. The manifold entanglement of the highest and oldest civilizations, the baffling interdependences of the legal code, the subtlety and hesitation with which learning and experience break up the simplicity of ruder ages: analogies such as these must suggest that the work of many centuries is hidden in that complexity and confusion which meets our first glance towards the highest forms of human thought and feeling. It is not easy to grasp at once the whole meaning, to penetrate the inmost depth of that which the wisdom and love of countless generations have patiently contrived: it is not likely that simplicity will be the obvious characteristic of Liturgies which are the latest utterance of thoughts and hopes older than sin itself.

It is with a true sense of this difficulty in discerning the essential unity and order of Eucharistic worship and doctrine, and with the result of pointing the reader to some such resolution of the difficulty as has here been sketched, that Mr. Willis has written his book on the *Worship of the Old Covenant, considered more especially in relation to that of the New.* For the motto of the book might be taken his quotation from S. Ambrose (p. 14), 'Umbra præcessit, secuta est imago, erit veritas. Umbra in lege, imago vero in Evangelio, veritas in cœlestibus.' Its main thought is rendered in the sphere of art among the mosaics of Ravenna, where Abel on the left-hand brings his lamb, and Melchizedek upon the right his Host, to an altar upon which stands the two-handled chalice of the early Church: while from Heaven the Hand of God is sent forth to bless the one Oblation made from the foundation of the world. The Church on earth comes in the order of God's work between the faithful Israel and the Church Triumphant: the Christian Altar stands between the Jewish Temple and the golden Altar which is before God in Heaven. Should not its ritual and rubrics hold some analogous relation to the book of Leviticus upon the one hand, and the Apocalypse upon the other?

After the writer's purpose and plan have been in the first chapter clearly defined, in the second the essential and primæval expression of worship by sacrifice is shown to be divinely willed; and then the greater part of the book is given to a careful and complete account of the whole system of worship under the Mosaic dispensation: an account in which many Cuddesdon men will gratefully recognize that faithful and affectionate attention to the Divine revelation which

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has been so helpful a characteristic of Mr. Willis' teaching. The divinely appointed ritual, classification, place, and ministry of the Jewish sacrifices are fully described with a watchfulness of study which seems to leave no hint of symbolism unexplored: the character and intention of the various offerings is explained, and their continuance and union in the one great oblation faithfully traced.[1] The means and order of purification, by which the defiled and outcast Israelite might return to the worship of his fathers, and the divinely appointed times of sacrifice, are the last subjects treated, before the writer returns to claim once more that in 'the great pattern and example of Divine worship given once for all by God Himself' we have 'the norm and rule to which all true worship must in its measure correspond.' In conclusion some of the chief and plainest teaching of this pattern and example is resumed under five heads:—

'On looking back over the history of the worship enjoined by God upon His Ancient Church, we have found that it is marked by these five characteristics; it is sacrificial, mediatorial, ceremonial, symbolical, and costly. And since these are the characteristics of the worship which God himself appointed, we may infer that all worship which is to be acceptable to God, must, in its degree, partake of those same characteristics; these may be said to be the marks or notes of a true and acceptable worship. The notion that God is likely to be pleased with a worship of unadorned simplicity finds no warrant whatever in Holy Scripture; nor has such a notion of worship ever been sanctioned in the Church of Christ.'

The teaching of the Old Testament in regard to ritual could hardly perhaps be better summarized, unless it were in the simple words of Hooker: 'God hath nowhere revealed that He loves to dwell beggarly.'

The first of the four appendices with which the book closes may warrant a hope that in his new field of work, as leading the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, in noble rivalry to the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and devoting to the Church of India the powers of study and expression which have been loyally and fruitfully spent during the last ten years in the training of the English clergy, Mr. Willis may be able to enter further into the comparative study of the universal instinct of sacrificial worship: that he may draw from the philosophy and religion of the East yet more illustration of the one great thought which is the central truth of worship, and strikes as a flash of pure light through all the confusion of heathendom. In the second appendix the true meaning of διαθήκη, in Heb. ix. 16, 17, is shown to be that which it bears in all other passages in the Septuagint and the New Testament, the meaning of 'covenant'; the third is given to a lucid account of the inquiry whether of the two veils of the Temple was rent in twain at the time of our Lord's crucifixion, Mr. Willis maintaining the belief of Origen and of S. Jerome, that

[1] Mr. Willis has worked on parallel lines with Mr. Andrew Jukes' *Law of the Offerings*, but in a more catholic spirit. Mr. Jukes' essay is, in some respects, fuller and deeper than Mr. Willis' inquiry.

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the outer veil only was rent: 'Quia nunc ex parte videmus, et ex parte cognoscimus: quum autem venerit quod perfectum est, tunc et velum interius dirumpendum est: ut omnia quæ nunc nobis abscondita sunt, domus Dei sacramenta, videamus.'[1] Lastly, in a short essay of great interest, the principle of oral confession of sin as a condition of its forgiveness is traced through the discipline of the Jewish Church back to the record of the very first of sins.

There is surely a great fitness in the parting gift which Mr. Willis has chosen to leave with the Church in England. For not only does he go to India to forward the fulfilment of those words which he himself has quoted, as frequent on the lips of the Early Christians, and proving beyond dispute the thesis of his book, the continuity of the true Israel: 'From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering; for My Name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.'[2] He also has claimed for himself and for his work a place in his brethren's thoughts of that one Act wherein, across all intervals of sea and land, all Christian worship blends before the heavenly Altar, and all who share the one Bread and the one Chalice are made one in the communion of One Holy Spirit.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. 'The Gospels of Mark and Luke.' Vols. I. and II. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

There will be but few persons found to doubt that Dr. Meyer's Commentary, which is here translated from the fifth German edition—the last issued by the author himself—is a laborious compilation of exegetical materials bearing on the New Testament; that the author had a clear and vigorous grasp of the principles of philology, with a sound exegetical sense; and that the comment is sober, methodical, and orthodox. Its defects appear to us to be a certain dryness and harshness, which do, we think, sometimes prevent his entering fully into the intention of a saying or a discourse. Where a grammatical or critical difficulty is to be solved, or information of any kind sought to illustrate the text, in no Commentary is the seeker more sure to find what he wants than in Meyer.

The volumes before us comprise the Gospels of SS. Mark and Luke, with copious Notes and Introductions, and fully sustain the general high character of the work. As to the former Gospel, it is to be noted that Dr. Meyer was disposed, in common with many later critics, to take a far higher view of the functions of S. Mark and of the Gospel which goes under his name than had been the custom with preceding writers. The earlier theory of Griesbach, that this Gospel was written after those of Matthew and Luke—although it has been upheld by a cloud of critics[3]—is unhesitatingly (and no

[1] *Hieron. ad Hedib.* iv. 176. Ed. Bened.
[2] Malachi, i. 11.
[3] Fritsche, De Wette, Bleek, Baur, Delitzsch and others.

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doubt rightly) rejected; and with it must fall that refinement upon it by Eichthal, which will even have it that the Gospel is even a mere condensation of the former of its two predecessors.

Whether the supposed Apostolic collection of discourses, or *Logia*, to which Papias refers, were really, as our author thinks, in existence before S. Peter dictated and S. Mark acted as his secretary, must still be held unproved if probable. But if such discourses did exist, and furnished the basis for the Petrine work, it may perhaps be said, without hesitation, that it was the only work resembling the Four which was then extant. The present writer has taken a somewhat unusual view of those much-disputed words of Papias. He regards them as 'amounting more precisely to this—that Mark made notes for himself after the discourses of Peter which he heard, and subsequently employed these in the composition of his Gospel.' Such a view would be in conflict with those other traditions, quite as ancient and constant, that the younger man was the ἑρμηνευτής, interpreter or secretary, of S. Peter; and it seems improbable that he should 'make notes' and carry out a project of this kind *mero motu*, or without the authority and bidding of his chief, whose work it would then become.

The treatment of S. Luke's Gospel in the Introduction seems to us not quite so satisfactory on the whole.

Commentary on S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By F. GODET, D.D., Professor of Theology, Neuchâtel. Volume I. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

MORE commentaries probably have been penned upon this Epistle than upon any other single book of the New Testament, and in consequence it has given rise to a very great number of divergent and mutually contradictory views as to its meaning, its ground plan, and the purpose with which it was written. Still we cannot regard the Commentary before us as superfluous; and the deservedly high reputation as an expositor of Scripture which Dr. Godet has obtained will be found not to have suffered in this instance. This exposition of the Epistle is intended to be complete in two volumes, and almost a third of that before us is occupied, as is very natural, with the various prolegomena, including a survey of the literature of the subject, without which no commentary could be considered complete. A brief memoir of S. Paul, in which his career is intelligently treated, precedes the strictly expository portion; but this strikes us as somewhat inadequate. M. Godet manipulates ideas with more success than he narrates facts of biography. At once he attributes to S. Paul, as it appears to us, an exaggerated function in the providential training of the world; and, on the other hand, conceives of his character in too conventional a manner, and without sufficient exertion of living sympathy, so as thereby to do him some injustice. Thus it is certainly an exaggeration to speak, as on p. 15, of the evangelization of the Gentiles as a work for which Jesus had indeed prepared the way, but which 'he had not yet been able to accomplish,' and it savours of hyperbole to call the

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Apostle, great as he was, 'the man especially designed and prepared beforehand' for this work.

And we cannot but think that our author is very much astray in his line of comment on S. Paul's conversion. It can hardly at any time have been true of S. Paul that 'the object of his adoration was his *ego*.' The explanation given of the converted Saul's subjective experience of spiritual death and resurrection we must regard as fanciful, if not incorrect. In fact, this Life of S. Paul appears to us to be hasty and wanting in verisimilitude, and we should not be surprised to learn that it was an afterthought.

Far more praiseworthy is the Introduction to the Epistle itself. It is no easy matter, as we need hardly remind our readers, to define exactly the class of persons to whom, and the intention with which, this Epistle was written. One group of critics regards the Roman Church of that day as having been composed mainly of Judaic elements, and the Epistle as *apologetic* in its aim, and intended to remove an adverse impression which the outspoken freedom of S. Paul's teaching had not unnaturally created in the minds of many Jews. Of this school Baur may be taken as the type.

But the testimonies of history that the early Roman Church was Gentile by origin and Pauline in tendency are very numerous and strong; and there is a certain difficulty in supposing the Apostle to have been endeavouring to extend his influence over a community, principally *Jewish*, seeing that it was 'the gospel of the uncircumcision' which had been committed to him' (Gal. ii. 7). A second school, therefore, supposes that although the Roman Church was essentially Gentile, yet that an outbreak of Judæo-Christian legalism had recently taken place in it, as certainly had been the case at Antioch, at Thessalonica, at Corinth, and probably in most of the Churches of Pauline foundation. So that, according to this view, the Epistle was S. Paul's rejoinder to a movement which threatened the entire foundation of his work, as that to the Galatians was intended to be for the Churches throughout Galatia, and the First to the Corinthians for that at Corinth. There are various modifications of this view: it may be called the *polemic* theory.

Passing over the view of Erasmus, that the Apostle *foresaw* such an inroad by Judaizing emissaries upon the Roman Christians, though it had not actually occurred, and so intended by his anti-Judaic teaching to *fortify* them against such an attack whenever it should occur; and also the very singular suggestion of Ewald, that the Epistle was intended to loosen the existing bond between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian Church, which was tending more and more to compromise the latter (chapter xiii.); and lastly, the opinion, which is that of the chief Fathers, of an author so ancient as the compiler of the Muratori fragment on the Canon, as of many of the mediæval writers, namely, that the Epistle is a systematic exposition of Christian doctrine, that it is intended to guide men to Christ, and has no secondary or ulterior aim whatever; we may shortly state our author's own view, which is not exactly identical with any of the foregoing, and appears to us to possess many

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elements of truth, and being truly original without ceasing to be conservative may properly be considered as of very high value.

He rightly styles this Epistle the *most systematic* of all those written by S. Paul.[1] Against the unfounded view of Baur, that 'the Apostles had no time, in the midst of their missionary labours, to systematize the Gospel, and to compose a Christian dogmatic' (p. 95), which can only be thought very partially true of any of the twelve, and is demonstrably unfounded in the case of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, he asks with a sudden and convincing *argumentum ad hominem* :—

'Could Baur suppose that a mind of such strength as Paul's was could have lectured for two years before an audience like the cultivated class of the Ephesian population, without having at least traced an outline of Christian doctrine?'—(p. 96.)

Now it is to be noticed that this course of Apostolic instruction, which had been delivered at Thessalonica, at Corinth, at Ephesus, and no doubt at every place in which the Apostle had been able to stay long enough, not only to plant, but also to organize a Church, had not been delivered at Rome. The Church there had been *sporadic*, self-sown by the concourse thither of believers, one from one city, another from that; Aquila and Priscilla from Ephesus, Epænetus from Achaia. No Apostle had organized it. There were then probably no written Gospels, no Epistles, no manual of Christian doctrine, in existence. The Gospel message had gone thither by the mouths of newly-made converts and had done its work, but the consecrated messenger had not taught and lectured there according to his wont.

He owed, therefore, to the Roman Church, as to other Churches, 'both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise' (i. 14), a clear and systematic exposition of the Christian faith; and excluding those points of doctrine of which the formulation was to be the task of a later generation, and which had not yet risen (so to speak) above the horizon of the Christian consciousness, with the exception of these, it will be found to be precisely such an exposition :—

'A community of believers had been formed in this city without his assistance. No doubt he reckoned on being there himself soon; but once more he might be prevented; he knew how many dangers attended his approaching journey to Jerusalem. And besides, should he arrive at Rome safe and sound, he had too much tact to think of putting the members of such a Church as it were on the catechumens' bench. In these circumstances, how natural the idea of filling up by means of writing the blank which Providence had permitted, and of giving, in an *epistolary treatise* addressed to the Church, the Christian instruction which it had missed, and which was indispensable to the solidity of its faith! The Apostle of the Gentiles was not able to establish the Church in the metropolis of the Gentile world . . . . the work was taken out of his hands; what shall he do? He will found it anew. Under the already constructed edifice he will insinuate a powerful substruction—to wit, his

[1] Calvin says of it, '*tota methodica est.*'

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apostolic doctrine systematically arranged, as he expounds it everywhere else *vivâ voce*. If such is the origin of the Epistle to the Romans, we have in it nothing less than the course of religious instruction, and in a way the dogmatic and moral catechism of S. Paul. In this explanation there is no occasion for the question why this instruction was addressed to Rome rather than to any other Church. Rome was the only great Church of the Gentile world to which Paul felt himself burdened with such a debt. This is the prevailing thought in the preface of his Epistle, and by which he clears the way for the treatment of his subject.'—(*Ibid.*)

In order to establish this hypothesis, Dr. Godet points to the *systematic* form of the treatise, which commences, after the brief explanation why he had taken upon himself to write, the expressly stated theme (i. 16, 17) which serves as its basis, the methodical development of this theme, first in the dogmatic sphere (i.–xi.), then in the moral sphere (xii.–xv.). It is no small recommendation of this view also, that under it those elements of anti-Jewish polemic in the Epistle which have so puzzled the majority of commentators, fall naturally into their proper place. For it would have been hardly possible for the Apostle to expound the way of salvation through the Gospel without taking notice of that older system which had so long been acting (according to his view) as a preparation for the Gospel, and was now being set up by Judaizers as its rival; nor could he establish the former without setting aside the latter.

It will be sufficient, however, for us to have indicated the chief points of this very striking and important Introduction to the Epistle. It will, we have no doubt, have considerable influence on contemporary expositions.

The notes are generally good and sound, but do not require special notice. In fact the text of this Epistle is trodden ground, and it would not be easy for the annotator to say anything very original upon it.

The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of St. Pancras, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and by the Rev. Joseph P. Exell, Editor of the *Homiletic Quarterly*.—Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.)

We commented in our last number on a throng of works of this class, and the cry is 'still they come,' so that we have both entirely new publications and fresh instalments of the old before us again for review. The *Pulpit Commentary*, which we take first, principally because of its larger size, may be described as an enterprise with not only a new name, but also a new purpose, and a method to a considerable extent novel. It proposes to itself, as its *raison d'être*, to render help to preachers in the composition of their sermons. Accordingly, each section of the work is divided into three parts. The first is a brief commentary of the ordinary type; and this is by one person. Then another writer follows with what is called the 'Homiletics,' *viz.* the text treated in a broad and general manner, and

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with the moral aspects of the narrative just suggested or 'roughed out.' Thirdly follows another stage in the sermon manufacture, consisting of two or three sermons, or 'Homilies,' by various authors, upon subjects suggested by the foregoing section. We believe that some of the contributors are Nonconformists. For example, the *Homiletics* on Neh. xii. 1–26, in which, in the enumeration of the 'ministers' of the Christian Church, 'pastors and preachers' take the place of 'bishops and priests,' can scarcely have been written by a Churchman.

It is practically but a small instalment that is given here, because the three books included in this volume are very similar to each other, and give little clue to the manner in which the plan could be carried out in books like that of Job, or of the Proverbs, in which we should fancy the various parts of the Commentary must irresistibly coalesce. So far, however, it seems to have been carried out with care and fair success; and there can be no doubt of its being a vast help to anyone wishing to preach sermons on those parts of Scripture. It is an obvious objection that the sermons, when written or preached, could hardly be in any sense *original*, but must tend more and more towards a tame uniformity. We fear the plan of the work will lend itself but too easily to indolent habits, and encourage some among preachers to take but too readily this cut-and-dried mental *pabulum*—this homiletic 'Thorley's Food for Cattle'—instead of that which they have gathered and prepared with their own toil of thought and reflection, and which, therefore, is the outcome of their own best selves—the 'things new and old,' which, like wise scribes, they bring forth for the spiritual sustenance of their people. Few things could be more dangerous to the spiritual life, or more certain to dwarf the intellectual powers, of any priest, than for him habitually to stand before his people with compositions which were actually or virtually the work of some other man. Still, we do not say but that it may be perfectly possible to use works like the *Pulpit Commentary* without abusing them.

Par Palimpsestorum Dubliniensium. The Codex Rescriptus Dublinensis of S. Matthew's Gospel (Z), first published by Dr. Barrett in 1801. A New Edition, revised and augmented. Also, Fragments of the Book of Isaiah in the LXX. Version, from an ancient Palimpsest, now first published. Together with a new discovered Fragment of the *Codex Palatinus*. By T. K. Abbott, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin. (Dublin: Hodges & Co., 1880.)

The eccentric Vice-Provost Barrett, known to the readers of Lever's Irish novels, as well as to the textual critics of the New Testament, discovered Codex Z in 1787, and published it in 1801. His edition, however, has met with scant favour from succeeding labourers in the same field, and Dr. Tregelles in his 'Printed Text of the New Testament,' published in 1854, suggested to the authorities of Trinity College the republication of 'Dr. Barrett's (so-called) facsimile, with the addition of all that can now be given' (p. 168). In order to

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facilitate such an enterprise, this eminent critic inserted in a copy of Dr. Barrett's work the further results which he had obtained by a chemical restoration of the original. The authorities, if they waited for a quarter of a century to fulfil the task, have, through the care and zeal of Professor Abbott, performed it now with a completeness which Dr. Tregelles himself did not anticipate. For the learned Professor, besides reading about four hundred letters and marks undeciphered before, has corrected eleven errors of Barrett and five of Tregelles, and ascertained thirteen readings before doubtful. He defends his Irish predecessor with considerable success against the accusations of inaccuracy which have been brought against him, and gives a curious illustration of the proverb that they who live in glass houses should not throw stones, by the fact that the MS. of Dr. Tregelles, left by him in Trinity College, differs in not less than twenty instances from the account of his discoveries which he himself printed in London.

Professor Abbott modestly and very reasonably ascribes his success to the fact that, living on the spot, he was able to examine the Codex in various lights, and to recur to it at many intervals. Most of us are acquainted with the curious psychological fact that if we lay aside for a time a puzzling piece of penmanship it often reveals itself to us with perfect clearness the next time we take it up. Mr. Abbott's studious carefulness and laborious habits, already proved in the fields of ethics and philosophy, are a guarantee to us that now at least we possess correctly the whole information which this ancient record has to give us. But its practical importance lies but in its confirmation of other authorities. There is not, we believe, any important passage in which the reading is determined by Z.

If the present possessors of the treasure have done their duty by it, all is not more than enough to atone for the outrages inflicted on it by their predecessors. We experience a sensation not unlike that of reading the account of a hideous murder, when Dr. Tregelles informs us that the MS. was rebound since Dr. Barrett's time by a craftsman who knew nothing of the original uncial letters, and paid attention merely to the more modern and comparatively worthless cursive writing of the palimpsest. Under this impression he strengthened the pages by pasting vellum over the margins, and cut the edges smooth and neat, thus burying or cutting away some ancient letters which Dr. Barrett had read. He mistook the traces of the ancient writing for *dirt*, and in some places attempted to obliterate it. These atrocities Professor Abbott is obliged to admit, and raises a doubt only upon the crowning indictment, that in some places where the writing instrument of the ancient copyist had furrowed the vellum, a new surface of *size* or some substance of the kind has been superadded.

The pages of the volume in which Z is found measure 8¼ by 6 inches. It contains 110 folios arranged in groups of four sheets each, of which twelve are lost. The later writing of the volume consists of extracts from SS. Basil, Chrysostom, and others. But of the 110, 69 folios are palimpsest. Of these twenty-nine contain portions of S. Gregory of Nazianzus, which, though in uncial letters,

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belong probably to the ninth century; eight contain the fragments of Isaiah, and thirty-two those of S. Matthew. These thirty-two are all that remain of 120 folios, of which the MS. originally consisted. Nor is this the only loss. The vellum was cut down by the later scribe to the extent of full two inches each way in every page; and the new folds which he was therefore obliged to make were mistaken by Tregelles for joinings. The writing is in very beautiful 'round and square' uncials. Its antiquity is shown by the absence of breathings and accents, which were introduced probably in the fifth century but did not at once come into universal use; by the fact that only the most ancient forms of abbreviation are used, and the simple point for punctuation. The mere fact that the letters are uncial is no proof in itself of greater antiquity than the eighth or ninth century; but certain particulars in the forms of the letters, such as the absence of ornament, point to an age long previous to this. That the MS. is not so old as the Vatican or Sinaitic is shown by the large initials to the paragraphs, a method of writing first adopted in the fifth century. Z always begins a paragraph with a fresh line, herein agreeing with *Codex Ephr. Rescr.* The practice is partially adopted in the Sinaitic and Alexandrian, but is absent in the Vatican. On the whole, Professor Abbott shows a tendency to ascribe the MS. with Hug to the fifth century; but the authority of some eminent experts restrains him from absolutely claiming for it an antiquity higher than the latter part of the sixth. It compares favourably in accuracy with its rivals in age; the editor computes that, in the same space, Vatican displays ten times and Sinaitic three times as many clerical errors.

The writing of the fragment of the Septuagint much resembles Z, and may probably equal if not exceed it in age. But it only contains the passages Isaiah xxx. 2 to xxxi. 7, and xxxvi. 17 to xxxviii. 1.

The beautiful leaf of purple MS. which completes Professor Abbott's valuable publication belongs to the *Codex Palatinus* of S. John and S. Luke with portions of the other Evangelists in the old African Latin version. The body of the MS. is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, where it was acquired since the beginning of the century, nobody knows whence or how. Perhaps, in recording these doubts concerning the Austrian acquisition, Professor Abbott may mean to bar any claim upon the part of that library for a surrender on the part of Dublin. It is indeed very probable that both the separated portions may have been stolen from some third quarter. But a single leaf would at all events be safer with the volume to which it belongs, of which obvious reflection the history of this very fragment affords a proof. For after an account had been given of it by the late Dr. Todd in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, it was lost in the library of Trinity College, and only recovered, after a laborious voyage of discovery, by the good fortune of Mr. French, an intelligent assistant in the institution.

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Legenda Sanctorum. The Proper Lessons for Saints' Days, according to the use of Exeter.—Compiled by JOHN GRANDISSON, Bishop, 1327. Reprinted and Edited, with an extended Preface, by HERBERT EDWARD REYNOLDS, M.A., Priest-Vicar and Librarian of Exeter Cathedral. (London: Elliot Stock, 1880.)

WE have before us the first fasciculus of Mr. Reynolds' most welcome publication. Antiquaries and liturgicists have long known from Dr. Oliver, and from Mr. Maskell's description, that the library of Exeter Cathedral possesses a most valuable fourteenth-century manuscript Legenda, in two volumes, presented to the Cathedral by Bishop Grandisson on Lady Day, 1366. One of these tomes contains the lessons from Holy Scripture and the Homilies *quæ pertinent ad temporale;* and the other comprises the proper lessons for Saints' Days according to Exeter use in the *commune sanctorum*, together with some peculiar to that church. Mr. Reynolds proposes to issue a *literatim* reprint of both volumes. Books of Lessons are of the greatest rarity, and the Exeter Legenda is one of the most precious and instructive of those that have come down to us. It is notable, in particular, for the compiler's exercise of the critical faculty as to the text which he follows, and for the practical good sense which led him to abbreviate the lessons for public reading. The Bishop seems to have freely exercised the power which originally belonged to the episcopal office of ruling the details of Divine worship in his diocese. The title of this manuscript is *Incipit Legenda de usu Exoniensis ecclesiæ secundum ordinacionem et abrevacionem Johannis de Grandissono Episcopi.* Mr. Reynolds has prefixed a rather rambling and discursive preface, full of archæological and liturgical details, but not judiciously digested or arranged. We hope, however, that he may be trusted as a painstaking and careful editor of the text. His first published number contains twenty-two folios of the second volume, comprising the Saints' Day lessons for the months of December and January, beginning with S. Andrew, and ending with S. Bathildes the Queen. It has also the general preface, and two coloured facsimiles: one of the first page of the MS., which is beautifully illuminated, and the other of the first page of the Kalendar. It cannot be doubted, we hope, that Mr. Reynolds will find sufficient subscribers to enable him to complete his task. The *Ordinale* of Bishop Grandisson is to follow.

The Sunday School Centenary Bible (Variorum Teacher's Edition). (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1880.)

THE Queen's Printers deserve no small gratitude from Biblical students for the zeal and enterprise which they have shown in the production of this most useful and comprehensive volume. Never, we think, has so much useful matter been condensed into so wonderfully small a space. The work has evidently been a labour of love alike to its projectors and its editors. No expense has been spared in its compilation, and no pains in the execution of a somewhat difficult task.

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The so-called *Teacher's Bible*, issued by the Queen's Printers some five years ago, was a Reference Bible with the addition of some very valuable and compendious 'Aids to Students,' the latter compiled by various scholars, each eminent in his particular line. The same firm published afterwards a *Variorum Bible*, in which the marginal alternative renderings of our Authorized Version were improved and multiplied so as to afford an almost complete conspectus of all that is needed for the revision of the text, according to the latest results of scholarship and inquiry. These two works, combined together and further improved, form the Variorum Teacher's edition of the *Sunday School Centenary Bible*, now under notice.

The Sunday School Centenary formed, no doubt, a convenient time for the completion of this undertaking, and the Queen's Printers have been wise, perhaps, in associating this work with so popular a movement. But we rather regret that an edition which is of real and lasting value should be known by so cumbrous a title, recalling an anniversary, the interest of which will ere long entirely fade away. As another somewhat adverse criticism, we may complain, not unreasonably, of the smallness of the print. It requires young eyes or strong glasses to read with any comfort the closely printed pages of this Bible. We know that it could not be otherwise if a single volume was to contain so much matter, and to be issued in a portable form, and at so small a price as half a guinea. But the necessity for this compression is to be regretted. Once more we may express a wish that the sacred text had been printed in paragraphs rather than in verses. A Paragraph Bible is almost a commentary in itself. And the pages before us, broken up as they are into verses, and crowded with references, are anything but grateful to the reader's eye. Once more, the absence of the Deutero-Canonical Books is greatly to be deplored.

These, however, are but small blots. The work as it is remains a monument of well-intentioned zeal, and well-directed skill, on the part of its publishers and its compilers. The editors of the Old Testament are Mr. Cheyne and Mr. Driver; those of the New Testament, Messrs. Clarke and Goodwin, and Dr. Sanday, the Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham. The notes of these gentlemen, compressed into the smallest compass, give an accurate account of the present state of knowledge and opinion as to the text of the Authorized English version. All the chief mistranslations are corrected, and by the quotation of authorities the reader is able at a glance to see what support each such correction relies upon. There can be no doubt of the value of this independent undertaking. It will not only prepare the way for the forthcoming proposed revision of the English text by the Westminster 'companies,' but will enable a large circle of readers to test that revision when it makes its appearance. Differences of reading are distinguished throughout from differences of rendering. The editors have had the great advantage, they tell us, of consulting the as yet unpublished text of the original Greek of the New Testament, as revised by Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort.

We are almost bewildered by the quantity and variety of critical

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matter condensed in these pages. It is to be feared that altogether unlearned persons will find the book less useful than its compilers expect. But even scholars will find their account in consulting this compendious volume in preference to larger and separate books of reference. They need seek no further than these pages for notices of all the famous MSS. of the Scriptures, all the versions, and nearly all the commentators, ancient and modern. Here too will be found abstracts and analyses of all the Books of Scripture, lists of the references in the New Testament to the Old Testament, essays on the Parables and Miracles of our Lord, and on the Prophecies relating to Him, with notes on the geography, the chronology, the natural history, and the music of the Bible. Mr. Madden, a well-known authority in numismatics, contributes chapters on the coins and measures of the Old and New Testaments; Sir Joseph Hooker undertakes the plants of the Bible; Dr. Tristram, the animal creation; Mr. Cheyne, a dictionary of proper names, with their meanings, and a revised pronunciation. Mr. Sayce's paper on the ethnology of the Bible, with a linguistic and geographical introduction, and another called 'The Bible and the Monuments,' are of special value. In the latter, the writer considers the historical, the political, the commercial, and the religious relations of the Hebrews with the neighbouring monarchies of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Aram, and Phœnicia. Dr. Lumby provides a very useful glossary of Bible words, illustrated from the writings of authors contemporary with the translators: and there are other useful treatises. Besides which, there are maps, a large concordance, and a full index of persons, places, and subjects. All these, so far as we have examined them, are thoroughly well done.

We have said enough, we are sure, to recommend this volume to our readers. It will form a most valuable present or prize to teachers or learners in Sunday schools. And it will be a most convenient book of reference on a clergyman's study table.

De la certitude et des formes récentes du Scepticisme. Par L. ROBERT, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes. 8vo. (Paris: Emile Thorin, 1880.)

SCEPTICISM, we need scarcely say, is a tendency of the human mind as old as thought itself. On the other hand, the forms or outward manifestations of scepticism necessarily vary according to the progress of science, and philosophical doubt borrows its weapons from the arsenals it finds accessible, and which contain stores 'new' as well as 'old.' It is quite evident that the scepticism of Huet, Bayle, and La Motte le Vayer, allowing for a certain identity of first principles, could not be met by the same arguments as the views maintained by Ænesidemus, Sextus Empiricus, Montaigne, and Charron; and, to take more recent examples still, the memoirs of Messrs. Javary (1843), and Véra (1845), on the possibility and legitimacy of metaphysical certainty, do not answer the requirements of the present day. 'For the last thirty years,' says M. Robert in his preface, 'philosophy has been constantly progressing. Former systems have developed

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their consequences; doctrines then unknown have come to light; all questions have been renewed, either in consequence of the fresh results obtained, or of the different points of view at which thinkers have placed themselves. It is therefore interesting to inquire, What is now the state of the problem of certainty?'

The importance of such an inquiry cannot fail to strike even the persons who care the least for professedly metaphysical discussion, and for what they regard as a dangerous, or, at any rate, an useless, branch of literature. M. Robert very aptly remarks that every one, to a considerable extent, is leavened by the influence of dogmatism on the one hand, or scepticism on the other. Two hundred years ago, M. Jourdain talked prose *sans le savoir*. Now we see the objections of Kant, Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill, and Mr. Herbert Spencer maintained by persons who certainly have never read the *Cours de Philosophie positive*, or the *Study of First Principles;* and even the *prolétaire*, with all his contempt for what he deems to be vain and useless abstractions, talks glibly about God, a future life, and Christianity.

A work therefore which discusses calmly and impartially the pretensions of scepticism in its various manifestations cannot but be useful, and we are glad to find that M. Robert has undertaken it. Placing himself at once and very frankly at a standpoint diametrically opposed to the one adopted by modern sceptics, he 'repudiates all exclusive doctrines, all that impoverishes the human intellect, all that is calculated to diminish our faith and our love. Nothing seems to him more fatal than the narrowness of mind which coolly suppresses an entire order of facts and of ideas.' The work of M. Robert is subdivided into three parts, treating respectively of the following topics. 1. Certainty in general, scepticism and criticism. 2. The various manifestations of certainty. 3. The criterion and foundation of certainty, and the partial form of scepticism. We cannot of course attempt to examine these various points, interesting as they are, and we must be satisfied with stating here the general impression we have derived from the perusal of M. Robert's work, and which is one of complete agreement with it. Whilst showing admirably the assailable points of the modern forms of scepticism, the author takes care to allow for the elements of truth they contain; and, on the other side, he defends with much power the doctrines of miracles, a Divine revelation, &c., against the trenchant assertions of our freethinking adversaries.

The Jesus of the Evangelists: His Historical Character vindicated; or, An Examination of the Internal Evidence for Our Lord's Divine Mission, with reference to Modern Controversy. By the Rev. C. A. Row, M.A., Prebendary of S. Paul's. Second Edition. (London: Frederick Norgate, 1880.)

THERE have been many treatises on the *external evidences* of the Scriptures of the New Testament. The present is an endeavour, in a systematic form, to state the *internal* argument to their credibility, *i.e.* that founded on the mutual agreement and harmony of the various

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elements which make up the personal narrative or the portrait of a Person which they present. Some persons, the writer sets out by observing, 'have endeavoured to resolve the Jesus of the New Testament into an abstract idea or a myth, the foundation of which has been some purely human Jesus, whose real life has been buried under the obscurities of the past.' In order to disprove this contention, the author before us first examines, at considerable length, 'the portraiture of Jesus as it is exhibited in the Gospels,' and then shows that it could not have been developed out of the existing Judaism in any *normal* manner, *i.e.* having regard to the analogy of the intellectual and spiritual history of the race for many ages before. That development had, in fact, proceeded on quite a different line. 'During this period those principles of Judaism took root and flourished which extinguished the spirituality of the prophetic period, substituting externalism for inward religion, and finally hardening themselves into the unbearable yoke of Rabbinism' (p. 150).

This is not very happily worded; but the argument is valid, and even powerful. How could the Judaism which finally blazed up and culminated in the adoption of the pretender, Bar-Cochba, as its Messiah, possibly be thought to have imagined, *mero motu*, the character of the meek and holy Jesus, and have decked it with hues of such unearthly and ideal beauty as have never been united in one character since?

The author's analysis and estimate of the Messianic prophecies rather errs, as we think, in severity. He understates their value, we believe; but better this, perhaps, as a matter of evidence in an apologetic work, than the opposite extreme. On the other hand, we cannot but think that the Book of Enoch occupies an unreasonable amount of space in his argument, without a result quite commensurate with the attention devoted to it. Far more valuable is that part of his argument in which he proceeds to urge that the supernatural parts of the narratives in our Gospels cannot be set aside as mythical accretions, since the period which elapsed between the birth of Christianity and the appearance of its Sacred Books or Gospels is insufficient for the gradual formation of such a *mythus*.[1] It may be said that this period (of one hundred years or thereabouts) is at once too short and too long for the result required for the maintainers of the mythic theory: too short, in that the evolution of so exalted a character as that portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels would have required centuries to evolve, supposing it possible, for the sake of argument, that it could thus be originated; and also (though it may seem a paradox) *too long*, since between the completion of the Synoptic Gospels and the appearance of the Fourth Gospel there

[1] 'Although we do not know the length of time which the whole class of myths which together make up Grecian mythology took in their formation, it is certain that any appreciable advance in moral or religious thought, from the fundamental conceptions of the Grecian mythic period to its next stage of progress, occupied a vastly longer interval of time than that which our mythic friends postulate for the elaboration of the Evangelical Jesus from its original Jewish type'—(p. 244).

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occurs a measurable interval of sixty-five or seventy years,[1] during which, if the theory of the mythicizers be accurate, a gradual crystallization of mythical details was going on. Now by putting the former and the latter portraits side by side, we ought to be able to detect the difference between the two, if there be any, which is referable to the mythus. But what do we find? The character is essentially the same, with no new characteristics superadded. The miracles are of precisely the same character. There is none of that growth of marvellous detail and circumstance which marks every other hagiology. It was not that the time was indisposed to these; for we see them in the fables of the Mishna: or that the history of the Life of Jesus formed an unsuitable nucleus for such stories, for we may cull them by the score from the Apocryphal Gospels. In point of fact, the myth has *not* grown as the theory requires; there is sober fact before us, and not baseless imaginations; and since it is not for want of *time* for at least the commencement of the crystallizing process that this result has taken place, the reason must be that the faculty tending to euhemerism has been kept in check by the force of truth, or, as Christians would maintain, by the superintending Providence of God.

We cannot, however, do more than indicate the general character of the arguments of this very acute and praiseworthy book. The new edition is substantially the same as the former one, and the treatise well deserves the careful consideration of all students of the Holy Scripture.

The History of the Passion and Resurrection of Our Lord considered in the Light of Modern Criticism. By Dr. F. L. STEINMEYER, Professor of Theology in Berlin. New edition, specially revised for English readers. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1879.)

A GERMAN author, we think it was Gretser, has written three quarto volumes, of about a thousand pages each, upon the archæology of the Cross alone. And therefore we can hardly wonder that another German, Professor Steinmeyer, has expanded the brief narratives of the Gospels into the volume before us, of four hundred closely printed pages. A considerable portion of the work has indeed an apologetic purpose. Its composition was occasioned by the publication of the notorious *Leben Jesu* of David Strauss. Whereas that work hardly went further than an admission of the simple fact of the crucifixion of Jesus, and endeavoured to set aside as myths and fictitious accretions all those details of the Gospel narrative which pointed to, and supported, doctrinal conclusions, the present work is devoted to establishing the historical truth of those details: the agony of Gethsemane, the Resurrection, the several Christophanies at various times

[1] Taking the Synoptics to have been completed from fifty-five to seventy-five years after the Crucifixion, and the Gospel of S. John in about 130 years after the same. This is the computation of those who maintain the mythic theory, on which we are commenting. It is evident that, in these dates, they have pushed the dates of composition to the very latest points of time that are possible, and far beyond what is *probable*.

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and places until the Ascension. But beyond this, every incident and particular of the Passion is scrutinized, as it were, with a microscope, and with an excessive minuteness which sometimes tends to defeat itself. The object, however, is worthy of all praise, and the tone is pious and reverent. But we must think the author quite in error in the minimizing view which he takes of the Resurrection, and of its importance as an element in the faith of Christendom. Caspari's view, here criticized, that the Apostles made the Resurrection the cardinal fact of their preaching, and built upon it their Messianic proof, and their exhortations to faith and repentance, we hold to be no mistake, but a fact easily verifiable. The work, however, will be profitable to every theologian.

L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme. Par ABEL HOVELACQUE. 8vo. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880.)

THE religious and metaphysical doctrines connected with the name of Zoroaster do not form an isolated fact in the history of mankind. They were gradually prepared by anterior teaching, and they were influenced to a considerable degree by Semitism, while in their turn they left distinct traces upon the other systems by which they were surrounded. Then what has become of modern Zoroastrism, and what are the historical causes which have reduced its present adherents to a mere handful? All these points are fraught with interest. M. Abel Hovelacque, however, leaves them unnoticed, and confines himself strictly to an investigation of the following questions: What are the contents of the Avesta? What explanation does it offer of the various cosmological, metaphysical, and ethical problems which have always engaged the thoughts of mankind? Finally, to what epoch must we ascribe the composition and diffusion of the Zend texts, such as we possess them now?

The first portion of M. Hovelacque's volume is taken up by an account of the views entertained on Zoroaster previous to the discoveries of Anquetil-Duperron (part 1), the labours of that well-known Frenchman and his contemporaries (part 2), the researches of Eugène Burnouf, and the various systems put forth from time to time for the interpretation of the *Avesta* (part 3). Mr. Haug, in his *Essays* (Bombay, 1862), endorsing an opinion generally admitted, says, 'The first who attempted to give a complete description of the doctrine of the Magi was the celebrated Oxford scholar, Hyde.' In opposition to this theory, M. Hovelacque maintains the prior claims of Barnabé Brisson, a distinguished French magistrate of the sixteenth century, author of a work entitled *De Regio Persarum Principatu libri tres*, which was published in Paris in 1590. The second division of this volume, devoted to the subject which occupies us here (*liber* ii., *quo de religione moribus institutisque Persarum tractatur*), is especially interesting, and shows on the part of Brisson an extraordinary amount of careful reading. When we come to Anquetil-Duperron, we have to notice, as a matter of course, the unjustifiable attacks directed against him by Sir William Jones: attacks carried on with an amount of bitterness and spite which are fortunately of very rare occurrence

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in the annals of literary controversy. M. Eugène Burnouf next comes under consideration; and finally M. Hovelacque gives us a remarkably complete and accurate description of all the recent works treating of Zend grammar, literature, and philosophy, containing more particularly the different systems of interpretation proposed for the sacred books of the Parsees. What those books really are is a question of great importance, and, whilst discussing it, we come to the main body of M. Hovelacque's work. There seems little doubt that many of the treatises of which the *Avesta* was originally composed have been lost; nay, a legend exists to the effect that Alexander the Great ordered the destruction of all the Parsee books which did not treat of medicine and astronomy; but without admitting what seems to us an utterly untenable hypothesis, we are still warranted in supposing that a very considerable proportion of the sacred literature of the Parsees is now wanting, owing to several causes, the principal of which, together with the conquest of Alexander, were the domination of the Arsacides and that of the Arabs. One thing is certain, namely, that the texts we now possess under the name of *Avesta* are: (1) the three books of the *Vendidad*, (2) the *Visperad*, (3) the *Yaçna*, (4) the *Yasts* or *Yests* of what is called the smaller *Avesta* (*Khorda-Avesta*). Such are the documents from which M. Hovelacque has gathered the account he gives us of the religion of the Parsees, their mythology, their cosmology, and their ethical system.

Whenever our author confines himself to the statement of *facts*, his accuracy is, generally speaking, beyond a doubt; but the conclusions he draws from these facts are, on the other hand, very often deplorably wrong, because he allows himself to be biassed by his anti-Christian views, and by his entire misconception of the scope and character of Divine revelation. For instance, examining the principle of dualism, which, according to him, is at the bottom of Mazdeism, he lays great stress upon the fact that both Bayle [1] and Diderot [2] declare that the theory of the two conflicting elements or impersonations of good and evil is the only reasonable solution of the origin and existence of sin; he then goes on to say, that 'en dehors de l'expérience scientifique et désintéressée par laquelle *la distinction de l'utile et du nuisible est purement relative*, on ne peut repousser la conception des deux principes qu'à l'aide d'une croyance aveugle.' This essentially false notion of morality invalidates at once all that M. Hovelacque has to tell us, not only about religion in general, but about our relations with our fellow-creatures; we may add, further, that many *savants*, whose opinion is of the weightiest character, have, after careful study, come to the conclusion that monotheism is really the groundwork of Zoroaster's religious teaching. M. Haug says, plainly,[3] 'The leading idea of his (Zoroaster's) theology was monotheism;' and although this monotheistic conception may be imperfectly and obscurely stated in the *Bundehesh*, yet

[1] *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, articles 'Manichéens' and 'Pauliciens.'

[2] *Encyclopédie*, article 'Manichéens.'

[3] *Essays*, p. 255.

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there it is. M. Hovelacque is particularly bitter against the *revealed* character of the Mazdean law, and, taking the opportunity thus offered, he denounces the immoral features of all revelation whatsoever, falling into the common error of the adversaries of Christianity, and including in his condemnation of all theological teaching S. Paul, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Charlier de Gerson, and Zoroaster. One error, he continues, leads to another; revelation and creation are two correlative doctrines, and the idea of creation once admitted, the superiority of man over the rest of created beings follows as a matter of course. In spite of these serious blots, M. Hovelacque feels grateful to the Mazdeans for not having, like the Jews and the Christians, ascribed to 'a venerable deity' the origin of evil and of the vicissitudes to which man is subjected. He also contrasts favourably their love of work with the communistic proclivities of the Semites, and he concludes by saying, that although they were guilty of the fault of introducing Deism into their code of morality, so far as a primitive revelation is concerned, they were nevertheless humane, and above all staunch champions of work, 'which alone imparts to man a sense of his true dignity.'

We have thus endeavoured to give to our readers an idea of M. Hovelacque's work, and we can only express, in conclusion, our sincere regret that the religious and philosophical results at which the author has arrived detract so much from the unquestionable merits of a volume which contains the fullest account we have of Zoroaster and of the *Avesta*.

Guillaume d'Auvergne, évêque de Paris (1228–1249), *sa vie et ses ouvrages*. Par NOËL VALOIS. 8vo. (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1880.)

THE new work for which we are indebted to M. Noël Valois is an excellent specimen of those monographs which French students compose with a view of obtaining the doctor's degree in the University. It would have been impossible to select a better subject, or one affording greater scope for remarks on the state of the mediæval Church, and on the character of mediæval philosophy. Guillaume d'Auvergne was one of the leading personages during the thirteenth century, and whether we consider him as a prelate or a philosopher, an administrator or a theologian, he equally deserves our attention. Such being the case, it is a matter of regret that so little information has reached us on the early years of Guillaume d'Auvergne. Historians who have a leaning towards the marvellous and the legendary can indeed consult the anecdotes of Etienne de Bourbon or Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum;* but beyond the fact that the future Bishop of Paris belonged by his birth to the province of Auvergne, and that he came from the neighbourhood of Aurillac, we know nothing certain about him till the year 1228, when we find him elected to the most important see in the kingdom, and thus called upon to take a leading part in the events of his time.

The first section of the book we are now reviewing comprises a very minute account of the prelate's episcopal career, and M. Noël

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Valois takes the opportunity of giving some particulars on the system of elections which obtained in those days, the intervention of the Pope, the rights and privileges enjoyed by the capitular bodies, the episcopal jurisdiction, &c. &c. All these facts, gathered from a number of official documents, both published and also hitherto *inédits*, are related in a clear and animated style, and M. Valois has perfectly succeeded in proving that the utmost accuracy is consistent with artistic composition. The chapter on the plurality of benefices specially commends itself to the reader's notice. From the instances quoted by the author, it is quite clear that the most scandalous abuses were tolerated under various pretences towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, and although the crying sin we are now alluding to had previously been strongly and repeatedly condemned by the decisions of various Councils (Poitiers, 1070 and 1100; Clermont and Piacentia, 1095; London, 1125 and 1127; Lateran, 1179), a thorough change in this respect had unfortunately taken place, and the discipline of the Church was gradually losing its original character. We must refer the reader to the third chapter of M. Valois' book for full and conclusive evidence on this topic, and merely add here that Guillaume d'Auvergne, in his determined and persevering endeavours to put down a monstrous evil, within at any rate the limits of his diocese, was supported by the well-known disinterestedness which he had often exhibited, and by the unimpeachable integrity of his personal character. Not satisfied with active intervention, and with the constant carrying out of his episcopal rights, he also took up the pen in favour of ecclesiastical discipline, and his treatise *De Collatione Beneficiorum* is severe enough to satisfy, says M. Valois, 'les plus rigides réformateurs.'

Another incident which should not be forgotten in the life of Gulielmus Arvernus is the famous rebellion of Paris University against the police enactments of the Provost of the city, backed by the express orders of the Queen Regent, Blanche of Castile. This event led, as is well known, to the introduction of the Dominicans as Divinity lecturers, and was the origin of a very acrimonious dispute between the champions of the rights and privileges of the Paris *alma mater* and the representative of the monastic orders. Whether the Dominicans obtained this first lectureship in consequence of the disturbances which ended in the expulsion of the original professors, or whether they had already gained a footing within the University when the scholastic *émeute* broke out, is the point still *sub judice*. Du Boulay, Crevier, and Daunou are very naturally in favour of the former opinion, whilst Echard and, quite recently, Father Danzas (*Etudes sur les temps primitifs de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1875) maintain the latter. M. Valois adheres to the secular side, but he distinctly acknowledges that the Bishop should be regarded as a thorough benefactor of scientific education for having 'enrolled under the standard of the University the young army of Saint Dominic, and having opened the breach through which Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas made their way a little later on.'

We must now come to the second division of the work before us.

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the one which treats of Gulielmus Arvernus as a divine, a metaphysician, and a thinker. M. Valois gives us in the first place a complete list of all the prelate's writings, printed and unpublished, authentic, doubtful, or certainly spurious, and after showing that his treatise *de Universo*, taken in connexion with several other dissertations, constitutes a kind of *summa theologica*, he devotes a series of chapters to the views of Guillaume d'Auvergne on the various points of metaphysics, theodicy, logic, ontology, and material science. There are few authors about whom so great a difference of opinion exists as the distinguished prelate we have been noticing. Dom Ceillier, Ellies Dupin, Gabriel Naudé treat him favourably, and he was evidently a favourite at Port Royal. On the contrary, M. Daunou, without having taken the trouble of studying him, condemns him in the severest manner, evidently rejoicing at the opportunity of crushing (as he thought) one of the leading champions of superstition and of monastic intolerance. But Daunou judged the mediæval ages from the standpoint of the French eighteenth-century *philosophe*, and his criticism is absolutely worthless. It was reserved for the erudition of our own day to award to Guillaume d'Auvergne his proper place as an enlightened and moderate Platonist on the roll of metaphysicians, and following in the path opened by Messrs. Jourdain, Haureau, Lecoy de la Marche, Stöcke and Werner, M. Valois has accomplished a work of rehabilitation which cannot be commended too much. His volume is completed by an appendix of *pièces justificatives* and a very full index.

Du Sentiment religieux en Grèce d'Homère à Eschyle. Par JULES GIRARD, Membre de l'Institut. 12mo. (Paris and London: Hachette and Co.)

THE object which M. Jules Girard had in view whilst writing his new volume was to illustrate the history of religious belief amongst the ancient Greeks, and to show from the works of Hesiod, Homer, and Æschylus how they endeavoured to solve the problem of man's destiny in this world and of his relations with the Deity. According to M. Girard, the fundamental idea which characterizes the religion of the Homeric epics and of Hesiod's poems is that of a universal harmony prevailing both through the laws of the universe and the existence of man. This idea leads the Hellenic mind above the naturalism of the Hindus to an intelligent system of monotheism. It may be observed, our author adds, that the theology of the ancient Greeks arrived at once to the religious conclusions with which it has always been identified, and their attempted solution of the contradictions which make man's *rôle* here below so singular a problem has very little varied.

After studying from this point of view the old Greek poets, M. Girard devotes the second part of his volume to an inquiry into the influence exercised by Orphic ideas over the development and progress of religious doctrines. If we read Homer carefully, we cannot help noticing the worse than imperfect system he has about merit and demerit, punishment and reward, vice and virtue. Morality, as our

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author remarks, is absorbed by mythology, and whilst murder and theft remain unpunished, offences against the gods alone are terribly expiated, as in the case of Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos. The first step in the way of progress was to be made by Pindar; the next was taken by the authors of the Orphic poems. When we survey nature, and man, who holds his place in the vast compass of nature, we cannot help being struck by the fact that everywhere good is mixed with bad, light with darkness, happiness with suffering, life with death. The peculiar feature, however, of man's constitution is that, whilst all other beings tend to realize their full existence, and aspire after the attainment of material order, he alone, in accordance with his quality as a moral being, longs for supra-sensible felicity, and distinctly sees that virtue is the object he should always keep in sight. Hence the whole system of what M. Girard designates under the name of *Orphism*, which, through the assistance of various myths, such as the one of the Titans and Bacchus, inculcated the strict necessity on the part of man to shake off the low elements of his nature, and, on the other hand, to purify himself more and more through intimate connexion with the Deity. The doctrine of expiation forms one of the most salient points in this scheme of theology, the one which appeals principally to our Christian feelings. It is impossible to study the tenets of the Orphic philosophers in the rare *testimonia* we have of their theories, it is impossible to read attentively the splendid productions of Æschylus and Sophocles, without seeing everywhere the great tenet of retribution plainly set forth as the moral lever which uplifts us, the master key to the problem of our destiny. Such is the last stage in the religious progress accomplished by the old Greek writers, and which finds its complete expression in Æschylus. As M. Girard very aptly remarks, the longing for harmony was always the leading passion of Hellenic thought, but how that harmony should be brought about, how, in short, the contradictions with which our world is full should be explained and reconciled, no one successfully ascertained before the immortal author of the *Prometheus* and the *Agamemnon*.

The third book of M. Girard's volume is entirely taken up by a discussion of the Greek tragedy examined from the religious point of view. It is full of real interest, and shows on the part of the author a thorough acquaintance not only with classic literature, but with the development of ancient philosophy and theodicy. The whole work is one of the best contributions to the history of religion which we have seen for a long time.

Notice sur les Manuscrits des Poésies de S. Paulin de Nole, suivie d'Observations sur le Texte. Par EMILE CHASTELAIN. 8vo. (Paris: Thorin.)

THE students of Christian antiquity will be glad to hear that a MS. copy of the poems of S. Paulinus Nolensis has been discovered in the Vatican library, and its *variæ lectiones* edited by M. Emile Chastelain in the *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes*. We noticed a little while ago in this review a new edition

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of Sidonius Apollinaris; we hope to have to record before long that Ausonius and Paulinus Nolensis have also been deemed worthy of engaging the attention of some competent scholar. In the meanwhile the *brochure* we are now describing will be found most useful to the future annotator of the Bishop of Nola, for it contains a large amount of critical matter which had never yet seen the light. Not only has M. Chastelain examined the Vatican MS., he has also consulted several other *codices* preserved in the public libraries of Rome, Milan, Bologna, Paris (no less than five), S. Petersburg, Brussels, Munich, and S. Gall. His next step has been to discuss the relative value of these authorities, and to take this critical inquiry as the basis of a classification. Finally, M. Chastelain has made some remarks on various passages which had hitherto been imperfectly understood; he weighs attentively the merit of conflicting readings, and does his best to establish a really accurate text. It is a remarkable fact that the last good edition of the works of Paulinus Nolensis dates as far back as 1685; it was undertaken in Paris by Lebrun des Marettes, and reprinted verbatim in 1736 by Muratori, with the addition of four short poems which the Italian critic had discovered in a Milan MS. The Vatican *codex*, which forms the principal subject of M. Chastelain's *brochure*, is, so far as we can judge, rather incorrect, but its importance fully justifies the labour bestowed upon it by our young *savant*.

The Gifts of Civilization; and other Sermons and Lectures delivered at Oxford and at S. Paul's. By R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of S. Paul's. New Edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880.)

THIS volume consists, first, of four Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, on subjects bearing more or less upon the interdependence of Religion and Civilization; second, of two Lectures, delivered in S. Paul's Cathedral in 1872, on 'Civilization before and after Christianity;' third, of a course of *three* Lectures, dated 1873, 'On some Influences of Christianity upon National Character;' and fourth, of two Lectures on 'The Sacred Poetry of Early Religions.' Consisting therefore of several parts, written on different though allied subjects, and not treated on an uniform scale, it cannot be looked upon as one whole, but as a series of sketches, mutually illustrative, indeed, but not following in any logical order.

Perhaps most striking of all, because they bear most closely upon the special intellectual dangers of this age, are the two Lectures on 'Civilization before and after Christianity.' The Dean shows his readers, in the former of these, a really vivid picture of Roman civilization, with its considerable reach of thought and large practical achievements. He does not detract from it in order to heighten the effect of his description of Christian civilization, which follows. He touches the bright lights of that magnificent state and marked national character with a willing hand and ungrudgingly. With great accuracy, as we conceive, he puts the root of Roman greatness in its possession and tenacious grasp and acting upon, of two great principles: the one, 'that the work of the community should be governed by

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law; the other, that public interest and public claims were paramount to all others.'

Where these characteristics exist, it must no doubt be allowed that 'you have an essential feature of high civilization.' *An* essential feature, certainly, a *sine quâ non*, a necessary prerequisite; because without respect for law there can be no organization, and without organization a state of civilization is impossible; indeed, to say that a state is civilized is really to say that it is more or less perfectly organized. But there are civilizations of different types: in some the material ideal dominates over the spiritual; in others, *vice versa*. We take it that the Commonwealth of Athens was, on the whole, a πολιτεία of a distinctly higher type than the gigantic Roman State which strangled it with one grasp.

But such a motive was adequate to produce, and did in fact produce for ages, great citizens, men in whom blazed 'the sense of public interest, the fire of public duty, the public spirit which accepted without complaint trouble and sacrifice.' These were not inconsiderable results. Yet it must be said that they cover but a small part of the field of human action, and little, indeed, of the wide and tossing sea of human passion and feeling. This motive could not therefore control and train the entire nature of any man; and it is probable that, while Roman citizens forgot not their duty to the state which they served, they forgot very many other duties. The cruelty of Cato, the tergiversation of Cicero, the profligacy of C. Cæsar, co-existed with a spotless reputation towards the public. But, says the Dean very truly, 'Roman civilization was only true as long as men were true to their principles; but it had no root beyond their personal characters and traditions and customary life: and when these failed it had nothing else to appeal to—it had no power and spring of recovery.'

And herein lies the great contrast between it and the later—the post-Christian—civilization, in that this latter has always had a reserve of spiritual force, which held it back from final and irretrievable ruin, and brought about a 'new departure' in history. Post-Christian society has been at certain times and places to the full as corrupt as that which preceded the Christian era; but the repeated casting out of the *virus* showed the superior vitality, in a spiritual sense, of the later civilization.

This, the characteristic difference between the two, is elaborated into its details by the Dean with an intimate knowledge of his subject, and a happiness of phrase all his own, and to which we are now no strangers. We must not linger longer upon his pages; yet we will give, as a specimen of happy and accurate description, the lines in which he has characterized the civil law:—

'Roman law was no collection of a certain number of vague constitutional articles; it was no cast-iron code of unchanging rules; but it was a real, living, expansive system, developing vigorously as the nation grew, co-extensive with the nation's wants in its range and applicability, searching and self-enforcing in its work, a system which the people used and relied upon in their private as much as in their public affairs. And

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so grew up, slowly and naturally through many centuries, in the way familiar to us in our law, the imposing and elaborate system of scientific jurisprudence which the Romans, when they passed away, bequeathed to the coming world; the great collections of Theodosius and Justinian, in which are gathered the experiences of many ages of Roman society, played upon, illuminated, analysed, arranged, by a succession of judicial intellects of vast power and consummate accomplishments; that as yet unequalled monument of legal learning, comprehensive method and fruitfulness in practical utility which, under the name of Civil Law, has been the great example to the world of what law may be; which has governed the jurisprudence of great part of Europe, which has influenced in no slight degree our own jealous and hostile English traditions, and will probably influence them still more'—(p. 165).

Personal Recollections of British Burmah and its Church Mission Work in 1878–79. By the Right Rev. J. H. TITCOMB, D.D., first Bishop of Rangoon. (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co., 1880.)

It is an ominous thing for a Colonial Bishop newly appointed, when he has been at his diocese but a year, to come home and stay at home, and instead of doing the work he was consecrated to do, to write a book. To be sure, it is not a very big book. Twelve months' 'Recollections' could hardly be very lengthy. Nor do we wish to find any particular fault with the volume itself. The Bishop, at all events, has found out where there is mission work that needs to be done. We cannot say that it appears to us to breathe a true missionary spirit; but that may be merely our individual opinion.

It seems that the first thing the Bishop did after arriving was to assemble the (four) clergy of Rangoon 'in private conference,' in order to 'ascertain from them the exact position of ecclesiastical affairs, and consult their views upon matters of the most pressing importance.' It is usual to consult *people*, and not 'views,' by-the-by; but that is of no consequence. We do not learn what these matters of 'most pressing importance' were, or how they fared; but we find that, at all events, the Bishop took 'this early opportunity of explaining my own Church principles,' and so on, 'all of which was most kindly received; and I may add that ever since not one word of any serious misunderstanding has arisen between myself and the clergy of the diocese.' We should hope it had not, indeed; and we, for our part, should have thought it unnecessary to volunteer such a statement. The sequel, too, as narrated by the Bishop, is decidedly curious. It was proposed that a new church would be a good thing. Accordingly, a public meeting was called in the Chief Commissioner's 'banqueting-hall,' to consider the subject. 'The attendance was good; the spirit of the meeting was excellent; resolutions approving the object were passed; and a large committee was formed for the purpose of'—collecting subscriptions, thinks the reader. No; but of 'approaching Government on the subject.' And as the Government of India refused to make the slightest grant in aid of an object which, however good, it no doubt considered ought to be first taken in hand by the European inhabitants themselves, the project of

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church-building, notwithstanding the 'good attendance' and the 'excellent spirit,' fell at once hopelessly to the ground!

We think, however, the volume may be of use in some quarters, as giving a brief and popular account of the state of the diocese, which is not well known. And we hope that the Bishop will soon have accumulated a new and larger stock of 'Recollections'—*on the spot.*

History of Judah and Israel, from the Reign of Solomon to the Reign of Ahab. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, D.D., Ph.D. (London: Religious Tract Society.)

DR. EDERSHEIM'S little books, in spite of their faults of method and style, throw frequent and valuable illustrations on the narratives of the Bible by the writer's intimate knowledge of Hebrew literature and customs; and the present volume, though there is no special remark to be made upon it, may be noted as a useful book, to be purchased for the school library or for young people.

Eutropia: or, How to Find a Way out of Darkness and Doubt into Light and Certainty. By the Rev. Father PIUS DEVINE, Passionist. (London: Burns and Oates, 1880.)

'THE half educated,' says the Rev. Father Pius Devine, 'know not how to reason. Sophisms stand them in place of arguments.'[1] Acting upon this truism, the Rev. Father has furnished a supply of sophisms in the volume named above, which is intended for the assistance of other proselytizing Romish priests, and to be placed, when prudence allows, in the hands 'of the better instructed, even before their conversion.'[2] We do not say that all his arguments are sophisms. We recognize the effectiveness of well-tried weapons drawn from the common armoury of all who believe in a visible Christian Church. But sophism, assumption, and even downright ignorance furnish other *quasi* arguments, fitted only to convince those 'who know not how to reason.'

For an example of sophistical reasoning see the author's method in regard to Popes who are acknowledged to have been in error. 'If some one Pope here or there did not exercise it (infallibility sc.) carefully, there is rather a confirmation of his possession of it even in the fact of the objection. A man cannot abuse what he has not got.'[3] Thus the interpretation of our Blessed Lord's words to S. Peter, according to which He is maintained to have conferred official immunity from error upon all occupants of the See of Rome (though their succession from the Apostle is more than doubtful), is here declared to be partly established by the fact that some of them were *not* free from error.

Look at another argument in connexion with infallibility. The Rev. Father is concerned to show that an infallible teacher of Divine truth has existed among men from the beginning. We pass over his deduction of the gift from Adam downwards, and the difficulties

[1] *Eutropia*, p. 42. [2] *Ibid.* Preface, p. x. [3] *Ibid.* p. 332.

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which he meets with in his course; such as 'an interregnum (where somebody must have possessed authority, although there is no record of it), between the death of Ephraim and the call of Moses, of 102 years,' and we come to Caiaphas, or, as our author prefers, Caiphas. Caiphas, then, being high-priest, was the official expounder of Divine truth, and was gifted with infallibility. He could not err in any sentence or decree which he pronounced in his official capacity as the head of the Jewish Church. The theory works at first sight plausibly by the side of the words of the Evangelist: 'This spake he, not of himself; but being high-priest that year, he prophesied,' &c.;[1] though there is obviously a very broad distinction between the involuntary prophecy uttered by the high-priest and the definitions which Popes have pronounced. But the most formidable difficulty arises when we read that 'the high-priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy.' The solution propounded for this difficulty is that the high-priest, in condemning our Lord to death, 'did not oppose the law; on the contrary, he fulfilled it, and involuntarily completed it; for, by means of his sentence, he caused the true Lamb . . . to be offered.'[2] We need not comment upon the shocking audacity of such a method of supporting a weak theory. S. Peter himself speaks again and again with horror of the act which we are now told infallibility prompted: 'Ye delivered up' (Jesus), 'and denied Him in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let Him go. But ye denied the Holy One and the Just . . . and killed the Prince of Life.' Yet S. Peter offers *some* palliation for the crime; though not such palliation as may comport with infallibility. 'And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers.'[3]

It would occupy too much space to dwell upon the daring assumption that the Roman Church is the home of the most distinguished intellects of the world, of the most accurate scholarship, the most exalted literary power, the most advanced science; which ignores Chaucer's sympathy with præ-Reformation reformers, and which asserts that Shakspeare lived in (Roman) Catholic times:[4] or upon the singular view of duty according to which it appears to be wrong to 'refuse all alms to a beggar,'[5] but right for 'the Church' to transfer to congenial work a young person's 'affection which might be wasted on a selfish father.'[6] These and many other points invite comment. But we pass to the evidence which the author supplies that in the interpretation of the Greek Testament he is only fitted to be a blind leader of the blind.

'It is sad,' the author says, 'to see people attempt to build their faith on the Scriptures, and at the same time know nothing about the languages in which they were written, or the meaning which those

[1] John xi. 51, 52. See, however, what the high-priest actually said, vv. 49, 50. [2] *Eutropia*, p. 189.
[3] Acts iii. 13–17. See also i. 22–24, and iv. 10, 11.
[4] Shakspeare was born after Elizabeth's accession.
[5] *Eutropia*, chap. xiii. [6] *Ibid.* chap. xlvii.

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languages had to those who spoke them.'[1] The only point here on which we shall remark is the singularly bad grace with which this lamentation comes from the author of this book. His own knowledge of Greek is conspicuous by its absence. We make the charge deliberately and we are bound to prove it.

The first blunder that we cite is the form Απωστελλος,[2] as the Greek for Apostle, instead of 'Απόστολος. On the following page we are told that 'Μετανοιειν came to mean penance.' We make no remark upon the translation, but there is evidently a confusion between the infinitive μετανοεῖν and the substantive μετάνοια. Απωστελλος looks very much like the hardy attempt to form the Greek word in the confidence of ignorance by one who disdained the necessity of verifying his word-building since he *knew* that the word required was derived from ἀποστέλλω. A very slight knowledge of the laws of derivation in Greek would have rendered such a blunder as Απωστελλος impossible.

There is, of course, the chance that in both the instances mentioned the fault is originally the printer's, and that the blame attaching to the author is only that of carelessness, or haste, in correcting his proofs. *Humanum est errare;* and *hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.* On such evidence alone it would be harsh and unfair to pronounce an unfavourable judgment. Unfortunately for the author he has provided conclusive proof against himself. Like other defenders of Mariolatry, he finds it an awkward fact, that our Blessed Lord is reported by S. John to have addressed His Virgin Mother in the words, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, γύναι, rendered in our version, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?'[3] We cannot examine in detail his ignorant and nonsensical rendering of our Lord's question, about the meaning of which no one moderately acquainted with Greek has any doubt, and which 'all expositors of the early Church have allowed, even by the confession of the Romanists themselves,' to convey 'more or less of reproof and repulse.'[4] We pass at once to the crowning blunder into which he is betrayed when attempting to support by classical example his assertion, 'The expression, τὶ (*sic*) ἐμοὶ καὶ σοι (*sic*), means a separation, a good-bye, or, otherwise, is an expression of great respect in the Greek language.'

'Epictetus,' he tells us, 'addresses a great friend in terms of gratitude:

'Τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ἄνθρωπε; ἀρκεῖ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ κάκα.'—

'What is to me and to thee, man? Thou keepest all my evils from me.'[5]

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[1] *Eutropia*, pp. 323, 324. [2] *Ibid.* p. 276.

[3] S. John ii. 4.

[4] *Notes on the Miracles*, Archbishop Trench (5th edition, 1856), pp. 101, 102.

[5] *Eutropia*, pp. 321, 322. The author does not tell us where to find this expression of Epictetus's gratitude. He says, however, in a note, 'Aulus Gellius quotes lib. i. *Noctes Atticæ*,' which is precisely as if one were to say 'Milton quotes *Paradise Lost*.' We do indeed find in Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. i. cap. iii., the following words: 'Τί

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We pass by the two blunders in accentuation in the first and last words of this quotation. The chief point to notice is that the Rev. Father Pius Devine has misunderstood the whole passage, and consequently has mistranslated it, as a fifth-form school-boy would be ashamed of doing. It does not need vast erudition to see that the words mean—

'What have I to do with you, man? My own troubles are sufficient for me.'

Thus the witness cited to speak in our author's favour has given the most damning evidence against him. What would a master at one of our public schools say to a boy who distinguished himself as he has done? Probably this: 'The verb is accented by you, my boy, in an impossible manner. Let us first correct this to ἀρκεῖ. Now what led you to translate ἀρκεῖ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ κακά, "thou keepest all my evils from me"? I will tell you. You were certain that ἀρκεῖ is singular, and τὰ ἐμὰ κακά, plural, and in regard to both, you were quite right. Then you rightly guessed, from your knowledge of the Latin *arceo*, that the Greek ἀρκέω might mean "to keep off," "to ward off." It has not, however, this meaning always, and your knowledge of Latin has misled you here. Next, you jumped to the conclusion (boys are so careless) that ἀρκεῖ must be second person singular, because a *thou* had been addressed in the first half of the line, and you did not see who else but "thou" was provided for performing the action, "the keeping off evils," which the words so temptingly but wrongly suggested to your mind. In fact you could not see any other possible way than yours of construing the sentence. Remember, then, for the future, that, in Greek, a plural nominative neuter may go with a singular verb, as it does here. It is a curious but a common idiom. Coleridge explained it by saying that to the Greek mind "multeity" and "plurality" were not the same thing: there might be multeity in things inanimate, or in things only irrational (as sheep); to be "plural" was characteristic of things in a higher order altogether.'

But we must make an end. Our account, however, of the Rev. Father's *exegesis* would be incomplete, did we not add that, if illiterate argument will not serve his purpose, he has another and a readier way. If the phrase addressed to the Blessed Virgin cannot be twisted to suit him, he 'would rather believe that the Scriptures were interpolated than that our Lord used it.'[1] Nay, a more effective weapon than even the eraser is at hand. The (Roman) Catholic 'feels more inclined to shoot the man that would disparage her than to spend an argument on so worthless and disgusting a monster.'[2]

ἡμῖν καὶ σοὶ, ἄνθρωπε; ἀπολλύμεθα καὶ σὺ ἐλθὼν παίζεις.' 'What have we to do with you, man? We are perishing and you come and make fun.' But this, like the passage in the text, is dead against our author's theory. So also is his quotation from *Anacreon*, and that from *Ovid*, with which he seeks to illustrate his view. The mistranslation of the latter shows his Latin scholarship to be about on a par with his Greek. Moreover Ovid did not write the words quoted 'in going into exile,' but after he had begun to feel the misery of it.

[1] *Eutropia*, p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 324. From what the author says in this page he clearly

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Nile Gleanings: Concerning the Ethnology, History, and Art of Ancient Egypt, as Revealed. By VILLIERS STUART OF DROMANA. With fifty-eight Coloured and Outline Plates, from Sketches and Impressions taken from the Monuments. (London: John Murray, 1879.)

CAN there be anything new to be said about Egypt? is the thought which rises naturally in the minds of most readers, as they open this handsome volume. Mr. Villiers Stuart is himself so sensible of this feeling, that the first words of his Preface are devoted to a protest against the idea that 'nothing more is left to say' about Egypt, and to assure his readers that 'much still remains to be discovered there; much of what has been already discovered still remains to be described.' He has, however, shown this to be the case in a far more practical way, by embodying much new and remarkably interesting information in the volume before us.

He prefaces the account of his explorations by a chapter on the characteristics of Egyptian art, which will be found of great use in preparing the reader what to expect from the monuments, and what not to expect. He points out that the intention of their paintings and bas-reliefs was not to produce artistic masterpieces, but to record the succession of their sovereigns, the great actions of the kings and chiefs, and other historical events; while, in temples of private foundation, the family history is painted on the walls. They regarded painting and sculpture, in fact, as merely another means of writing, and took no more pains with the details than was necessary to make the meaning clear. 'I doubt,' he says, 'whether the idea of art for its own sake entered into an Egyptian's head at all.' The vast size of the surfaces to be treated is also to be remembered. They were required to cover whole acres of wall with painting; and these two facts abundantly account for the stiff conventionality of style constantly found. The author, while allowing this to be the case, excepts from the charge the *faces*, which are often beautifully drawn; and there are reigns, such as that of Sethi, during which this breathless haste of execution was not exacted, and in which therefore good and artistic work is found. The mention of Sethi reminds us of one of the respects in which Mr. Villiers Stuart's book takes an independent view of Egyptian history; we mean the great antiquity to which he throws it back. He is of opinion that it 'had its beginning at the enormously remote period of nearly 4000 years before the Christian era.' He is comparatively moderate in this computation, for Mariette Bey assigns 5234 B.C. as the date of Menes, and 4235 B.C. as the time when the Great Pyramid was built; while Brugsch Bey (vol. ii. p. 311) has fixed 4400 B.C. as the date of the

teaches that all 'disparage Mary who will not believe that our Lord 'obeys her still, and that she commands in heaven,' which will include all who say, as we do, with Bishop Pearson, 'We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself. Let us keep the language of the primitive Church: "Let her be honoured and esteemed, let Him be worshipped and adored."'—*Exposition of the Creed*, art. iii.

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former event, and *circa* 3700 B.C. for the latter. Mr. Villiers Stuart's dates, which, however, cannot be considered more than approximations, are :—

Foundation of the Egyptian Empire by Menes, 4124 B.C.

Date of the Great Pyramid, 3600 B.C.

These results are obtained in reliance on the tablet compiled by King Sethi, of the nineteenth dynasty, the father of Rameses the Great, which was discovered in the Temple of Abydos, in Upper Egypt, Mr. Stuart does not say by whom, but we think by M. de Rougé. Of this tablet, by the aid of which most modern writers upon Egyptian chronology have corrected the lists given by Manetho, but with somewhat varying results, Mr. Villiers Stuart for the first time puts the actual hieroglyphs before the eyes of the European reader by a *facsimile* drawing. Unfortunately it excludes a large number of reigns of set purpose; embracing *inter alia* the long period of altogether not less than 500 years (according to Manetho) during which Egypt was in the power of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings; and this interval includes (as he points out) the entire time of the period of Abraham's visit and of Joseph's Egyptian career; so that it throws no light upon the Biblical history. At the end of chapter xxxii., however, there is a table in which the author endeavours, with very fair success, to bring the results thus obtained to synchronize with the Mosaic chronology, reckoning backward from the well-ascertained date (B.C. 979) of the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak. He has, however, to take one liberty with the Bible chronology. He reduces the time during which Israel was governed by Judges from 450 to 391 years, justifying this by a reference to the expression of S. Paul in Acts xiii. 20, '*about* (ὡς) four hundred and fifty years.'

Mr. Villiers Stuart gives a very unfavourable account of the present condition of the antiquities of Egypt. They are fast perishing, he says: the slow ravages of time being indefinitely quickened by the ignorant rapacity of native collectors, who hope to make a profit by the sale of anything that is valuable to European visitors; and who rifle the most carefully protected tombs in pursuit of their gain. In a great many passages of this work he notices instances of this having been done.

This desecration is not confined to tombs, but extends to the structure of the temples themselves. He mentions one case in particular in which a large fragment of the frieze of a temple was offered to him for sale by an Arab who had broken it off. Unlike collectors in general, Mr. Stuart's fear that he might be encouraging wanton pillage withheld him from completing the purchase. His dragoman gravely proposed that he should call up his boat's crew, bastinado the thief, and take the relic without payment: a course too Oriental in its character for an Englishman to be willing to follow. We can hardly, however, feel surprise at the prevalence of the practice, because it seems to be one of ancient date in the country. We learn from Brugsch Bey that as far back as B.C. 1130 there existed in Thebes a regularly organized thieves' society, formed for the secret opening and robbing of the tombs of the kings, in which even

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persons of sacerdotal character took a part.—(*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 182.)

It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Villiers Stuart's long researches among the records of this wonderful people should have been to greatly increase his respect for their capabilities of every kind. He wishes to derive Greek civilization from them through the Pelasgi, and Italian through the Etruscans, 'a branch of the Pelasgic family.' This is of course a mere guess; and it would certainly be a roundabout course for colonization to have taken, though we cannot deny that there is much to support it in the similarity of their art, the forms of pottery, of household furniture and implements, and such like.

We feel that we have only touched on a few of the many points of interesting inquiry arising out of the present work. The linguistic affinities indicated on pp. 278–280; the very interesting, though we think doubtful, traces of a belief in a resurrection from the dead current among the Egyptians of very early ages; not to speak of the remarkably powerful sketches of Cairo, and the working of Mohammedanism in modern Egypt, are each and all of unusual interest, and worthy of careful perusal. We can in all respects recommend the work as an intelligent, adequate, and even attractive essay on one of the most deeply engaging of all archæological inquiries.

Fénelon's Spiritual Letters, and other Devotional Works. (London: Rivingtons, 1880.)

SOME of our readers may be glad to hear that Messrs. Rivington have published in seven uniform little half-crown volumes, very suitable for presents, the devotional works that have appeared at intervals under the editorial care of the author of the *Life of S. Francis de Sales*. They are the *Spiritual Letters of Fénelon to men and women*, the *Spiritual Letters of S. Francis de Sales*, the *Spirit* of the last-named writer, and three anonymous treatises under the respective titles of the *Hidden Life of the Soul*, the *Light of the Conscience*, and *Self-Renunciation*.

Practical Reflections on every Verse of the Holy Gospels. By A CLERGYMAN. (London: Rivingtons, 1880.)

IT must surely be reckoned among the hopeful signs of Christendom, that so much of reverent study has of late years been bestowed upon the Holy Gospels. Even the ex-editor of the *Dublin Review*, who can hardly ever find a good word for the communion in which he was nurtured, is able to bestow some little praise upon the labours expended on this subject by such men as Mr. Greswell, Archbishop Trench, Dean Burgon, the lamented Isaac Williams, and others. We should like to mention, with these eminent writers, the late Mr. Anderdon, author of *The Messiah*, a Life of Our Lord, published anonymously some years since by Mr. Murray; a book far less known than it deserves to be. Dr. Ward claims for Father Coleridge (an *alumnus* of Eton and Oxford) a higher place than any of the above-named commentators. Without being able to assent to this

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judgment, we can gladly recognize the great reverence and thoughtfulness, the learning and the suggestiveness of such portions of Father Coleridge's work as we have seen (namely the two volumes on the Public Life of Our Lord), and can observe with pleasure the comparative absence of controversial matter.

The volume before us will, we believe, prove a most valuable and welcome addition to our means of studying the Gospels. Though freely supplemented from other sources, it is based upon the work of a famous Gallican and Jansenist divine, Father Quesnel; but we have not observed any prominent place given to the quasi-Calvinistic elements in the teaching of that which drew upon it the condemnation of the Papal authorities.

These 'Practical Reflections' will in no wise interfere with the reader's appreciation and enjoyment of consecutive biographies of Our Lord's life on earth: nay, we venture to think that they will dispose us to profit by them all the more. It is also a great advantage, especially for busy persons, who have less leisure for study than they could wish, that they can without difficulty select just so much or so little as may serve the opportunity, without prejudice to their apprehension of the general sense.

A specimen or two, selected almost at random, will make our meaning clearer than any explanation.

Here is the brief comment upon S. Mark xiv. 11, the final words of the verse being: 'And he sought how he might conveniently betray him:'—

'The opportunity came next day. If we resolve to do the devil's work the occasion will not be long coming. Judas had forgotten all his Master's glory, all His kindness, all the great powers which He himself had been intrusted with; covetousness and disappointment and a fancied affront had driven all those happy memories out of his mind, and left only this hateful purpose of betraying Him.'

We have here a warning not devoid of awe. The fifteenth verse of the same chapter is dwelt upon in such wise as to direct our thoughts into a more hopeful channel:—

'*And he will show you a large upper room furnished and prepared; there make ready for us.*'

'This room is the believer's heart. It should be large, that is, full of charity; and raised up above the stir of the world and sin; and furnished with humility and prayer and other needful graces. Lord make my heart such, and come Thou to dwell in it. How can it be worthy unless Thy saving presence make it so?'

We believe that many of our readers will be grateful to us for having called their attention to a book so excellently adapted to fill up a gap in our devotional literature.

Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Fredericton. Delivered at his Visitation, held on June 30, 1880, by JOHN, Lord Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada. Published at the request of the Synod. (St. John, N.B., 1880.)

THIS is a most admirable Charge, simple, plain-spoken, and fearless.

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The aged Metropolitan's bold utterance as to the question of legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister and with the brother of a deceased husband, for which a Bill was introduced into the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, deserves our highest admiration and gratitude. The Synod has shown its reverence for the Bishop by empowering him to nominate a *coadjutor cum jure successionis.*

The Preacher's Pocket: a Packet of Sermons. By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1880.)

Under this somewhat affected title will be found some twenty sermons, marked by the ability which distinguishes all Mr. Baring-Gould's writings. They are intended for an educated audience, in order 'to set them thinking.' Accordingly they are rather daring and even flippant; abounding with quotations from Shakspeare, and with references to the questions of the day. It seems to be an experiment to show that Mr. Haweis is not to continue to hold a monopoly of 'leading article' preaching, and that a sounder theology than his may be advocated in sensational addresses from the pulpit.

Sermons for the Christian Year. Vol. XI. By the late Rev. John Keble. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1880.)

Forty-four more of Mr. Keble's most spiritual sermons will be welcome to all readers. The present forms volume XI. of the series, and we rather suppose, though we do not know, that the public has now had nearly all which their revered writer left behind him. They are of somewhat more *occasional* character than those contained in previous volumes, comprising six sermons for Missions, with others for Consecrations, Church Restorations, and such like. Mr. Keble had not the oratorical brilliance on such occasions of some preachers; but he had somewhat better than brilliance—a lofty simplicity, which gradually awes the reader, and a kindly sweetness which wins him. We are glad to receive another volume of his discourses.

The New Burials Act. What it does and what it does not do, containing a Short Summary of the Provisions of the Act and the Text of the Act itself. By the Rev. Alfred T. Lee, LL.D. (London: The Church Defence Institution, 1880.)

This is a most useful and timely brochure. It is to be hoped that all who are concerned in the working of this Act will make themselves acquainted with the exact state of the matter as affected by the recent legislation. Nowhere will this be found more lucidly and temperately set forth than in Dr. Lee's pamphlet. It is not a subject for anything but regret and humiliation. But there is some humour in the following paragraph. 'There is nothing in the Act to prevent a woman officiating at a funeral. Neither is there any limit of age prescribed. A boy or girl of immature years has as much right to officiate under the Act as the most grave and learned divine.'

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—M. RENAN'S LONDON LECTURES.

1. *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1880.—Lectures on the Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church. By ERNEST RENAN, of the French Academy. Translated by CHARLES BEARD, B.A. (London, 1880.)
2. *Marc-Aurèle* (*Nineteenth Century*, May 1880). Delivered at the Royal Institution, April 16, 1880. (London, 1880.)

IN the beginning of the Lecture upon Marcus Aurelius, M. Renan makes a somewhat naïve claim upon his English audience to be considered as one of the most religious of mankind. He reminds us that the Breton race enjoy that distinction above all other races; and that he is himself emphatically a Breton. 'Je suis Breton de France; or, de toutes les races, la race bretonne est peut-être celle qui a pris la religion le plus au sérieux.' Whether he really expected us to value him at his own estimate or not, we hardly know. We guess that it may have been part of his pleasant good-natured design of making everybody feel comfortable and in good humour. He wished, we may suppose, to move a kindly smile at the pleasant little paradox. Or, perhaps, it may have been a sly hit at our own religious pretensions—not always, it is sometimes insinuated, too sincerely made. Possibly he intended us to turn the laugh upon ourselves when we were forced, in our heart of hearts, to acknowledge ourselves less 'religious' than M. Renan. And yet, after all, M. Renan's notion of religion seems to be so different from

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ours as almost to justify the belief that he makes the claim in earnest; at least, as much in earnest as he can be without abandoning his religion. '*Le plus au sérieux*' is not the expression we ourselves should have chosen to hit off the special characteristic of the religion M. Renan appears to inculcate. But perhaps some light may fall upon the words, when we turn to his first Hibbert Lecture, and read there his definition (playful or serious, who can tell? we confess ourselves puzzled by an argument so like the famous ψευδόμενος) of the aim 'religion' must set before itself. With a graceful touch he depicts for us the worship of Isis, as it existed in the Apostolic age.[1] It was, externally at least, almost identical with the 'Catholicism' of M. Renan's childhood, which still exercises such a fascination over him that he is often tempted (he says) to misquote, in reference to it,[2] Job's magnificent expression of trust in God: *Etiamsi occiderit me, in ipso sperabo.* 'There was,' he says, 'a morning service: a kind of mass, celebrated by a priest, shorn and beardless: there were sprinklings of holy water: possibly benediction in the evening. All this occupied, amused, soothed. What could any one want more?'

Occupation, amusement, and soothing could nowhere be found to greater advantage than in M. Renan's writings, if it were only possible for the reader to set aside for the time his devotion to the Person of Jesus Christ, or even his respect for exact and uncompromising truth. Persons who are neutral in such matters, or capable, dramatically, of putting themselves in that position, may read such books with pleasure. The charm of all M. Renan's works is beyond exaggeration. Once accept the theory that legend is quite as good as fact, and recreation the essence of religion, and then perhaps we could do no better than read daily lessons out of the *Vie de Jésus* and the rest of the series which began with it. We have no wish to be hard on M. Renan; but we must confess that he makes us feel throughout, as if his one purpose were to teach us to lay aside our seriousness altogether, to become careless as to accuracy in statement, historical or otherwise, to give up all definite beliefs because we may be wrong and it is not worth the trouble to be right, to look on with languid approval or pitying criticism, while others make heroic exertions in the struggle after righteousness, and to be content, meanwhile, ourselves, with such 'sweet and pure sentiment' as 'has found its finest expression in the verses

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 35. [2] *Ibid.* p. 202.

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of Virgil or of Tibullus.'[1] A Christian must beg to be excused if he feels a little indignation, and indeed contempt, for so sickly a paganism as this comes to. Upon himself it can have no other effect; but he cannot but fear that on the many indolent persons who are anxious to find an excuse for not investigating the claims of Christianity these Lectures will have a far from ennobling result.

M. Renan is an admirer of the 'touching eclecticism'[2] which inspired good Alexander Severus to erect a figure of Jesus Christ in his morning oratory, side by side with Apollonius and Abraham and Orpheus, and a selection of deified Emperors. Precisely such an eclecticism he himself exhibits, only within a more limited range. From among those deified Emperors he selects one, whom he sets before himself and his audience as the very type and model of what a religious human being should be. He does not indeed venture upon a direct comparison between Marcus Aurelius and our Lord. This perhaps would have been too bold. But they stand together in his mind and on his pages as the noblest representatives of the religion of mankind; and, tacitly, but by a clear implication, the Roman Emperor stands the higher.

'The origins of Christianity form the most heroic episode of the history of humanity. Never will man display more self-devotion or a larger love of the ideal, than in the hundred and fifty years which rolled away between the sweet Galilean vision under Tiberius and the death of Marcus Aurelius. Never was the religious consciousness more eminently creative; never did it lay down with more absolute authority the law of the future.'[3]

Here they stand together: but now we will see which has the higher place.

'I shall speak to you of that book, gleaming throughout with the divine spirit, of that manual of the life of resignation which has been left to us by the most pious of men, the Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. There have been men who have exercised a more profound and a more enduring influence; but no one has ever been as perfect as he. It is the glory of sovereigns that the most irreproachable model of virtue has been found among their ranks, and that the most beautiful lessons of patience and detachment have proceeded from a station which men like to think abandoned to all the seductions of pleasure and of vanity.'[4]

The curious thing is, that after setting Marcus Aurelius

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 24. M. Renan must have read the latter poet in a 'school edition.'

[2] *Ibid.* p. 197. [3] *Ibid.* p. 8. [4] *Marc-Aurèle*, ad init.

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upon this unrivalled height, M. Renan immediately proceeds to pull him down. Men cannot usually adopt an attitude of criticism towards their ideals; but M. Renan is anxious to prove himself no blind worshipper of his idol. Marcus is, after all, not perfect. He had his faults. Though 'no one ever was so perfect as he,' yet when we begin to compare him with his predecessor, Antoninus Pius, it becomes doubtful which has the higher claims. 'Of these two,' we are surprised to hear, 'Antoninus was, in my opinion, the greater.' We certainly had imagined that although the 'greatest' character might be imperfect, the most 'perfect' character must necessarily be the greatest. We can understand the usual distinction between 'good' and 'great,' or between 'good' and 'perfect;' but here is a perfection which does not include 'greatness,' and why? Not because it is the perfection of a lower type, but because of a moral imperfection. Assuredly, M. Renan's theory of ethics is an unique theory. The most 'perfect' of men was not so 'great' as Antoninus, because, in the case of this latter, 'his goodness did not make him commit faults: he was not tormented with the inward evil which gnawed incessantly the heart of his adoptive son. That strange evil, that restless self-study, that fever of perfection, are the signs of a nature less strong than distinguished.' And, as if we had not been sufficiently perplexed already, the lecturer goes on remorselessly: 'As the most beautiful thoughts are those which one does not write, Antoninus had in this respect also a superiority over Marcus Aurelius.'[1] Poor Marcus, then, can never have had any secret thoughts more beautiful than those which he wrote down; and Antoninus must needs have had thoughts more beautiful, because he did *not* write them down! And yet how strange a sign of Marcus' inferiority for M. Renan to select: when he describes the book of the good Emperor's *Meditations* as 'tout resplendissant de l'esprit divin, ce manuel de la vie résignée;' and not only contrasts unfavourably with it the *Imitation of Christ*[2] (this might have been expected), but proceds in another place: 'Ce livre incomparable où Epictète était surpassé, véritable évangile éternel.'[3]

'Véritable évangile éternel!' The usual meaning assigned to the word 'Gospel' is, according to its etymology, that it consists of glad tidings. It is an announcement of facts which make the heart of the hearer glad. We should, then, expect to find M. Renan justifying his choice of such a word

[1] *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 742. [2] *Ibid.* p. 748. [3] *Ibid.* p. 755.

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by giving us instances of happy revelations made by Marcus Aurelius in his book. Quite the contrary. M. Renan destroys in succession all hopes of finding either element of a 'Gospel' in the *Meditations*, or *Pensées*, as he calls them. If we expect to be the happier for reading them, their panegyrist shakes his head. 'Il en résulte pour nous quelque chose d'âpre et de triste; la lecture de Marc-Aurèle fortifie, mais ne console pas; elle laisse dans l'âme un vide à la fois délicieux et cruel!' It is, then, no Gospel for the poor, the broken-hearted, the sinful. It is no voice which bids the hungry approach and eat bread, but at the best it is the voice which tells him that there are worse deaths than starvation. They would form a small minority, we fear, in this afflicted world who would be able to agree with M. Renan and think of this 'vide à la fois délicieux et cruel' as one 'qu'on n'échangerait pas contre la pleine satisfaction.' It will be a sad time for the majority of the human race, when all other, less eternal, Gospels have disappeared, and this remains the sole survivor, to fortify, but not console.

And when we inquire into the other elements of a Gospel, and ask what *facts* this melancholy message discloses, by virtue of which it will go on fortifying men for ever, we receive a reply no less mysterious. It contains no gladness, and it contains no facts. It does not pretend to have anything to communicate. And, strange to say, this is its chief claim to be considered as an eternal Gospel! It is

'that incomparable book in which Epictetus is surpassed, that Gospel of those who do not believe in the supernatural, which has been unable to be rightly understood until our days. True eternal Gospel, the book of the *Thoughts* will never grow old, for it does not affirm a single dogma. The virtue of Marcus Aurelius, like our own, reposes upon reason, upon nature. S. Louis was a very virtuous man, because he was a Christian; Marcus Aurelius was the most pious of men, not because he was a Pagan, but because he was an accomplished person. Science may eventually, to all appearance, destroy God and the immortal soul; but the book of the *Thoughts* will still remain, young with life and truth.'

And again:—

'The author of the book of the *Imitation* himself, although much disengaged from school disputes, does not get quite so far; for his mode of feeling is essentially Christian: take away the Christian dogmas, and the book retains only a portion of its charm. The book of Marcus Aurelius, having no dogmatic foundation at all, will preserve its freshness to eternity.'

We studiously refrain from giving our own opinions about

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the Emperor's book, which has of late years been introduced to a large class of English readers in Dr. Farrar's *Seekers after God;* or otherwise we might point to a well-known passage, quoted by M. Renan himself, which seems to contain dogmas enough to spoil a Gospel, and questionable morality as well. The retrospect of the writer's past life and conduct unmistakably teaches the dogma of Theism—in form, if not in intention, the dogma of polytheism. It teaches the dogma of Divine Providence, both general and special. It teaches the dogma that the Divine Being or Beings must be considered kind to men and in favour of good morals. It all but teaches the dogma of Divine Grace:—

'I thank the Gods for having given me good parents. . . . . I owe it also to the Gods that I kept pure the flower of my youth, ... that I was brought up under the law of a prince and a father who was to deliver my soul from all fumes of pride. . . . . If, in spite of my frequent irritation with Rusticus, I never passed the bounds, nor did anything of which I had to repent, ... if, at the beginning of my passion for philosophy, I did not fall a prey to some sophist, it is to the Gods I owe it.'

How M. Renan can think that 'the atheist or he who believes himself so' will consider these sentences guiltless of any dogmatic basis, we cannot tell; but we ourselves are scarcely disposed to consider the *moral* tone of them so transcendently high as M. Renan does, or to burst into raptures at the 'divine candour' with which the writer 'unloads his heart with no other witness but God.' It is all very well in a Pagan; but to the Christian there will always be something in the passage which reminds him disagreeably of a parable in the Gospel of S. Luke, and of a grave condemnation passed upon the Pharisee's 'God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are.'

Let this passage, however, be as undogmatic and as lofty in its moral tone as a Gospel ought to be. But what is our astonishment to find that M. Renan himself has one distinct fault to find with his eternal Gospel, and that is, that in one point its morality is overstrained, through *not* insisting upon a certain dogma. Marcus Aurelius has just been considering the question why the Gods suffer men of tried virtue to be utterly extinguished in death. He answers, with the mixed optimism and fatalism of the Stoics, that if that were not the best thing it would have been otherwise ordered, and that to make such inquiries is to dispute with God His rights. At this point in his eternal Gospel, M. Renan bursts out—we will not mar his charming French:—

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'Ah! c'est trop de résignation, cher maître. S'il en est véritablement ainsi, nous avons droit de nous plaindre. Dire que si ce monde n'a pas sa contre-partie, l'homme qui s'est sacrifié pour le bien ou le vrai doit le quitter content et absoudre les dieux, cela est trop naïf. Non, il a le droit de les blasphémer! Car enfin pourquoi avoir abusé de sa crédulité? Pourquoi avoir mis en lui des instincts trompeurs, dont il a été la dupe honnête? Pourquoi cette prime accordée à l'homme frivole ou méchant? C'est donc celui-ci, qui ne se trompe pas, qui est l'homme avisé? . . . . Mais alors maudits soient les dieux qui placent si mal leurs préférences! Je veux que l'avenir soit une énigme; mais s'il n'y a pas d'avenir, ce monde est un affreux guet-apens. Remarquez en effet que notre souhait n'est pas celui du vulgaire grossier. Ce que nous voulons, ce n'est pas de voir le châtiment du coupable, ni de toucher les intérêts de notre vertu. Ce que nous voulons n'a rien d'égoïste: c'est simplement d'être, de rester en rapport avec Dieu, de continuer notre pensée commencée, d'en savoir davantage, de jouir un jour de cette vérité que nous cherchons avec tant de travail, de voir le triomphe du bien que nous avons aimé. Rien de plus légitime.'[1]

It is a pleasure to hail M. Renan as so warm a maintainer, for the nonce, of this great dogma, even at the price of his consistency; but we cannot agree with him to think that, in case there were no future life, the 'frivolous or wicked man' would then be proved to have been the only person well-advised and not self-deceived. The moral tone adopted by such a writer as the late Mr. Mill, in his essay on the *Utility of Religion*, seems both truer and nobler. This is, however, only another instance of M. Renan's inconsistency. Elsewhere he himself condemns his own moral proposition:—

'Let them alone,' he cries; 'they have chosen the better part. Something assures me that he who, hardly knowing why, has, out of simple nobleness of nature, chosen for himself in this world the essentially unproductive function of doing good, is the truly wise man, and has discerned, with more sagacity than the egotist, the legitimate employment of life.'[2]

But we are rather tired of criticizing M. Renan's variations. The exigencies of his rhetoric are too strong for him. Moral theories, dogmatic theories, historical theories, all go down before them, and up again, like corn before the wind. The reader gasps for a breath of German 'rigour and vigour,' and hungers after even a clear falsehood sturdily maintained; and he finds none. What is black on one page is white on another.

It would be waste of time to discuss the character of

[1] *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 750.

[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 8.

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Marcus here, or to call attention to M. Renan's own often repeated mention of the weaknesses of his model man. Christian moralists dissent entirely from the view that real goodness is blind to the faults of others :—

'Trois ou quatre fois la vertu de Marc-Aurèle faillit le perdre.' 'Les âmes de cette sorte, soit pour ne pas faire de peine aux autres, soit par respect pour la nature humaine, ne se résignent pas à avouer qu'elles voient le mal. Leur vie est une perpétuelle dissimulation.' 'S'il pécha, ce fut par trop de piété. Moins résigné, il eût été plus juste.' 'Cette façon de s'aveugler volontairement est le défaut des âmes d'élite. Le monde n'étant pas du tout tel qu'elles le voudraient, elles se mentent à elles-mêmes pour le voir autre qu'il n'est. De là un peu de convenu dans leur jugements.'

Such is certainly not the ideal of virtue which the Church has before her eyes; nor do we believe it would find favour with any moral thinker of any power outside the Christian Church. But even were such a self-blinding tolerable in a private person, it is highly culpable in the sovereign. The conduct of Marcus in regard to his sinful wife is not free from blame in this respect :—

> 'I hold that man the worst of public foes,
> Who either for his own or children's sake,
> To save his blood from scandal, lets the wife
> Whom he knows false abide and rule the house :
> Worst of the worst were that man he that reigns.'

It would, indeed, have been possible in such an age, perhaps, to have forgiven Marcus for not divorcing Faustina ; but that a man so pious should have publicly requested her deification, and perpetuated her memory by adding scholars in her name to the Faustinian schools,[1] was rightly regarded, even by Julian, as an unpardonable thing. But if Marcus was to blame for not dealing more severely with Faustina, he deserves something more than blame for his elevation of Commodus. It is no pleasant task to find faults in so noble a character : but if Marcus Aurelius is seriously to be held up to us as a higher model than that to which we have been striving to conform, then we must not hold our tongues. It would have hardly struck us to think him so reprehensible in his choice of a successor, had it not been for M. Renan's de-

[1] M. Renan makes a mistake, when he alleges the founding of these schools (for the education of women) as one of the great movements inaugurated by Marcus. They were founded by Pius, in memory of a far better Faustina, and only added to by Marcus.—Jul. Cap. *Vit. Ant. Pii*, viii. 1 ; Æl. Lampr. *Vit. Al. Sever.* lvii. 7.

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fence of him. He had better have left the defence alone. Granted that Commodus was still a boy when his father died, and capable of turning out better than he promised; but what right had Marcus to stake the happiness of the world on the chance of the conversion of a youth who took after a bad mother, and who defied the instructions of the best tutors to be found (Christians excepted) in the whole empire? Because he had from infancy proclaimed him his successor, and heaped honours upon him, and could not be expected to stultify himself. 'Marc fut pris par ses propres phrases.' But was it not better to risk the stultifying of himself and win the admiration of mankind? And, moreover, why was he in the first instance so rash as to commit himself in this manner? The lecturer bids his questioners remember, that the emperors since Nerva, who had done so much with the principle of adoption, had had no sons. True, they had had no sons (that we know of) born to them *after their accession to the throne.* Gibbon reminds us that Commodus was the first *Porphyrogenitus.* But M. Renan's statement is strangely misleading as it stands. The principle of adoptive succession, in clear preference to the natural, was singularly well known to Marcus. That principle was recommended to him by an authority, which he was almost bound in honour to obey. He himself sat on the throne to the exclusion of two sons of Antoninus Pius.[1] When Antoninus Pius had thus put away paternal feelings to make room for him, it was hardly too much to expect that he in turn should do the like. It is a melancholy choice that we are reduced to. We have to decide whether this most perfect of men, this author of the true eternal Gospel, was too proud to change his plan, too fond to see that his own son was not the safest successor to be found, or too regardless of the world's welfare to care whether he was or not.

If anything could be weaker than M. Renan's defence of his hero upon this point, it is his defence of him for his attitude towards the Church. It must be remembered that any crime is light in M. Renan's eyes, compared with religious intolerance. His lectures are full of this one 'dogma' (as he calls it), which is itself so firmly believed as to save the society to which he belongs from the charge of 'scepticism.'[2] He does, indeed, most magnanimously wish to extend this patronizing tolerance even to those who believe in Christian doctrine![3] Marcus Aurelius did not. M. Renan has to make the best of a bad business. No one could help a smile on

[1] See *Gibbon*, chap. iii. [2] *Hibbert Lectures*, Preface.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 205.

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reading the curiously worded paragraph in which he tries it. The persecutions under Marcus come to this: 'Il est malheureusement certain que quelques condamnations à mort furent, sous son règne, prononcées et exécutées contre des chrétiens.'[1] The laws against *collegia illicita* were not completely abolished; 'et il en résulta dans les provinces quelques applications infiniment regrettables.' This seems hardly an adequate way of expressing an anti-Christian movement, compared with which the persecution of Nero himself was but the prick of a pin. Polycarp, Pothinus, Pionius; Attalus, Epagathus, Sanctus, Blandina, Biblias, Ponticus, Symphorian; these great names are those of but a few champions out of the many who perished in Asia and in Gaul. And Asia and Gaul were not such remote corners of the empire as to be free from the emperor's observation. With what appears to us an extreme dishonesty, M. Renan speaks of the martyrdoms taking place 'in the provinces,' presumably to make us think that Marcus had nothing to do with them. Has he changed his mind since he wrote the *Eglise Chrétienne*, when he embraced the usual belief that S. Justin won his surname of martyr in the city of Rome itself?[2] Or was this an application of the law less to be regretted than those in the provinces? 'We must remember,' he says, 'that the Roman empire was ten or twelve times the size of France, and that the responsibility of the emperor for judgments given in the provinces was very slight.' It is sincerely to be hoped that the rhetorician who penned these words had never read a certain document which no *historian* of the period can afford not to know pretty well by heart. Had he consulted the Letter of the Gallican Churches—not a difficult fragment to be found—he would there have seen that Marcus had more to do with the persecution in Gaul than his language implies.

'And after that he had been led,' we there read, 'all round about the amphitheatre, with a signboard going before him, whereon was written in Latin, "This is Attalus the Christian," and when the people were mightily gloating over him, the governor, learning that he was a Roman, commanded him to be put back with those who were in the prison, concerning whom he wrote a letter to Cæsar, and was awaiting the answer from him . . . Cæsar wrote that they should be beaten to death as drums are beaten;[3] but that if any should deny, they should be let go.'

[1] *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 754. [2] *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 492.

[3] ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι. On the simple verb (Heb. xi. 35, 'were tortured'), Grimm gives: 'Fuisse videtur tympanum supplicii instrumentum rotæ formam referens, in quo damnatorum corpora pellium instar distendebantur et fustibus aut loris miserrime cædebantur.'

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And this was the punishment assigned, by Marcus himself, deliberately, on appeal, for *Roman citizens!*

The Christian may find a thousand excuses for the persecutor of his brethren. He readily admits M. Renan's observation that 'the true spirit of liberty, as we now understand it, was then not grasped by any one.' He may even acknowledge, with grief, that 'Christianity, when it had the upper hand, did not practise it any better than the heathen emperors,' although it would have been truer to have put 'Christians' instead of 'Christianity;' for persecuting Christians act avowedly in violation of the principles of their religion. Though the principle may not have been fully grasped, it had been explicitly laid down. 'All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.' 'Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.' 'He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.' And it must be remembered that the first outcome of Constantine's conversion to Christianity was no persecution of Paganism, but the edict of Milan, announcing to a startled world that the State would henceforth not undertake to prescribe in affairs of religion, but that it must be a matter for the individual conscience.[1] But we cannot ourselves complain that the good emperor was unable to grasp this principle. The thing which perplexes us is, that M. Renan should be able to advance such a plea for him, after having told us, five pages before, that 'notre bon Marc-Aurèle, sur ce point (*i.e.* faith without proof), *comme sur tous les autres*, devança les siècles.' And yet in the one greatest point of all (at any rate that which M. Renan considers the greatest), this author of an eternal Gospel, which was to supersede the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not only was not centuries before the world, but, as we shall now show, was a wilful and embittered retrogressionist.

M. Renan writes:—

'La politique des Antonins avait été constante à cet égard. Ils voyaient dans le Christianisme une secte secrète, anti-sociale, rêvant le renversement de l'empire; comme tous les hommes attachés aux vieux principes romains, ils crurent à la nécessité de le réprimer. Il n'était pas besoin pour cela d'édits spéciaux; les lois contre les *cœtus illiciti*, les *illicita collegia*, étaient nombreuses. Les Chrétiens tombaient de la manière la plus formelle sous le coup de ces lois.'

[1] See Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 326 *foll.* So unfair is M. Renan's twice repeated insinuation against Christianity in the person of Constantine, *Hibbert Lectures* p. 22; *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 755.

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This paragraph is a good sample of the author's cool manner of writing history to please himself.[1] The Christians would have been devoutly thankful had Marcus adhered to the policy of his venerated predecessor. Nothing could have been more sensible and kind, in the circumstances, or more large-hearted, than the conduct of Pius towards the Church. We agree, indeed, with Neander in suspecting the genuineness of the edict embodied by Eusebius, and attributed by him to Antoninus Pius.[2] But a fragment of the apology of Melito, presented to the emperor Marcus, recalls what large exertions Antoninus had made to secure the Christians from being harassed. Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens—hardly a Greek town (Melito seems to say) but had received some rescript to that effect; and Marcus Aurelius had known well that this was so, for he was already at the time his adopted father's colleague.[3] There is not a syllable (so far as we know) to show that Pius regarded them as 'a secret, anti-social sect, dreaming of the overthrowal of the empire.' He had in all things followed the example of Hadrian with respect to Christianity; and Hadrian, both in his extant rescript to Fundanus, and in popular tradition, showed himself, not only just, but also generous, to the Christians. It was to be expected that Marcus would, in his turn, follow so good an example. Nay, Melito was reasonable enough when he wrote: 'But we feel that *you* hold with still more emphasis the views of your predecessors upon these points. You hold their views in a far more philanthropic and philosophic spirit. And this convinces us that you already propose to grant all the demands we make of you.' But the apologist was far too sanguine. Marcus was bent upon reversing the policy of toleration. It was not (so it seems) that Marcus feared more than his predecessors the power of secret societies. M. Renan tells us that Marcus was strenuous in his efforts to get rid of the jealous principle on which the *hetæriæ* were forbidden: 'Marc-Aurèle, loin de l'exagérer, *l'atténua de toutes ses forces*, et une des gloires de son règne est l'extension qu'il donna au

[1] The whole passage is taken bodily from *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 300, 301, except that *le sage empereur* in that place is not Marcus, but Antoninus!

[2] Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 13. Eusebius deliberately and repeatedly assigns it to Pius, though the name which it wears is that of Marcus. It seems probable that it was a forgery made to support the view, so popular in early days, that all the good emperors had befriended the Church. In *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 302, M. Renan declares roundly in the text that all the edicts referred to were forgeries, and then says in a foot-note that they were very possibly genuine. [3] Ap. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26.

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droit d'association.' So much the worse for his conduct towards the Church. It shows more clearly what his real animus was in persecuting her. 'Cependant, il n'alla pas jusqu' à la racine ; il n'abolit pas complètement les lois contre les *collegia illicita*, et il en résulta dans les provinces quelques applications infiniment regrettables!' Charming candour! Who would have guessed from this, that *new laws* were actually issued to damage the Christians?

'A thing has happened,' complains Melito to the emperor himself, 'which is without precedent in history. The family of worshippers of God now is under persecution, driven up and down Asia *by new decrees*. For the shameless informers, in love with other men's possessions, take the advantage which these ordinances give, and turn robbers by daylight.' [1]

Marcus was, in most cases, opposed to the practices of the *delatores*. But in the case of the Christians, precisely where Trajan, Hadrian, presumably Pius, had checked *delatio* severely, Marcus Aurelius, by distinct edicts, invited and encouraged them. It was in all other matters, Capitolinus tells us, the aim of Marcus to inflict punishments less grave than the laws permitted; but when it came to the case of the Christians, he adopted an exactly opposite course. Never before, that we read of, had tortures been applied to the Christians to induce them to recant. Now it becomes the recognized mode of procedure. We have, in all probability, the universal edict of Aurelius which orders it.[2] For the first time in Roman history the testimony of slaves is sought against their masters, and wrung from them by torture. And when it comes to putting the obstinate confessors to death, as we have already seen, Marcus, who never suffered a Roman citizen to be executed without his own personal investigation of the case,[3] chooses, as the manner of the execution, that they should be beaten to death like drums.[4]

There is but one way of accounting for the persecution fostered by Marcus Aurelius. He stepped purposely aside out of his path to annoy the Christian Church, simply because of his religious or philosophical dislike of their doctrines. He had probably learned a good deal about them, after a

[1] The passage is quoted by M. Renan himself in the *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 188.

[2] See Neander, vol. i. p. 147 (Torrey's translation).

[3] Jul. Cap. *Vit. M. Ant. Phil.* 24.

[4] Side by side with all this, it is grimly amusing to read M. Renan's words: 'En tout cas, la *mansuétude* du bon empereur fut en ceci à l'abri de tout reproche.'

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fashion, from his worthy pedantic old rhetoric master, Cornelius Fronto, the first Pagan who took up controversy against the Faith.[1] The famous passage in his *Meditations*, where he speaks of Christianity, is inflamed with a virulent theological rancour. And is this the author of the eternal Gospel? Is it he whose work will live for ever, because it is so undogmatic? Does he not seem hopelessly to deny the one fundamental dogma of liberty of conscience and speech? Or is it only meritorious to tolerate 'Galen, Lucian, and Plotinus,' and unnecessary to tolerate Polycarp, Pothinus, and Justin? M. Renan asserts and reasserts that the Roman empire gave absolute liberty of thought, that from Nerva to Constantine not a thinker, not a man of science, was molested. But any serious weighing of the evidence must decide that there was *one* directly theological persecution, and that it was due to M. Renan's model divine and guide of souls, Marcus Aurelius.[2]

We have devoted more space than, perhaps, it was worth to M. Renan's sermon before the Royal Institution, especially as we are expecting it to be developed before long into the last volume of his *Origines*. But this lecture affords, in a brief space, a good opportunity of testing M. Renan's trustworthiness. After having perused it with any degree of attention, we know how far we shall be safe in following him in his so-called historical works. 'What we love is history.' So cries the Hibbert lecturer to his sympathizing audience. But all we can say is that M. Renan has been singularly crossed in his love; for history appears about the last thing he is likely to make his own—even farther off than a sound appreciation of morals. We cannot even think him a very successful painter of historical fiction. His picture is too slightly drawn, nor is there any unity of aim. We feel more inclined to say that each chapter, taken by itself (for there is hardly one that will harmonize with its neighbour), is an

[1] See the excellent account in Aubé's *Polémique Païenne*, p. 74 *foll.*

[2] Another theological persecution of the Christians, perhaps, ought to be added, namely, that of Maximin Daza, which has a venomous tone of Neo-Platonic spite. And we should be glad to know what M. Renan has to say about the persecution of the Manichæans, usually (though falsely) attributed to Diocletian. Perhaps he would have more sympathy to show towards *them* than towards the Christians. As for the Christians, M. Renan seems to say that they deserved all that they got, for their absurd refusal to tolerate (*i.e.* take actual part in the worship of) the State gods. Precisely Aurelius' view. Galen, Lucian, and Plotinus certainly had no such scruples; nor perhaps would M. Renan, judging by the ideal speech which he puts into the Church's mouth in the *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 203. Truth and falsehood, God and Mammon, Christ and Belial, harmonize perfectly!

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effective off-hand design in the style of those 'arrangements in grey' of which we heard so much a little time ago.

It would be a wearisome task to go through the *Hibbert Lectures* page by page, and point out all the discrepancies of historical statement that may be found there. It cannot be denied that they abound. For instance, M. Renan may be able to explain, though we confess we cannot, the relation of two such passages as these :—

'A fact of capital importance,' we read, 'which we must notice at this stage of our inquiry, is, that the Church of Rome was not, like the Churches of Asia Minor, of Macedonia, and of Greece, a Pauline foundation. It was a Jewish-Christian product, attaching itself directly to the Church of Jerusalem. In it Paul will never be on his own ground. The legitimate daughter of Jerusalem, the Roman Church will always have a certain ascetic and sacerdotal character, opposed to the Protestant tendency of Paul. Peter will be her real head : afterwards, as the political and hierarchical spirit of old Rome penetrates her, she will truly become the New Jerusalem.' [1]

We read on, and come by-and-by to the following passage :—

'This movement towards hierarchy and episcopacy was especially felt in the Churches of Paul. The Jewish Christian Churches, on a lower level of vitality, remained synagogues, and did not so decisively tend to clericalism. On this account it was that arguments on behalf of the doctrine which it was desired to inculcate were conveyed in writings ascribed to Paul. . . . Three short letters, supposed to be written by Paul to his disciples, Timothy and Titus, were put forth, . . . evidently the work of one pen, and probably composed at Rome.' [2]

We cordially agree with the brilliant lecturer, that the point here raised is a point of capital importance; and we hardly think that one whose opinion on the point is so fluctuating as his own is qualified to teach the influence of Rome upon Christianity.

Another perplexing example, in which the question is more simply one of fact and less of generalization, occurs on p. 124. It concerns the first great Bishop of Rome, S. Clement. There M. Renan tells us that, 'without having any decisive proof of the fact, we may admit that he had been at an early period in relation with the Apostles, and especially with Peter.' But on p. 132 we find—'Clement had probably seen neither Peter nor Paul.' This curious uncertainty becomes still more curious when it is observed that the author had contradicted himself in the selfsame words in an earlier

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 57–59.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 162, 163.

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work. The former sentence comes from p. 314 of *Les Evangiles*, the second from p. 442. It looks as if M. Renan's only hope for making his *Hibbert Lectures* consistent with what he had himself formerly said was to snip leaves out of his earlier works and paste them together. To have plunged again into the bewildering sea of facts and theories would have probably produced something too grotesquely in contradiction with previous utterances. It was safer to compile, in blind trust to the correctness of his former conclusions. And in most cases this patchwork has been done with delightful neatness. But the Nemesis of facts slighted has overtaken him. In cutting out and piecing together pages from his work, *Les Evangiles*, M. Renan has set side by side two pages which are in complete contradiction to each other! It was really too bad and provoking! There might have been reason to move cautiously, supposing the pages had come (as the two before cited did) from different books, *L'Eglise Chrétienne* and the *Saint Paul*, we will say, or even from *L'Eglise Chrétienne* and its nearest neighbour, *Les Evangiles;* but who would have dreamt of suspecting that two pages from the very same volume would so completely give one another the lie? Nemesis was really too hard upon M. Renan! And then to think that the two excerpts should be fated to be declaimed aloud in London in the self-same lecture, within, perhaps, twenty minutes of each other! It was, indeed, a very long lecture, and M. Renan's memory is very short; so that he was probably spared the pain of feeling conscious that there was any hitch. But it was otherwise with the audience. We were all burning to know the early history of the Church of Rome; and next after the great question of S. Peter's sojourn there, the most interesting question for us was the relation which S. Clement bore to the two great Apostles. Was he, or was he not, an actual disciple of theirs? Have we any reason to suppose that he represents them correctly? Is he a depositary of their tradition? We hoped that M. Renan would be able to throw some light for us, one way or the other, on so vital a question. We should only have been a little disappointed had M. Renan said that S. Clement was so completely 'perdu dans la poussière lumineuse d'un beau lointain historique' that the question was now incapable of solution. But when we heard M. Renan first admit that the great Bishop had at an early period been in relation with the Apostles, and especially with Peter, and then soon after state that he had probably seen neither Peter nor Paul, we felt that M. Renan was playing with us, and that, whatever

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else he might do for us, we must ask for a little more sense of responsibility, and a little more evidence of formed opinion —the *pensée arrêtée* which M. Renan so constantly denounces— before we could trust him as a guide to the early history of the Church.

Any one who should read through the agglutination of pages from former books which form the volume of the *Hibbert Lectures*, and should try to mark with a pencil all the sentences which contain something erroneous, would soon find that it was easier to change his method, and to mark instead what he could accept. Nothing would adequately exhibit what we mean but a fully annotated edition of the volume. It would be hopeless to criticize the mistakes of the book in detail within the compass of an article. We take at random a few of those which we have marked. A whole fabric, for instance, is built up (on pp. 53, 54) out of the *Taberna Meritoria* near the Janiculum. M. Renan delights to call our attention to the low origin of Christianity in Rome, and will not be content without making us feel the whole infamy connected by implication with this unfortunate abode. 'We feel that we have here the birthplace of an old popular tradition of Christianity.' One of the main steps in the argument is to identify this vile house with the 'public place' which figures in the well-known story of Alexander Severus. That story, as told by Lampridius, says no more than this:— 'Cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra *popinarii* dicerent sibi eum deberi, rescripsit melius esse ut quemammodumcumque illic deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur.' M. Renan simply *assumes* that it was the same place. The house of resort had become a church, he says. Now there is not a shadow of evidence that the *publicus locus* was ever a lodging-house, or anything of the kind—or, indeed, that it ever had a building on it: nothing to show that it was anywhere near the *Taberna Meritoria*. Nay more; there is nothing whatsoever to show that it was even at *Rome*, and the use of the word *rescripsit* is rather in favour of the view that it was somewhere else. The one touch of resemblance is that this *publicus locus* was contested by persons who are called 'the innkeepers.' At first we thought the translator might be to blame; but on turning to *Saint Paul*, p. 108 (nine pages are here transferred bodily from the one volume to the other), we find '*les aubergistes*.' The definite article can only, we suppose, be intended to mean the proprietors of this particular *Taberna*. But *popinarii* means 'pastrycooks' or 'victuallers,' and there is no

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more reason to suppose that a *popina* was necessarily connected with an *auberge* than a *café-restaurant* in modern France. The last link of connexion, therefore, disappears, and with it M. Renan's pretty little legend. Gospels, Pastoral Epistles, Apostolic Fathers, everything which is against M. Renan's theories, must give way, no matter how strong the evidence for them; and history is to be woven for the future out of such autumn gossamer as this of the *Taberna Meritoria.*

Two pages later (p. 56) we have another sample of this curious method of dealing with facts. M. Renan has a magniloquent passage, in which he demands that justice should be done to the memory of Aquila and Priscilla. Why he calls them '*Syrian* Jews' (p. 55) we do not know; for on the following page he acknowledges them to be Jews of Pontus. The discrepancy comes, no doubt, from too mechanically chopping up the *Saint Paul* to make the *Hibbert Lectures;* for the place where they are called Syrian Jews comes from *Saint Paul,* p. 98, and that where their Pontine origin is recognized comes from *Saint Paul,* p. 111. But although, in *Saint Paul,* 'les fondateurs de cette première église de Rome sont inconnus,' Aquila and Priscilla are, both there and in our lectures, pronounced definitely to be its founders. M. Renan does not anywhere define what he means by 'founding' a Church: which is to our minds quite distinct from first preaching the Gospel there. But whatever 'founding' may mean, to 'these two obscure artisans' belongs an honour which 'legend, always unjust,' has assigned to S. Peter. It is they who are the 'ancestors of Roman prelates' (why 'prelates' in particular? we would ask). Apparently, even our Blessed Lord has less right to be remembered at Rome than Aquila and Priscilla; for 'in place of those proud basilicas with their insolent motto, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat,* she (Rome) would do well to build a humble chapel in memory of the two good Jews who first uttered upon her quays the name of Jesus.' Now how does the writer know this last fact so well? Rom. xvi. 3 at first sight seems to teach that Priscilla and Aquila lived at Rome after their conversion to the Faith. But M. Renan, whether rightly or wrongly, thinks that that whole chapter belongs to the *Ephesian* copy of the Epistle to the Romans, and that Aquila and his wife were then living at Ephesus, and not at Rome. There is not, then, a word of proof that they ever went back to Rome after their meeting with S. Paul, recorded in Acts xviii. 2. Nor have we the slightest proof that they were Christian disciples

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when they came to Corinth. They are not called so. Aquila is simply 'a certain Jew.' S. Paul's attraction to him was, apparently, first his Jewish birth, next his recent arrival from Rome under circumstances of much interest to the Apostle, and finally his trade. All M. Renan's fine passage is built up upon the assumption that Claudius' decree of Acts xviii. rose from the disturbances mentioned by Suetonius, that the Chrestus of Suetonius is the same as Christ, that S. Luke is wrong when he says expressly that '*all* the Jews' were expelled from Rome, that probably *only* the Christian Jews were expelled (how unlikely a theory, that the Christians should have been the aggressive party!), and that, therefore, Aquila and Priscilla must have been Christians before they left Rome! But even then, how can we tell that they were the leading spirits among the Christians there, or that they 'first uttered upon her quays the name of Jesus?' M. Renan's peroration would have ended with *one* assumption less had he left it, as in the *Saint Paul*, 'deux bons juifs du Pont qui furent chassés par la police de Claude pour avoir été du parti de Chrestus.'

M. Renan's want of serious attention to even the external facts of Church history, comes out as much in the *Hibbert Lectures* as in the *Marc-Aurèle*. We note, for instance, a paragraph beginning half-way down the 197th page, one of the few new pages in the book, in which he quietly assumes several facts which are certainly capable of being gainsaid. S. Helen 'had been a servant-maid in an inn at Nicomedia,' and 'held up before his (Constantine's) eyes the image of an Eastern empire with its centre about Nicæa or Nicomedia.' Some slight expression of doubt might have been permitted with regard to S. Helen's condition, for M. Renan must have known that all authors are not agreed upon that point; but surely, it did not need Helen's influence to infuse into her son a notion which had been so familiar to him since his childhood, as that of a change of capital. In the same paragraph, M. Renan says:—

'The struggle became one of life and death (between the Church and the Empire) when those great reformers, Diocletian and Maximian, animated by the ancient spirit, imagined that they could give a fresh life to the Roman Empire, while still keeping within the narrow round of Roman ideas.'

But in what sense was Diocletian a reformer? Precisely in the same direction as Constantine himself. It was from him, and not from Helen, that the first Christian emperor

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drew his revolutionary notions. Constantine from earliest boyhood had been brought up in the palace of Diocletian at Nicomedia. For him, ever since he could remember, the centre of authority had been on the shores of Propontis and its straits. Diocletian had reduced Rome to the condition of a town in the dominion of Milan. He had swept away the encumbrances of old Roman form and etiquette. He had assumed the Persian decoration of the diadem. His Cæsar, Galerius, had seen the drift of affairs, when he said satirically, that the empire ought no longer to be called the empire of Rome, but the empire of Dacia. And in the matter of religion, Diocletian's wife, his daughter, his confidential servants, were all Christians. He himself was described by the contemporary Bishop of Alexandria as a man 'not yet Christian.' It was not then from any retrogressive intention (although he took Marcus Aurelius for his model and tutelary) that Diocletian persecuted the Christians. He had burst for ever from 'the narrow round of Roman ideas,' and hoped to 'give a fresh life to the Roman empire' by means the exact opposite of what M. Renan indicates, and was fast moving towards the step which was to make 'the shade of Melito thrill with joy' when taken by his favourite pupil, Constantine. And it was indeed not such a tremendous step after all. M. Renan says that in the East the policy 'was not only natural, but compelled by circumstance;' but 'from the point of view of the West,' he says, 'we are astonished, for there the Christians were as yet only a weak minority.' Even this statement is only partially true. Christianity was certainly not so strong in the West as in the East, but state paganism was also weaker; and even in Rome itself, the head-quarters of Western paganism, we learn from Eusebius that the usurper, Maxentius, for a time pretended to be a Christian, in order to gain favour with the populace.[1]

But instead of proceeding further with these questions of detail, we will confine our attention to what seems to us to be the great fault in M. Renan's general theory of early Christian history. It is this. He ascribes to the mere accident of Christianity's reaching Rome, and taking root there, that which the Catholic Church asserts to be inherent in her very nature, and due to the creative will of her Divine Founder. It is of course part of M. Renan's system, and perhaps we might say, his main object, to lower our conception of our Blessed Lord. But M. Renan overreaches himself; he goes too far. Even supposing that we should for a moment abandon the belief in our Lord's Divinity, we should feel that His

[1] Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VIII. xiv. 1.

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French critic had not done justice even to His human capacity and forethought. If the genius of Rome had not come to the rescue, the work of Jesus would have perished. Such is M. Renan's theme.

'To begin at the beginning, it is doubtful whether the idea of the Church, as it was developed at a later time, ever existed in the mind of the Founder of Christianity. The word *ecclesia* occurs only in the gospel of Matthew. What, at all events, is quite certain is, that the idea of the *episcopos* in the form which it took in the second century was no part of the thought of Jesus. It is himself who, during his brief Galilean apparition, is the living *episcopos:* afterwards the Spirit will inspire each individual soul until the Master's return. Even if any idea of an *ecclesia* and an *episcopos* can be ascribed to Jesus, it is absolutely indubitable that he never dreamed of the future *episcopos* of the city of Rome, that impious city, that centre of all the earth's impurity, of whose existence he was possibly hardly aware, and which he must have looked upon in the same sombre light as did all the Jews' (p. 63).

Again:—

'At first sight the work of Jesus did not seem likely to survive; it was a chaos . . . After liberty must come order. The work of Jesus may be considered as safe from the day on which it was admitted that the Church had a power of its own, a power representing that of Jesus . . . A concentration of powers became at once necessary when these Churches grew to be tolerably numerous; the relations between these little pious societies were possible only so long as they had acknowledged representatives entitled to act for them. It is besides indisputable that, without the episcopate, Churches brought into union for a moment by the recollection of Jesus would soon have been scattered.'[1]

We will not speak of the ridiculous exaggeration about our Lord's possible ignorance of the very existence of the city, whose soldiers governed Him, and to whose tax-gatherers He paid tribute. But it is a most unnatural supposition that any one should have possessed the marvellous power of originating such a religion as His, and never to have thought of the means of propagating or establishing it. A French *littérateur* can look back and see how absolutely necessary a hierarchy was to the continuance of Christianity; but he will not allow Christ Himself to have been able to foresee so much! Of course, when we begin to argue from the words ascribed to our Lord in the Gospels, we are liable to be told that they are legendary. Everything is legendary which does not square with preconceived theories. But even M. Renan will

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 156, 157, 158.

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hardly deny that Jesus, even if He never said a word about the *ecclesia*,[1] yet spoke frequently and strongly about the 'kingdom of God' and the 'kingdom of Heaven.' The entire doctrine of the Church, hierarchy and all, is contained in the recorded sayings of Christ about this 'kingdom,' and even in the thought of a 'kingdom' at all. And M. Renan will hardly deny that Jesus had thought of His kingdom as obtaining a very wide extension. Even if he forbids us to quote *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, because it is 'only found in Matthew,' he will hardly deny that in substance it represents a true fact, and that Jesus meant His doctrine to become universal. How then was it to become so? It could not become so in a day. Our Lord must have been a strange founder, if He did not pay some attention to these practical questions, but left them all to be solved by the genius of Rome.

Rome herself, however, in her earliest utterance, bears distinct witness to the fact that her hierarchical system, and the order which she loves, are derived from Jesus Christ. It was needless for M. Renan to give us his first *Hibbert Lecture* to show that Christianity was not the work of Rome herself. She confesses it by the lips of S. Clement. Everything points to the conclusion that that Saint was himself in close connexion with both S. Peter and S. Paul. Like his contemporary, S. Luke, in speaking of S. Barnabas, he ventures to use a word to describe them, which none could have used but those who knew them; to him they are 'the *good* Apostles.' S. Peter and S. Paul belong in an especial manner to the Churches of Rome and Corinth; he calls them '*our* Apostles.' At the last resort, even if he was personally unacquainted with those two great founders, he was, at least, in the full current of their tradition. S. Luke (according to M. Renan) was living at his side. The greatest, and at the same time the most independent of S. Paul's disciples, the unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to M. Renan written to the Christian Jews of Rome by S. Barnabas, supplies him with the base of his teaching. The two bearers of his letter (as the Bishop of Durham has pointed out)[2] must of necessity, by reason of their age and their long membership in the Roman Church, have been familiar with the presence of both Apostles in the Church which they founded. S. Clement's letter itself is written in the name of his Church

[1] Elsewhere M. Renan confidently appeals to S. Matt. xviii. 17–20 as evidence of the feeling of our Lord about His community. See pp. 152, 161.

[2] *S. Clement of Rome*, appendix, p. 255.

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collectively. Not a doubt but that all read it and approved of its contents. Had S. Clement himself, through not knowing the founders of the Roman Church, misinterpreted their teaching, there were perhaps a hundred confessors who had lived through the persecution of Nero to set him right. What then is his teaching about the hierarchical system which he enforces? Does he plead for it from the nature of the case alone; urge its utility, its reasonableness, its necessity? Yes, all this; but something more:

'The Spirit of the Lord,' he writes, 'is a lamp searching the closets of the belly. Let us see how close He is, and that there is nothing hidden from Him of our "intents," nor of the reasonings which we make. It is, therefore, right that we should not be *deserters from His will;* let us rather give offence to foolish and senseless men, that are puffed up and "rejoice in the boasting" of their own word, than to God. *Let us respect the Lord Jesus Christ*, whose Blood was given for us; let us reverence our prelates; let us honour our presbyters,' &c.[1]

Here we have already the metaphor of the army, backed by references to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of S. James, and the duty of observing discipline is enforced as a thing particularly dear to the heart of our Lord. Reverence for prelates, and honour to the presbyters, is a part of the 'respect' (or 'obedience'—*ἐντραπῶμεν*) due to Him. Who can doubt that S. Clement has before Him some definite commandments delivered by tradition through the Apostles?

Take another passage:—

'Let us then enlist ourselves, men and brethren, with all earnestness *in* [*i.e.* in the direction of] *His faultless ordinances.* Let us mark the soldiers that are enlisted under our rulers, how exactly, how readily, how submissively, they execute the orders given to them. All are not prefects, nor tribunes, nor centurions, nor commanders of half a century, and so forth; but each one in his own rank executes the orders laid upon him by the emperor and the commanders . . . Senseless and stupid and foolish and uninstructed people jeer and mock at us, wanting to be themselves exalted in their own minds . . . Seeing then that these things are plain, and that we have plunged our eyes into the deeps of the Divine knowledge, we ought to do in order all things *that the Master ordered us to execute*, according to the seasons fixed.'[2]

And then follows the famous comparison of the Old Testament services with those of the New, where high priest, priest,

[1] S. Clem. *Ep.* § 21. There seems to be no gain in taking *πρεσβυτέρους* here, with Bishop Lightfoot, to mean 'old men,' for *πρεσβύτεροι* are but *one class* of the *προηγουμένοι*.

[2] *Ep.* § 37, 39, 40.

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levite and layman, all have their appointed functions to perform. The title ὁ δεσπότης appears, indeed, to mean universally in S. Clement not the Son but the Father; but still it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that this application of the Levitical to the Christian system is traced up to our Lord Himself through the Apostles.[1]

If, however, any doubt still remained, it would disappear when we turn to the 42nd and 44th chapters of the Epistle:

'The Apostles received for us the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus the Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles from Christ. Both then appeared in due order out of the will of God. *Having, therefore, received orders* . . . they went forth with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God, that it was to come. As, therefore, they proclaimed, through town and country, they went on establishing the first-fruits of them, having proved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of the believers to be . . . *And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ* that there would be strife concerning the dignity of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received perfect foreknowledge, they established the persons before-named, and since that time they have given (or, perhaps, "gave") an additional ——, to secure that, when they fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministerial office.'

What it was that the Apostles had given in addition, since the time when they went about appointing only 'bishops' (*i.e.* presbyters) and deacons, through town and country, it is unfortunately almost impossible to decide. We cannot think Bishop Lightfoot's suggestion of ἐπιμονήν very happy, for it would imply (like the Syriac version which seems to have read ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ) that at first the office of these 'bishops and deacons' had not been a permanent one. The Constantinople MS. gives ἐπιδομήν—an unknown word, which, if it meant anything, would mean an additional storey to the building. The simplest correction is that proposed by Professor Hort and others (if indeed ἐπινομήν, the reading of the old MS., may not have the same sense), viz. ἐπίνομιν, which would mean an additional law. But this at least is clear, that S. Clement held, direct from the Apostles, that it was at the commandment of Jesus Christ (Himself sent forth from the Father) that they at first established everywhere, wherever they preached, by the Holy Ghost, a hierarchy consisting of two orders; and that, later

[1] We cannot quite think that the last word has been yet said about the correspondence between the high priest in this passage and the Christian bishop.

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on, a thing occurred of which Christ Himself had distinctly forewarned them: the ministry became a matter of strife; and in consequence, not as an afterthought, but acting upon the orders of Christ long ago received, they took some important additional step, in order to secure the permanent succession of the ministry after the decease of either themselves or the first ministers ordained by them.

The Gospels do not tell us on what occasion our Lord gave these instructions to His Apostles; though S. Luke (in Acts i. 2, 3) speaks of injunctions given by Him, and colloquies upon the government of the Kingdom of God, during the forty days after the Resurrection. We have, therefore, in S. Clement, the priceless treasure of an independent and most authentic stream of tradition. M. Renan acknowledges that what he calls 'the true miracle of nascent Christianity,' namely, the evolving of 'order, hierarchy, and authority,' was due to 'the Spirit of Jesus, strongly engrafted into his disciples';[1] and we should be perfectly satisfied, if need were, with this account of the matter. The acts of the Church were the acts of Jesus. Yet we may well thank God for providing us with so clear a record of the injunctions of the still visible Jesus with regard to the constitution of His Church.

The hierarchical idea, then, in the Catholic Church is due not to the genius of Rome, but to Jesus Christ Himself. Such is the witness of the Roman Church a few years after the deaths of her Apostolic founders. But M. Renan has not only erred in deeming Christ incapable of providing for His Church's corporate life. He has treated the Church's history as if it were all along a series of lucky accidents. On pp. 18, 19, he has given an excellent picture of the *præparatio evangelica*—the work done by nature, by Macedonia, and by Rome, in putting the world in fit order to receive the Gospel. How strange that, seeing it so clearly, he should be unable to recognize a Divine Providence at work, summing up the fulness of time for a supreme revelation! The same blindness is to be observed in all his remarks upon the influence of Christian Rome upon the Church. Every race, every great city, indeed every individual member of the Church, has had some effect upon the faith and action of the whole; but so much the more we find reason for adoring our Divine Master, 'that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God.' Rome and England, and Alexandria and

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 159.

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Jerusalem, and India and China in the days to come, all contribute to swell the praise of Christ, who designed the gifts they have to bring. The influence of Rome was prodigious. She was the seat of empire; and, after the fall of Jerusalem, this alone would have riveted all eyes upon her. She was far the largest city, port, and market of the world. Her Church was the wealthiest in existence. No other disputed what S. Ignatius called her 'primacy of charity.' She had the prestige of having the two greatest Apostles for her co-founders. Both of them had died and were buried there. She had borne the first great bloody persecution alone, or almost alone. Hardly a distinguished Christian who had not either lived there, or at least paid a visit. This marvellous concentration of advantages naturally gave her an immense power. It was impossible not to receive with extreme deference whatever proceeded from such a Church. But all this, too, was part of the scheme of God. It was no accident that Rome was what she was. She too had been prepared, that she might communicate to the world her gifts of organization and of breadth.

And yet the Hibbert Lecturer has exaggerated her influence.

The Tübingen theory of the relations of S. Peter and S. Paul has recently been well, though not exhaustively, discussed in the July number of the *Quarterly Review*. That there was a fundamental difference between S. Paul's way of looking at things and that of the Jewish Christians generally cannot, we think, be gainsaid. At worst, however, it never went so far that 'the Church of Jerusalem refused all communion to the uncircumcised' (p. 61). Against this we have not only the history of S. Luke, but the assurance of S. Paul, in an undoubted Epistle (Gal. ii. 9), where the recognition of S. Paul by S. James includes of course the recognition of his Gentile converts. But S. Peter was certainly less rigidly Judaic than S. James. This M. Renan himself used to allow.[1] In one of his works he tells us that the relations of Peter and Paul, while they were together in Rome before their martyrdom, were 'tolerably good;' that Mark's journey to Asia under Peter's orders and with the recommendations of Paul was the sign of the reconciliation of the two; that indeed the only difficulty in the way of supposing them *quite* at one is the excessive hatred of S. Paul displayed in the Apocalypse.[2] It is strange then that in the Hibbert Lectures (in a passage extracted from

[1] *S. Paul*, p. 291; *L'Antéchrist*, p. 9.
[2] *L'Antéchrist*, pp. 32, 34, 74, 111.

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Les Evangiles, p. 441) he should inform us that 'all that we certainly know is, that the (posthumous) reconciliation was the work of Rome.'[1] The foremost Romans in this work were S. Luke and S. Clement. Few will be convinced, we hope, that S. Luke's account of the miraculous draught of fishes, where *S. John's* boat is called in to help S. Peter's, is inexplicable except by the hypothesis that it was written to heal the feud between a *Pauline* and a Petrine party! Doubtless one clear aim of S. Luke in the Acts is to show the unanimity of the great Apostles, and doubtless S. Clement's Epistle exhibits a careful balancing of the Pauline doctrines with those of the more Judaic school. S. Clement has always been regarded as the type of a good Catholic, fusing opposite tendencies in a devout and capacious mind.[2] He was a true representative of his Church's spirit in old days. But it did not need the genius of Rome to effect this reconciliation. Nowadays no attentive Christian has any difficulty in catching the underlying agreement—even between the Epistle of S. James himself and those of S. Paul to the Romans and Galatians. M. Renan himself is 'glad to believe' that the First Epistle of S. Peter is genuine,[3] and admits its Pauline character (p. 113). Why, then, need we suppose that any reconciliation was ever wanted. S. Ignatius of Antioch, in the one Epistle which M. Renan accepts as genuine, betrays no conception of any difference between the Apostles. 'Not,' he writes to the Roman Church from Smyrna, 'Not like Peter and Paul do I command you. They were Apostles, I a condemned criminal; they free, I till this present a bondman.' Antioch, too, claimed both Peter and Paul for her founders; and we might just as well ascribe the reconciliation of the two to the city where they quarrelled, as to Rome.[4]

The fact is, that living under the shadow of the modern Papacy, M. Renan has no power to see over, under, or round it. Of the religion of the country in which he was lecturing he betrays absolute ignorance, or he could never (being a

[1] M. Renan says on p. 137 (the passage comes out of *L'Eglise Chr.* p. 332 *foll.*), 'Even so late as the fifth century, Paul still had implacable enemies in the Nazarenes, and in the same way he had fanatical disciples like Marcion.' The sentence is very misleading. It must not for a moment be supposed that Marcion was a *survival* of a Pauline school. He was the heir of no tradition: a mere inventor on his own account.

[2] Westcott *on the Canon*, p. 22 *foll.*

[3] *L'Antéchrist*, p. 121.

[4] It did not need a very long sojourn for an Apostle to found a Church, *i.e.* to put it on a permanent footing. S. Paul did so in a very few weeks at Thessalonica.

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Frenchman) have had the rudeness to say such things as that 'Romanism and Christianity are almost synonymous terms' (p. 16), or to assume that his audience are all 'Protestants,' in the sense of being out of sympathy with Catholic feeling. As for the Eastern Church, he does, indeed, at the beginning, speak of the noble task lying before the man who is to trace the influence of Greece upon the development of the Catholic Church. But he immediately proceeds to absorb everything for Rome. 'It is only,' he says, 'in the earlier part of the third century that the Greek mind, in the persons of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen really laid hold of Christianity' (p. 9). To us this seems a most extraordinary statement to have hazarded. Are we to surrender Justin to the Roman Church, because, late in life, he went to live and to be put to death there? Did Pantænus of Alexandria forfeit his nationality by leaving the Catechetical School to go and preach to the Indians? Dionysius, of Corinth, was, no doubt, a mere letter-writer; and besides, Corinth was not a truly Greek city. But, if Athens be not Greek, what is? It was at 'the eye of Greece' that Quadratus and Aristides lived, who presented their apologies for the faith to the Emperor Hadrian, the latter famous for its skilful handling of ancient Greek philosophy. It was there, in all probability, that Athenagoras wrote. Theophilus, perhaps, is to be called a Syrian. Papias and Polycrates were perhaps too silly to form part of the 'Greek mind.' But their voluminous contemporary, Claudius Apollinaris? and the great Irenæus? Certainly the latter threw himself into the work and tradition of the Western Church: but to the end he was a Greek above all things. And yet, no doubt, we are to ascribe all these to the Church of Rome, perhaps on the score that 'Romanism and Christianity' are synonymous; for a name which was quite as great and quite as Greek as these—the name of him whom M. Renan calls the greatest doctor of the age of Marcus Aurelius—is made in these lectures to serve the purpose of proving that the Church of Rome loved and upheld the Empire. For this strange purpose M. Renan quotes two or three pages of Melito, Bishop of Sardis.[1]

[1] Upon this point of loyalty to the Empire, by-the-by, there is a droll statement. 'It must be confessed that there were in other parts of the Empire fanatics who fully shared the anger of the Jews, and dreamed of the destruction of the idolatrous city, which they identified with Babylon. Such were the authors of Apocalypses and Sibylline verses. But the faithful of the great Churches entertained very different sentiments.' Was then S. John not one of the faithful of a great Church? M. Renan accepts his Apocalypse for genuine. Strangely enough, however, in the same Epistle of S. Peter, which M. Renan has just quoted to prove the

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It was well indeed for the cause of Christian truth, that the Greek mind did lay firm hold upon the faith, for there was little help to be obtained at Rome for any difficult doctrinal question. We can hardly feel with M. Renan, that 'the centre of a future Catholic orthodoxy was plainly' at Rome. Indeed, M. Renan himself congratulates S. Peter somewhere upon having remained to the end of his days a very poor theologian; and the mantle descended, he thinks, to the Bishops of Rome. They 'shewed a rare ability,' he says, 'in avoiding theological questions.' It must be owned that doctrine was never the strong point of the chair of Peter. Even of S. Clement, though his language sometimes (if the reading be correct) approaches the half patripassionism of his day, the keen Photius declared that he did not use sufficiently exalted words in speaking of our Lord. Not much more than a hundred years will elapse after Clement before two Pontiffs who succeed him will die heretics under the ban of Hippolytus. Artemon will allege (falsely no doubt, but M. Renan accepts his authority and thinks him hardly used [1]) that the whole tradition of the Roman Church, until the time of Victor, was of his way of thinking. It was not without some difficulty that Hyginus and Pius recognized the unsoundness even of such false teachers as Marcion and Valentinus. Whatever else we owe to Rome, it is not doctrinal accuracy, or the championship of uncorrupt truth. Our creeds are the work of Greece. M. Renan astonishes us when he writes: 'Thanks to the Church of Rome, the religion of Jesus thus acquired a certain solidity and consistency. The great danger of Gnosticism, which threatened to divide Christendom into innumerable sects, was averted. The phrase "Catholic Church" breaks upon us from all sides at once.' Why, that very name 'Catholic' (properly applied to doctrine, not to discipline) tells a tale. Where did it 'break upon us' from? Not from Rome, at any rate. We find it first in S. Ignatius' Epistle to Smyrna, next in the Martyrdom of Polycarp; not till late in the second century is it found in a Roman writing—the fragment on the Canon of Scripture. The name does not occur in Western creeds until the sixth or seventh century, though it had long found place in almost all the creeds of the East.[2] Clearly, in the *theory* of the Church, Rome was behind Asia.

loyalty of the Christians at large, Rome is called by this very name of Babylon, and M. Renan acknowledges the fact. It makes the head swim, if S. Peter, living at Rome, was not one of the faithful of a great Church.

[1] *Hibb. Lect.* p. 173; cf. p. 58.

[2] See the remarks of Westcott, *Canon*, p. 28, 29. M. Renan has the

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This leads us on directly to a further question. Was Rome ahead of other places even in her acknowledged forte, her ecclesiastical organization? Now, it is well known that, according to most writers, she had not clearly arrived at the establishment of all three Orders at the time when S. Clement wrote; nor had the Church of Corinth, to which the letter was addressed. M. Renan himself is of this opinion. 'In the Epistle of Clement of Rome,' he writes, 'it is not the episcopate, but the presbyteral body, which is in question. We find no trace as yet of a *presbyteros* superior to and about to dethrone the rest. But the author loudly proclaims that the presbyters, the clergy, are anterior to the people.' And this state of things is supposed by some to have continued to the time of S. Ignatius' martyrdom. If it be so, then Rome was actually *behind* the age. The matter will be worth a few words of discussion.

It is certainly a noteworthy fact, explain it as we may, that S. Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans is the only one of his received Epistles in which he does not enforce submission to the episcopate. It is, of course, possible to account for this reticence in more ways than one. The simplest and most natural is that the letter (unlike the rest) is entirely personal. He has no instructions or exhortations to give them *of any kind*, except with reference to his own martyrdom, of which he begs them not to cheat him. Hoping so soon to see them, he would not be likely to write down for them any advice on principles of polity, even if he felt that they needed it. But the idea might conceivably be entertained, on the other hand, that in this one case S. Ignatius omits his usual injunctions, because, in this one case, they were not needed. The obedience of the Romans to their Bishop (at that date Alexander, the second from Clement) might have been so perfect as to call for no words. 'Peter and Paul' are mentioned in the letter in such a way as to convey the impression that they (at least, in the writer's belief) had given authoritative teaching to the Roman Church. Amongst the rest of their teaching we can hardly doubt, from Clement's Epistle, that the hierarchy had had a prominent place. Ignatius may have known this, and therefore said no more. This theory is at least as likely as the usual theory that he

audacity to cite the fragment of Muratori, as an authoritative attempt to define the Canon of Scripture, by which Rome set herself above history, and began to exhibit the spirit which proclaimed the dogma of 1870! Strange that Melito in that case should have gone to the *East* for the settlement of such questions. (Westcott, *Canon*, p. 218.)

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purposely kept silence, because he knew that the Roman Church was still but presbyterian, and because he respected their freedom. It has hardly been sufficiently noticed that S. Ignatius speaks of episcopacy as a thing perfectly *familiar*, at any rate, to the Church of Rome. 'Form,' he writes, 'a choir in charity, and sing to the Father in Christ Jesus, because God deemed the Bishop of Syria (*τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας*) worthy to be found in the West.' And again, 'Remember in your prayer the Church in Syria, which now has God for her Shepherd in my stead. Jesus Christ alone will be their Bishop (*ἐπισκοπήσει αὐτῶν*), and your charity. But I am ashamed to be spoken of as one of them; for I am not worthy, being the last of them, and "one born out of due time" (*ἔκτρωμα*).' No one can doubt that the idea of Church government now universal among Catholics is here, and that the Roman Church is supposed heartily to appreciate it. When the Saint speaks of himself as '*the* *ἐπίσκοπος* of Syria,' and says that the Syrian Church was now left to an invisible Bishop, he assumes, undoubtedly, that the Roman Christians recognize a difference between the first and second orders of the ministry, and that the title of *ἐπίσκοπος* (when strongly put, at least) will convey to them the notion of the *first* order. Otherwise, supposing the Romans ignorant of such a distinction, he would give them the impression that Syria was left not only without a supreme head, but without any presbyters at all. So, even if the Romans were still (or ever) presbyterian, at least Ignatius is ignorant of the fact.[1] Episcopacy is, for him, the only thing that can be imagined.

From our remarks above—upon the way in which S. Clement traces back the hierarchical idea to our Lord—it may be gathered that we ourselves are inclined to think that the three orders were recognized at Rome, even in the days of S. Clement. We have seen how he teaches that the Apostles, after first appointing 'bishops and deacons,' afterwards took a *further* step, to ensure the orderly succession of ministers. We have seen him compare the Jewish hierarchy with the Christian in a way which makes it distinctly unnatural, and almost irreverent, to make the correlative of the High Priest to be our Lord. Twice over, in the first and the twenty-first chapters, he sets the name *ἡγούμενοι*, or *προηγούμενοι*, over against that of *πρεσβύτεροι*, where (in spite of Bishop Lightfoot's opinion) we feel it more natural to under-

[1] M. Renan does not recognize the Epistle to the Ephesians; but there S. Ignatius assumes the universality of episcopacy: § 3, *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες, ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ εἰσίν.*

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stand the latter name as 'presbyter,' and not merely the 'old man.' The difficulty of the contrast with the succeeding *νέοι* disappears if we recollect that as a rule the presbyters *were* older men. Such as it is, this difficulty occurs, and is similarly explained, in the First Epistle of S. Peter (ch. v. 1–5), written from Rome, where no one doubts that *πρεσβύτερος* means an elder, who is so both by office and by years. The *ἡγούμενοι*, then, or 'rulers,' are a class who may perhaps be said to *include* the presbyters, but are at any rate not identical with them; and from the fact that they are in both cases mentioned *before* the presbyters, it looks as though they included the presbyters and *something higher:* just as, if the order had been 'presbyters and rulers,' we should have concluded that the presbyters ruled in conjunction with some lower grade. It may be objected, perhaps, that if the *ἡγούμενοι* were a class above the presbyters, or composed of presbyters with their superiors, we might expect some mention of the deacons. But a study of the context in both cases will show that the functions of the deacons were too limited and special—their numbers also were probably too small—to call for mention in such passages. And on any showing, and at any period of the Church's history, the gap between the priesthood and the diaconate is far wider than that between the priesthood and the episcopate. This thought may perhaps, in part, explain why S. Clement does not reproach the Church of Corinth for rebellion against its *Bishop*. There is little reason to doubt that it had, in the time of Clement, some chief, who was to it whatever Clement was at Rome. Some fifty or sixty years later Hegesippus visited that Church, and was well satisfied with the due succession of Primus, the Bishop. The supposition that the office was vacant at the outbreak of rebellion is quite uncalled for. There was no need to mention the chief, if chief there was, in a letter from Church to Church, and not from Bishop to Bishop. It was against government altogether that the Corinthians had rebelled. Individual presbyters had been deposed. It was natural, therefore, that the need of discipline in general should be enforced, and the authority of the presbyters upheld. To strengthen the presbyters was to strengthen the throne of the bishop too. Had much mention been made of the authority of the bishop, we should have seen that the insurrection was chiefly directed against *him*, and that probably ambitious presbyters had had a hand in it; but in this case it was the revolt of the laity against the priesthood altogether, conjoined with lay intrusion (it would seem) into priestly functions

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(ch. xl., xli.). Clement therefore, writing in the name of his Church, speaks only upon the general principles. It is little to be wondered at, if he is willing to class himself, and perhaps a Corinthian bishop too, among ἡγούμενοι, or even πρεσβύτεροι, when S. Peter had himself done the like. There is, however, just some ground for hazarding a conjecture that ἡγούμενοι itself was a half-technical expression (like our word 'prelates'), signifying as a rule the highest order of the ministry, though capable of including prominent members of the second. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, written a few years before S. Clement's Epistle, to Christians at Rome (as seems most probable) by one who was himself familiar with Rome, we find the words, 'Remember your rulers (ἡγουμένους), who spoke to you the Word of God: reflect upon the issue of their "conversation," and imitate their faith.' It is difficult not to see in this a reference to the martyrdoms of the two great Apostles. And then follows 'Obey your rulers (ἡγουμένοις) and yield.' Some Linus or Anencletus was occupying the chair which the Apostles had bequeathed to him. The same word occurs in a passage penned (if the Muratorian fragment is right) by the brother of Pius of Rome, in whom, according to M. Renan, 'the episcopate was completely ripe,' and 'the germ of the Papacy existed in a very definite form.' Hermas issues a mild but terrible warning against any one attempting to discipline the Lord's elect while living an undisciplined life himself; and it is addressed 'to the rulers of the Church and the presidents (τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις).'[1]

This last passage, by-the-by, is referred to by M. Renan himself.[2] But his use of it is one which no more conscientious writer could have made. 'The change,' he says—from presbyterian to episcopal government—'was all but accomplished. When Hegesippus, in the second half of the second century, made his tour of Christendom, he found bishops everywhere; the only question which he raises is one of canonical succession; the living sentiment of Churches no longer exists. This revolution, however, was effected not without protest; the author of the *Shepherd*, for instance, still attempts to maintain the primitive equality of the *presbyter* against the growing authority of the bishops.' The careless reader may easily be taken in by M. Renan's frank-looking assertions. 'For instance!' We defy M. Renan to produce a single other ex-

[1] Herm. *Vis.* iii. 9.

[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 155, borrowed from *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 87 *foll.*

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ample. It seems little less than falsehood to pretend that there are dozens in reserve. If all were like the one adduced they would not go far. The *Shepherd's* protest says not a single word about the rights of the presbyters. The προηγούμενοι and πρωτοκαθεδρῖται (M. Renan will forgive us for correcting his Greek accents) are not compared with any other order of the Church, clerical nor lay; they are denounced, but only because they will not work *with one another*. 'Ye will not bring your sagacity into conference.' In fact, there is no reason, taking these words by themselves, why we should think that the writer had an episcopal form of government before his eyes at all. They would suit presbyters equally well—that is, if we assume, with M. Renan, that προηγούμενοι, ἐπίσκοποι, and πρεσβύτεροι are convertible terms.[1] Nothing can be more unsafe than our lecturer's treatment of such words. They mean what he wants them to mean. He wants the Pastoral Epistles of S. Paul to be forgeries, and, therefore, he rejects them. His reason is, because they show episcopacy in an advanced stage. But the episcopal taint shows itself, not in the powers entrusted to Timothy and Titus, where Catholics see it, but in the reverence accorded to the ἐπίσκοπος![2] 'The episcopate is a great thing indeed. The bishop is, as it were, a model of perfection proposed to his subordinates . . . Orthodox above all, attached to the true faith, the sworn enemy of error, the bishop exhorts, instructs.' To prove all this, M. Renan appeals to passages which all Christians now understand as describing the office and character of a priest.

These Pastoral Epistles were *probably* forged at Rome; and so—for no other evidence is tendered in Rome's favour—'thanks to the Church of Rome,' we are told, 'the religion of Jesus thus acquired a certain solidity and consistency.' But it acquired it at the cost of 'the living sentiment of churches.' Truly Rome played a wonderful part if she thus killed and preserved alive by one and the same stroke! We could, we believe, point M. Renan to dioceses even in England, where the true notion of the episcopate was so long obscured, which would show that the possession of a bishop had not extinguished 'the living sentiment of churches.' But it was not really Rome which accomplished this wonderful task. We have, we hope, shown reason for thinking that Rome was not *behind* the rest of the Church in the matter of inward organization. But even if our contention is right, she was assuredly not ahead. The episcopate, which M. Renan dogmatically

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 130. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 163, 164.

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states[1] 'was evidently the work of Rome,' was, we hold in common with most scholars, more demonstrably the work of Asia and the East. Antioch and Smyrna and Ephesus have, at least, as much share in its formation. But in point of fact it was not the happy idea of one city imitated by others. Pauline and Jewish Christian Churches alike, or those which M. Renan imagines to be so, had received the institution from the beginning and valued it. While Ignatius preaches it from Antioch, and Polycarp from Smyrna, and Jewish-Christian Rome is forging Pauline letters to prove it, Hegesippus, the adoring disciple of James, goes about from city to city, making it his one object to ascertain whether their episcopal succession is without a flaw. May it not be truly said that such a system as this was not Roman but Catholic, part and parcel of Apostolic Christianity?

We should like to follow M. Renan into the question of the further organization of the Church, and the gradual rise of the Primacy of Rome; but it would take us beyond our limits. M. Renan would have done well to study the few pages where the Bishop of Durham (to whom he pays a just compliment) touches upon the question in the appendix to his *S. Clement of Rome.* How untrustworthy M. Renan's facts are may be tested by any one who cares to read his cynical account of the dispute with Paul of Samosata. It abounds with misstatements. Paul's offence was, he insinuates, simply that he was a worldly prelate, disinclined to mysticism, and so 'the pietists, as might be expected, found out that he was a heretic.' A light way of dealing, this, with a heresy which lasted for more than a century, and was so utterly alien from the spirit of Christianity, that when the Council of Arles acknowledged the validity of heretical baptism, it made a solitary exception in disfavour of the disciples of Paul. Aurelian, too, is said to have given the world 'the strange sight of an unbelieving and persecuting sovereign called upon to decide who was the true bishop.' But Aurelian was, on the one hand, no persecutor, though it is said that he was meditating a persecution when he died. And, on the other hand, the Christians were now, since the edict of Gallienus, a recognized and legitimate guild. They had no longer any reason for shrinking from an appeal to a secular court. It was no more strange than an appeal of the like nature from the Jews would have been, or than one at the present day from some dissenting sect in England. And the question before Aurelian was by no means so theoretical as 'to decide which was the true bishop.' It was simply practical

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 151.

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—περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, says Eusebius—a question of property. Paul was in possession of the house belonging to the Church, and would not give it up. Was he to be allowed to retain it? And Aurelian's method was not as it is described. He did not 'have the correspondence of the two bishops brought to him; notice which was in communion with Rome and Italy, and decide that *he* was the true Bishop of Antioch.' Nothing whatever is said about either bishop appearing before the Emperor, or laying before him his correspondence. It was a contention between parties, not persons. Aurelian did not read a single letter on the subject. He simply saw that the question was one for the Christians to settle among themselves, and that the law ought (in such a case of property) to uphold the decision of the guild. He, therefore, ordered, says Eusebius, 'that the house was to be assigned to whichever side the bishops of the persuasion throughout Italy and the Roman city should signify by letter (or perhaps enjoin).' Thus Aurelian did not look into the mysteries of 'communion.' He merely appointed a court of arbitration. The court which he appointed was the most obvious possible,—the bishops of the home province, including Rome, the capital. It was no grant of a privilege to the Roman See in particular. The wording seems to imply that, for all Aurelian knew or cared, Rome might possess half a dozen bishops at a time. There is no indication that Aurelian was following out a custom previously established within the Church. He was acting out of his own head. And it is out of such hasty misinterpretations that M. Renan composes history.

Art. II.—METTERNICH.

Mémoires, Documents, et Ecrits divers laissés par le Prince de Metternich, Chancelier de Cour et d'Etat. Publiés par son fils le Prince Richard de Metternich. (Paris: Plon et Cie, 1880.)

'History is composed of two elements, which one must take care not to confound. One is that of the material facts, which are known to all the world. The other is the secret portion: this comprehends the negotiations between the different courts. It is there that one must seek for the causes of which the game, as it proceeds, produces the results. That portion which we call secret sooner or later loses

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that character. The official and confidential communications of statesmen repose for a time in the archives, but a day comes when they are drawn out from the dust.'

With this paragraph Prince Metternich opens the eighth chapter of his autobiography, that which contains his narrative of the alliances of 1813–14. And it was with the design of enlightening those who, at some future day, should undertake the task of writing a history of his time or of his own life that he drew up the autobiographical sketch which occupies the greater part of the first of the two volumes before us, and made such a selection from his correspondence and memoranda as seemed to him sufficient to give a correct idea of his own views in the transactions to which they relate, and of the character of his sovereign and friend, the Emperor Francis I.; for he warns the reader that what he thus leaves behind him is not a complete work, but only a collection of indications which may show to future historians what he desired to effect or to avoid. He did not consider it consistent with his duty to his country to insert anything which belonged to what he calls 'the secrets of the State;' while, on the other hand, he has introduced 'many facts which it was better to reveal than to leave in oblivion.'[1]

He regarded the task which he thus imposed on himself as the more necessary from the erroneous assertions which, in respect of some of the most important transactions, historians had made respecting the Emperor Francis and the views and projects of his Cabinet: assertions which not only rested on no foundation whatever, but which even represented the attitude of Austria and her allies in a light diametrically opposed to the truth (i. 186); and also because the very peculiar circumstances under which the all-important negotiations of the spring of 1814 were carried on (the Sovereigns themselves and the Ministers of several of the nations concerned conducting the majority of the conferences and deliberations in person), prevented the drawing up of those minutes and records of the preliminary discussions which would otherwise have been indispensable, and the absence of which would disable any historian from giving a thoroughly correct and trustworthy account of the various transactions, unless it were compensated by such help as Prince Metternich has thus furnished—help which no other man was equally able to afford. He left it to his family to decide on the time when such revelations should be no longer premature and unseasonable; and now, when

[1] *Avant-propos*, p. 2.

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twenty years have elapsed since the grave closed over the writer himself, and a much longer period since the death of all the other chief actors in the scenes to which they relate—of Francis, of the Czar, of the King of Prussia, of Napoleon, and of their Ministers, Nesselrode, Hardenberg, Talleyrand, as well as of our own countryman, Lord Castlereagh—his son has reasonably thought that the time has arrived when they may be given to the world without offence.

Besides the autobiography and the official documents requisite to illustrate Prince Metternich's statements, or to elucidate his views, these volumes contain careful sketches of the characters of Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander; and these potentates occupy so prominent a place in the history of these five years (the latter being in some respects the Sovereign whose actions had the greatest weight in the proceedings of the alliance of 1813–14; and the former, as we need hardly say, being the one whose relations with and conduct towards Austria are the principal subject of the whole narrative), that it will facilitate our task of forming an estimate of Metternich's policy towards them both, if we begin by examining the ideas which he formed of the abilities and moral qualities of each, as well as of the views of political or personal ambition by which each was guided.

With respect to Napoleon, he says truly that very few of his contemporaries had been brought into such direct relation with that extraordinary man as he himself. He had seen him, and studied his character in his most brilliant moments of success; he had seen him again, and scanned him with equal closeness, in the days of his declining power and fall; and in each vicissitude of fortune he formed the same estimate of him (i. 277). He regards him both as he was and as he wished to appear to the world; for so keen an observer could not be blind to the *charlatanerie* which was so strong an ingredient in his character. But his observation, penetrating as it is, is combined with such candour—without which, indeed, it could not be very valuable—that he in no degree overlooks or disparages the real greatness and wide comprehensiveness of his intellect. Some, indeed, of his endowments hardly deserve a more noble name than that of cunning; such, for instance, as the remarkable skill which Metternich imputes to him in discovering the faults and weaknesses of others and turning them to his own advantage, and in discerning the aid which the circumstances of the moment offered to his ambition, the very Revolution itself being not the least favourable of them, which 'he ended by confiscating to his

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own profit' (278). But others were of a higher class: it might be said of the very highest, had they not all been subordinated to one selfish passion, the lust of power. His critic cannot overrate his

'force of character, the activity and lucidity of his intellect, the accuracy of his judgment, which seized at once, as if by intuition, the essential point of every object, stripping it of all useless accessories, developing his own ideas, and not ceasing to elaborate them till he had rendered them thoroughly clear and convincing: always choosing the words proper to the subject, or inventing them if they did not exist, and always going straight to the question.'

His conversations therefore were always full of interest. Though he did not converse, he spoke.[1] At the same time Metternich points out that, though positive and fixed in his own notions, he was not generally overbearing in manner:—

'He listened to the remarks and objections which were addressed to him; he accepted them, debated them, or refuted them, without ever departing from the tone or line appropriate to a discussion of matters of business; and I never found the slightest difficulty in saying to him what I believed to be true, even when it was not calculated to please him'—(i. 279).

In one most important point Metternich regards him in a more favourable light than that in which he has been commonly represented:—

'He was not,' he affirms, 'irreligious in the ordinary sense of the word. He would not allow that there had ever been an atheist, and he condemned Deism as the result of rash speculation. As a Christian and a Catholic, he recognized in positive religion the sole right of governing human societies. He regarded Christianity as the foundation of all real civilization, and Catholicism as the form of worship most favourable to the maintenance of the order and tranquility of the moral world, and Protestantism as the source of troubles and disorder; and, though personally careless about religious observances, he respected them too much ever to allow himself to jest on those who practised them.'[2]

[1] Metternich's words are: 'Il ne causait pas, mais il parlait' (i. 279), and, singularly enough, in another work, published almost in the same week as this, Mme. de Rémusat, whose position as Josephine's principal lady-in-waiting gave her special opportunities of observation, employs the very same words in describing his discourse: 'C'était toujours pour moi un grand plaisir que de l'entendre causer, ou plutôt parler, car son entretien se composait le plus souvent de longs monologues.'—*Mémoires de Mme. de Rémusat*, i. 116.

[2] But Mme. de Rémusat gives a less favourable account of Napoleon's habits in this particular, saying, 'Buonaparte made use of the clergy, but did not love the priests. Against them he cherished philosophical prejudices, which owed not a little to the Revolution. I do not know whether

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At the same time, of his moral principle it is hardly possible to entertain a lower estimate than that which we find expressed in these volumes. In fact, without denying the existence of virtue and honour, he resolutely rejected the idea of these sentiments, as he called them, ever influencing the conduct of any but dreamers, and dreamers he declined ever to take into his calculations as men capable of succeeding in any of the transactions of life (i. 281). For doctrinaires, or ideologists, as he styled them, he had, as we knew before from his conversations about Necker with that Minister's grandson, a deserved contempt, and 'vowed a profound disdain for the false philosophy of the eighteenth century' (280).

Highly as Metternich estimates his ability of all kinds, he denies his claim to scientific knowledge which some of his admirers have attributed to him, declaring that though some of 'his partisans have specially devoted themselves to procuring credit for the belief that he was a profound mathematician, he in fact knew no more mathematics than is indispensable to an officer trained, as he was, for the artillery.' But 'the truth was that his natural capacity supplied the lack of such knowledge; and he became a legislator and administrator, just as he became a great captain, by his innate genius.'

If ever man was governed by one master passion exclusively, Napoleon was so by the love of power; even military glory he only valued as a means of acquiring or retaining power. And the power at which he aimed was to be attained by establishing 'a central supremacy over all the European states, on the model, which his own ideas exaggerated, of the empire of Charlemagne' (291). But this empire, which to a certain extent he did establish, in Metternich's opinion, could only co-exist with himself. 'He himself was the keystone of the arch.' The French Empire, such as it existed from 1804 to 1814, having been conceived and created by him alone, could only exist in and with him alone, and could not fail to be extinguished in his fall (292).

On the Czar's character the Prince does not expend so much labour. He begins his survey of it by quoting and adopting a view of him which Napoleon expressed, that though those 'who yielded to purely personal impressions recognized a certain charm in him,' and though he was not destitute of intellectual qualities of a high order, 'there was yet always something wanting in him,' some defect which could not but be felt, but which was not easy to define;

he was a Deist or an atheist. He was very fond in his private circle of laughing at anything that related to religion'—(ii. 369).

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Metternich's own estimate of him, if it could be expressed in a single line, being that 'he presented a singular union of *manly* qualities and *feminine* weaknesses' (p. 316). His mind, though acute, had neither depth nor ballast, but was constantly embracing new theories, to which for a time 'he clung with extreme ardour, as he had derived them from some sudden inspiration,' and by which those around him could lead him in almost any direction.

Metternich thinks those of his contemporaries mistaken who attributed to Alexander an earnest overruling 'ambition.' He had neither sufficient force of character to be 'really ambitious; nor, on the other hand, weakness enough to cause him to remain within the limits of simple vanity' (307).

The one thing in which Alexander displayed any constancy was the absolute confidence which he placed in Metternich's royal master, the Emperor Francis; a confidence which had its origin in the disasters of the campaign of 1805. It was in that year that the two Emperors first met. And, when Francis learnt the 'ambitious and chimerical' line of conduct which Alexander had marked out for himself, he warned him that it could only lead to disaster. The prediction was fatally verified in the field of Austerlitz; and its fulfilment sank into the Czar's mind, and implanted in it a conviction of Francis's sagacity and soundness of judgment from which he never afterwards swerved, though the intricate combinations of policy prevented him from always acting on it (721). In fact, it is clear that Metternich looked on Alexander as one of the ideologists whom Napoleon held in such deserved contempt.

With this opinion then of the abilities and dispositions of these two potentates, Metternich was called on by his own Sovereign to carry on with each negotiations of such importance, that the very salvation of the Austrian Empire depended on the skill with which he conducted the first; the tranquillity of all Europe on his management of the other. Though the period of which it is the special object of the volumes before us to elucidate the history is that of the years 1809–1814, he had nevertheless made the acquaintance of both the French and the Russian Emperors some years earlier. Alexander, as we have seen, he had met in the autumn of 1805; and in the spring of the following year he was appointed the Austrian Ambassador at Paris. And it is with his embassy to Paris in 1806 that he considers his 'public life' to have begun (53). Before the end of the year 'the battle of Jena marked the apogee of the power of Napoleon' (54); but, in the calm

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unimpassioned view which he takes of the situation, the political blunders which the great conqueror committed in his treatment of Prussia was the cause of his eventual downfall:—

'If, instead of desiring to annihilate Prussia, he had limited his ambition to weakening her, and to compelling her, with power thus reduced, to enter into the Confederation of the Rhine, he would have been able to give a solid and durable foundation to the immense edifice which he had now the power to raise. That is what the peace of Tilsit could not do. What do I say? That peace did, in fact, singularly contribute to overthrow the Colossus, because the conditions imposed by the conqueror were hard and exaggerated'—(54).

On the other hand, he sees in the 'accumulated faults committed in this year by Prussia the causes which eventually led to the deliverance of Europe, and to the end of the slavery with which the ambition of Napoleon had pressed her down. They encouraged him in the false idea which he had formed of the complete exhaustion of all his enemies.' That Friedland and Tilsit should have confirmed him in such a belief, one of the most dangerous that can possibly be entertained by a ruler fond of war, will surprise no one. And he showed it on his return to Paris in the autumn of 1807 in the most offensive manner, at his reception of the foreign ambassadors, dealing out to all sarcasms, affronts, and even menaces, with arrogant impartiality. In his encounter with Metternich the Prince thinks that he himself was not the one who came off worst, though, being always on the watch and on his guard, he could see clearly that the rectification of the frontier of Austria and the kingdom of Italy threatened the continuance of peace. He was not deceived. The next summer, even while he was preparing for the conference of Erfurt, Napoleon resolved on making what the ambassador calls 'a demonstration against Austria; choosing, as was his wont, the occasion of the audience which he gave to all the diplomatic corps on August 15, the day of his fête' (i. 67). Apparently he had heard that Austria was strengthening her army, and so he opened the reception, after a somewhat theatrical silence of a few minutes, by 'walking up to Metternich with a serious air, which announced premeditation, stopping when he had come within two paces of him, and saying with a loud voice, "Well, Sir Ambassador, what does the Emperor your master mean? Does he propose to make me return to Vienna?"' The ambassador 'was not disconcerted, but answered him calmly and in the same tone.' It was the beginning of a long conversation, lasting more than half an hour, which, as it 'pro-

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ceeded, assumed more and more the character of a public manifestation, deliberately intended by Napoleon. He raised his voice more and more, as he was in the habit of doing when he had the double object of intimidating the person whom he was addressing and of making an impression on the bystanders.' He boasted of the consideration which he had shown for Austria, but declared that, if war should break out again, he would burn Trieste. No one, he said, wished for war, no one in his senses; neither the Emperor Francis, nor M. de Metternich, nor the Count de Stadion, nor his own Minister, the Count de Champagny, and he himself least of all; but there was an invisible hand behind pulling the string, and that was the hand of England. Austria was ruining both herself and him, by compelling him to levy a fresh conscription. Metternich, in reply, 'did not lower his tone, but combated by irony the Emperor's vain argument.' Napoleon appealed to the Russian ambassador, Tolstoy, to support his assertions; but Tolstoy had been instructed by the Czar to take Metternich for his guide, and remained silent, and at last, after this strange scene had lasted above an hour, Napoleon, deeply offended, broke off his harangue in the middle of a sentence, and walked out of the room, while the ambassador's colleagues crowded round him to thank him for the lesson he had given to the domineering spirit of whom they all stood in dread (ii. 195).

Metternich, however, was not so blind as to imagine that irony was the weapon with which the differences between the two Emperors could be settled. He was convinced that war was inevitable. The treaty of Presburg, the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine under the protectorate of Napoleon, the overthrow of Prussia, the aggrandisement of Bavaria by the present of the Tyrol, the union of the Duchy of Warsaw with Saxony, and the alliance of France with Russia, all in Napoleon's view combined to isolate Austria, and to leave her defenceless and helpless. Metternich regards the treaty of Tilsit, however apparently cemented at Erfurt, as in reality but 'a feigned alliance;' but no suspicion of its precarious character crossed the mind of Napoleon, who conceived that the bait of a division of the Ottoman Empire, in which Constantinople should fall to the share of Alexander, and which he had held out to him both at Tilsit and Erfurt, would suffice to ensure the steadiness of that Sovereign's adhesion to his pledges, and even his acquiescence in any further conditions which it might suit him to impose.

War, then, being inevitable, Metternich applied himself to

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estimating the chances of success for his own Sovereign, and in the last month of 1808 drew up two memorials on the subject, in which he dissects with extreme keenness, and, if with some bitterness of denunciation, certainly with not more than was warranted by facts, the character and measures of Napoleon as wholly different from those of other rulers. He pointed out the longsightedness of his views, always preparing a field for future activity, while the public fancied him sufficiently occupied with what he had in hand.

'It was while warring on the Danube in 1805 that he was preparing for his campaign of 1806 against Prussia. Before he had finished conquering Prussia, he was preparing the destruction of Spain. The fall of Spain, the most ancient, the most fully tested, the most disinterested of the allies, not only of Napoleon, but of all preceding governments of France (a most important remark, since it overthrows the argument founded on the incompatibilities of dynasties), must prove to the world that it is impossible for any power to preserve itself by *friendship*, if it is found across the path of the French Emperor. *Neither enemy, nor neutral, nor friend.* What part, then, remains to be taken by a Power which cannot, like Portugal, pack up and separate herself by the sea from the scourge which is consuming Europe?'

To such a question there could be but one answer. Austria must prepare for war, and he proceeds to estimate her chances of success in a renewal of the struggle, examining the question in all its moral as well as in its military aspects; or, in other words, the character and views, not only of Napoleon himself, but of his leading Ministers, of the French nation, and of the army.

'Of these [said he] the only one desirous of war is the Emperor himself: partly from his confidence of success in every undertaking, partly from the sort of personal animosity which he conceives against every obstacle, whether nation or individual, which thwarts his views of universal empire. But of his Ministers, Talleyrand and Fouché, however widely they differ on other points, are both agreed on the absolute necessity of peace to the welfare of the country. In their view, the most important measures now are a consolidation of the new order of things, and an inauguration of domestic reforms and internal progress, for which a general pacification is indispensable. The people, harassed by conscriptions and requisitions, desire rest; the marshals are even still more anxious to enjoy in tranquillity the honours they have attained and the riches they have amassed. War, therefore, will be "a war of Napoleon alone: not even a war of the army."'

And in such a war his recent invasion of Spain had reduced his power by at least a half. It is somewhat remarkable

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that Metternich attributes his attacks on the Peninsular nations to the instigations of Murat, whose aim was to see the crown of Spain and the Indies placed on his own head. But that great cavalry officer's personal objects were not likely to contribute to the success of the enterprise. On the contrary, Metternich not only anticipated its failure with confidence, pointing out all its difficulties, somewhat in the spirit of the remark of Henry IV.,—that in Spain, if you make war with a small army, you will be beaten; if with a large one, you will be starved;—and, with singular sagacity, hinting at the probable adoption of that guerilla warfare which eventually contributed so largely to the disasters of the French; but he also drew from it a proof of the real weakness which underlay even the military strength of Napoleon, which was commonly regarded as so overwhelming.

'The war with Spain,' as he regarded it, 'revealed the great secret that Napoleon had only one army, *his Grand Army*. The conquest, or rather *the occupation* of the Peninsula, was confided to troops of a new levy' (of the conscription, that is, of the years 1807–8), 'and the reverses which the French have already experienced were partly to be attributed to the defective formation of this army: reverses which were the more important to be observed, as showing that any number of thousands of French conscripts, unless supported by veteran troops of the line, were in no respect superior to recruits of any other nation.'

The sum of his calculations is that the official records of the French army show a force of about 426,000 men, and that, as of these 200,000 are employed in the Peninsula, that deduction leaves only 226,000 disposable for making war on Austria and keeping up the necessary forces in the countries which are under his direct influence. And his ultimate conclusion is that '*the forces of Austria, which were so inferior to those of France before the Spanish insurrection, will be at least equal to them in the first moments of the war*' (ii. 257). How singularly accurate these estimates were is proved by the numbers which Napoleon could employ at Eckmühl, Essling, and Wagram; and how reasonable was the expectation that Austria would be equal to the contest is proved even by the battle of Wagram, which, to all appearance, nothing but the inexplicable misconduct of the Archduke John, to whatever cause it is to be attributed, prevented from proving even more disastrous to the invader than Essling.

It is probable, however, that no line of policy which the Austrian Cabinet could possibly have adopted would have staved off war. The interests of Austria and of Napoleon

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clashed at too many points for him ever long to lay aside the idea of crushing her altogether. We learn from these volumes that even all the costly preparations at Boulogne in 1805 were never for a moment designed for an invasion of England; a march on the Danube was their real object, and Vienna was not so far from Boulogne as the Viennese fancied. The war, however, when it came did not last long. It was not till the middle of April that Metternich was ordered to leave Paris, and the last shots were fired at Znaim in the second week of July.

It is with these transactions that the career of Metternich as Prime Minister opens. Count Stadion had held that office while Metternich was employed as a diplomatist. Two days after Wagram he resigned, and the Emperor at once summoned Metternich to fill his place. The resignation of Stadion had been chiefly caused by Napoleon's personal hostility to and denunciations of that Minister, dictated by a belief that his continuance in office would embarrass the negotiations which had become necessary: but the conqueror gained nothing by the change. Long as had been his acquaintance with Metternich, he seems to have failed to estimate his character, and never to have suspected that with his calmness of temper and demeanour and eminent courtliness of manner were combined an ardent patriotism, an immovable firmness of resolution, and a keenness of foresight to which certainly no other statesman east of the Rhine could make any pretension; a foresight which thoroughly penetrated all his own future designs, and even amid the pressing and almost overwhelming difficulties of the present situation anticipated his eventual overthrow and the deliverance of Europe.

It was not without reluctance that Metternich undertook the duties to which his Sovereign thus called him. He pointed out to him that the mere fact of a change of Ministry was at such a crisis to be deprecated, as indicating an abandonment of the Emperor's former policy; and he expressed also a distrust, which seems to have been sincere, of his own qualifications for 'holding the reins of a great empire' (i. 83). But his explanation of the difficulties which he felt only strengthened his master's conviction of the wisdom of the choice which he had made. And as a loyal servant he could not refuse to place himself at the disposal of one in whose 'force of mind and firmness of character,' and, what was personally even more important, in whose general concurrence with his own views he felt he could trust for support in every

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difficulty. Yet certainly no one ever entered on the task of governing a country under such bewildering circumstances. Vienna was in possession of the enemy. The Archduke Charles was retreating into Bohemia, and though a fierce combat which he maintained with his pursuers at Znaim three days afterwards, and in which the advantage, to say the least, was not on the side of the French, showed that neither the efficiency nor the spirit of the army was impaired by the result of Wagram, he had nevertheless proposed an armistice, which Napoleon had accepted ; and such a proposal from the Commander-in-Chief could hardly be regarded in any other light than that of a confession of weakness. Again a treaty of peace could only be negotiated by envoys acting under Metternich's instruction, and in fact, at first, Metternich became himself the plenipotentiary. On the very threshold he had two most difficult questions to decide: the first, whether Napoleon were serious in the willingness to treat which he professed, or whether his object were not rather to gain time to recruit and reorganize his army, which even at Wagram had sustained a greater loss than the Austrians ; the second, whether peace were indispensable for his own country, or only highly desirable, if obtainable on certain reasonable terms, but not to be submitted to on conditions of a more rigorous character.

After all, it was not Metternich who concluded the peace. And the details of the manner in which the final conduct of the negotiations was wrested from him can only be paralleled by the trickery which Napoleon had practised four years before towards a still more august minister, when Consalvi discovered that, of the two copies of the treaty with the Pope which were presented to him for his signature, that which was to be preserved in the French archives contained conditions which were omitted in that intended for him ; having been in fact repudiated by him in the most positive manner ; having been in consequence formally withdrawn by the French plenipotentiaries ; but having been reinserted in the French copy by the express orders of Napoleon himself, who took it for granted that the Cardinal would content himself with reading one copy, and would never take the trouble of comparing the two.[1] M. de Champagny was the chief of the French plenipotentiaries. But he was carefully instructed to avoid the ordinary forms of such proceedings. When Metternich required that the transactions of each official meeting should

[1] *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi*, i. 389.

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be recorded in a protocol, Champagny had orders to refuse to draw up or sign one; Metternich adhered to his proposal as being the only mode in which a serious negotiation could be conducted; Napoleon would not modify his orders, and a fortnight was wasted in references to him, till at the end of that time M. de Champagny sent a note to Metternich to inform him that 'Napoleon had reconsidered the matter, had recognized the advantages of his proposal, and accordingly had not only allowed him to draw up protocols, but had desired him to submit to Metternich's approval *some protocols already drawn up.*' And with the note 'came a bundle of protocols, *reports of conferences which had never taken place*' (i. 87). Metternich of course declined to sign them, as containing opinions which he had never advanced; statements and promises which he had never made. And he expressed a surprise, which we can hardly suppose even his habitual caution could wholly divest of some appearance of indignation, 'how M. de Champagny could have taken upon himself to make him such a proposal.' The Frenchman was obliged to confess that 'every one of these pretended protocols had been *dictated by Napoleon himself*, and that they did not contain a single word that either he himself or Metternich had said.' Metternich replied that 'Napoleon had the power to put into M. de Champagny's mouth any words he pleased, which his situation might perhaps forbid him to disavow; but that his own case was different. Napoleon might conquer empires, but not Metternich's conscience.'

Napoleon was baffled and enraged, but not defeated. He was not called Jupiter Scapin without cause, and he had fresh *fourberies* in store to gain his ends. Metternich was evidently not such a negotiator as suited him, and accordingly he instructed the Count de Bubnay, who at the moment was at his head-quarters, to beg Francis to send Prince John of Liechtenstein to Vienna to treat with himself. 'Diplomatists,' said he, 'do not know how to settle such an affair as this. We soldiers understand one another better. Let the Emperor send me Prince John, and everything will be arranged in twenty-four hours. I will tell him what I wish, and what I require of the Emperor, and he will agree, because he is just and prudent.' Francis at once agreed to send him, but with no authority to discuss any of Napoleon's demands, much less to agree to them. 'He was only to hear everything Napoleon wished to say and to report it.' On his way to Vienna, Prince John had a conference with Metternich, who could not regard his mission without uneasiness. It was,

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however, too late to prevent it, so he contented himself with putting the Prince on his guard. 'Napoleon,' said he, 'will aim at one of two objects: either he will desire to draw you on to steps injurious to our cause, or he will hinder you from returning to your post. The army has need of its chief of the staff: Napoleon knows that well, and that is why he draws you away from your troops. He wants to impose on the Emperor a peace to which he cannot consent, or else to deprive him of the means of continuing the war' (i. 89). And, if this were his desire, Prince John, as Metternich describes him, was exactly such a person as Napoleon would choose to work upon. He was honest, well-intentioned, patriotic, and brave to the last degree, but he was a mere soldier, devoid of that calmness of judgment which is requisite for forming a correct estimate of either men or things, and specially calculated to be so influenced by his admiration for Napoleon's military genius as to become his dupe and tool, as indeed had been proved before in the course of the negotiations which followed the battle of Austerlitz. Metternich then might well be uneasy at seeing such a task entrusted to such a man. But even his knowledge of Napoleon and of the Prince scarcely prepared him for the result. He was aware that before the Prince quitted the army he had taken all the steps necessary to provide for a renewal of hostilities if the negotiations should be broken off; and, as he had promised the Emperor the most implicit obedience to his instructions, Metternich fully expected that his refusal to bind his Government as Napoleon desired would lead to a renewal of war. He was the more confirmed in this expectation when the Prince's despatches related that Napoleon had declined entering into personal discussions with him, and had referred him to the Duke of Bassano (Maret), 'the chief of his personal cabinet.' And he had fully prepared Francis for such an issue, for which he did not regard the resources of the Empire as by any means inadequate.

His imperial master and himself were still in this state of anxious uncertainty, which hardly amounted to apprehension, when, on the evening of October 14, the Prince unexpectedly drove up, and his first words revealed not only the character of the conclusion which had been come to, but his own view of his own share in it. 'I bring you peace,' said he to Metternich, 'but I bring you also my head. The Emperor may do with both what seems to him good' (i. 91). After Napoleon had referred him to Maret, Maret referred him to Champagny, the Secretary of State, who, however, was not

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yet at Vienna, but to whom Napoleon had entrusted the conduct of the negotiation. The Prince at once declared that he had no authority to negotiate at all, and must at once leave Vienna. Such a step, Maret replied, would be regarded by Napoleon as the rupture of the armistice; and he asked, 'Was the Prince prepared to take on himself so terrible a responsibility? one which would compromise the safety of his army and of his whole country.' The Prince was persuaded to delay his departure. Champagny arrived; after a conference or two he drew up 'a *project* of treaty of peace to be submitted to the Emperor of Austria,' to which he induced the Prince to append his signature; and when, the next morning, the Prince was preparing to rejoin the Emperor, in order to submit the 'project' to him, he was surprised by the firing of a salute, which, on inquiry, he was informed was *in honour of the signature of the treaty of peace;* and when he proposed at once to go to Napoleon to obtain a correct understanding of the matter, he was told that the French Emperor had already left Vienna. That statement afterwards turned out to be false;[1] but the Prince did not doubt it at the moment. The decision, however, on what was now to be done did not occupy much time. Peace, even though 'bearing on its face proofs of the bad faith of Napoleon, and concluded in open defiance of every principle of the rights of nations' (92), was clearly desirable for Austria, and was understood to be so by the great bulk of the nation. Francis, therefore, decided on ratifying it; and, in one sense, it is only from this date that we are to regard Metternich's ministry as commencing, since, if hostilities had been renewed, Stadion was to have resumed his office.

But for that post at that time no one was equally fit with the new Minister, since among all his master's councillors there was not one who took so hopeful a view of the future: a view which, at the same time, did not in the least degree blind him to the disastrous character of the treaty thus concluded, which had deprived Francis of full three millions of subjects and of his best commercial port, besides burdening the nation with the payment of a heavy war contribution. An obligation to reduce the Austrian army to 150,000 men he regarded as absolutely unimportant, partly because, without any such stipulation, economy would have rendered such a reduction indispensable, and partly because it could be carried out without any diminution of the number of regiments. He was not a man to waste time in lamenting what was irrevo-

[1] See note, i. 232.

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cable; but he at once began to look matters in the face, to weigh, as he expresses it, in the balance the situation of Austria, of the whole Continent, and most especially of France and her present ruler. In his eyes, Napoleon's recent conduct in regard to the treaty not only lowered him as a man, but was a proof of weakness in his system, and in the same proportion an encouragement to himself in the contest for which he was preparing.

Circumstances were about to assume a character which, with all his sagacity, he had been far from anticipating. When he himself had quitted Paris in April, he had left Madame de Metternich in that capital; and, shortly after Napoleon's return from Vienna, at a masked ball given by Cambacérès, she was accosted by a mask, whom, by the shortness of his legs, she at once recognized as the Emperor, and who led her aside into a small ante-room to ask her whether she thought that the Archduchess Maria Louisa would accept his hand, or that her father would consent to such a marriage. As became a diplomatist's wife, she made him the diplomatic answer, that she could not tell. 'If she were in the Archduchess's place, would she accept him?' 'Certainly not.' 'You are very self-willed; write to your husband, and ask him what he thinks.' She declined the commission, telling him that Prince Schwarzenberg, as the Austrian ambassador, was the proper channel for such a communication. But of course she did not delay letting her husband hear, who was not quite so much surprised as she, since a whisper of such a connexion having occurred to Napoleon had reached him in the preceding year. But he had scarcely received her letter, when it was followed by a second, which can hardly have been anticipated by him, since it reported an interview to which Madame de Metternich had been invited by Josephine and the Queen of Holland, her daughter, in which Hortense described herself and her brother, the Viceroy Eugène, as 'Austrians in heart,' and told her that Eugène had urged his stepfather to offer himself to the Archduchess, while the Empress herself spoke of such an offer as one which she had recommended to Napoleon the day before, adding that, though he had not yet made up his mind, she hoped her advice would be taken, as the success of such a measure would be her best reward for the sacrifice she was making in agreeing to the divorce[1] (ii. 315). When Madame de Metternich

[1] It need hardly be pointed out how incompatible with the account given by Alison of the proposal for Maria Louisa are the details given in these letters of Madame de Metternich.

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alluded to some difficulties which she foresaw, 'We must try and arrange them.' said Josephine, 'and you must make your Emperor see that his ruin and that of his country are certain if he does not consent. And it is, perhaps, also the only means of preventing the Emperor from breaking with the Holy See.' Indeed, the difficulties with the Pope were such that it does not seem very clear how they were got over. M. de Metternich is silent on the details of the marriage which had originally connected Napoleon with Josephine; but we learn from Madame de Rémusat (ii. 67), as indeed other writers had related before, that originally, in March 1796, it had been confined to a civil contract, such as the Church did not recognize (indeed, at that time there was no ecclesiastical authority in France), but that in 1804, when Pius VII., with a strange complaisance, which he could not venture to refuse, came to Paris to crown the new Imperial pair in Notre Dame, he insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, on the marriage being performed again with all the regular ecclesiastical solemnities. Napoleon, who since he had given up all hope of Josephine again becoming a mother, had already more than once contemplated divorcing her, was greatly disconcerted at the Pope's demand, which he foresaw would make such a measure less easy.[1] But he was constrained to consent; and, accordingly, two days before the coronation, they were formally married by Cardinal Fesch, his uncle, who gave the bride a formal certificate of the circumstance, which, often as Napoleon afterwards tried, he could never prevail on her to surrender. His present relations with the Pope rendered it hopeless to expect that he would grant a divorce; but it seems probable that no intelligence of the second marriage had ever reached Vienna, and that therefore the Austrian Princess had no suspicion of a transaction which, in fact, rendered a legal marriage impossible. At all events, the question was never raised; indeed, both parties

[1] Conf. Ségur, *Histoire et Mémoires*, iii. 239. It is remarkable, however, that Metternich (i. 97) implies that no other marriage had ever taken place but the civil one, contracted 'under the formal condition that the union could be broken. This marriage, therefore, had no validity in the eye of the Church. If it had been otherwise, there never could have been any question about the alliance now proposed. The dissolution, therefore, of the pretended first marriage was nothing more than a simple formality, such as the French law required.' It is very strange that the second marriage should have been kept so entirely secret by all parties, though it is evident that Metternich was aware of some 'difficulties relative to the divorce having been raised by the Church,' since they were mentioned in a conversation which he held with Napoleon at Paris a few days after the marriage (i. 101).

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had too much confidence in the political advantages which they expected to follow from the union to interpose any obstacle or delay that could be avoided. Francis, indeed, put no constraint on his daughter, but left the choice to accept or to refuse wholly to her decision; and she, on her part, assured Metternich that her only wish was to do her duty, and to consult the interests of the empire (i. 97). And the same motives led Francis to consent to the proposal.

The marriage took place with very little delay, and placed the relations of the two empires on a footing so wholly new as to cause Metternich no slight degree of perplexity, to judge of the fruits it was likely to produce, and (which was, in fact, the most essential part of the same question) what was Napoleon's real object in contracting it. As seeming to offer a pledge for the continuance of peace, it was popular in Austria, and for the same reason in France. One and the most important question therefore was, whether that view of it were correct: whether Napoleon really meant to sheathe his sword and to found the future of France, and of his family, on the principles of order at home and peace abroad, or whether his aim were rather to found a dynasty with the support of Austria, and at the same time to prosecute his system of conquests (i. 99). Metternich had little doubt that this was the view which would be taken of the transaction by Russia, Prussia, and the Sublime Porte; that these Powers would see in it a complete adoption by Austria of the French system, and consequently an additional cause of future wars, with the intention on Napoleon's part that the conquest of portions of their dominions should compensate Austria for the territories which she had ceded on her western frontier (ii. 322). But, as it was above all things important that he should learn Napoleon's real designs as speedily as possible, he undertook to visit Paris himself, trusting that he should be able to obtain interviews with Napoleon which could not fail to reveal his inmost designs. Napoleon was too confident in his own power of misleading or cajoling every one, whom he might think it worth while to dupe, not to receive his visit willingly. He treated him with ostentatious confidence and honour: offered, as has been already mentioned, to recognize him as a sovereign prince; wished, or pretended to wish, to employ him to give hints to his new consort on her conduct towards the persons composing her Court; and showed an eagerness, which undoubtedly was genuine, to indoctrinate him with his own views respecting the policy to be adopted by both countries towards the other nations of Europe. And with

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these objects he contrived to keep him at Paris six months, though Metternich himself had not designed his visit to last more than as many weeks.

Metternich on his part was as willing to discuss all these points as Napoleon himself, his object being, as he frankly confessed to the Emperor, to judge of the line of policy to be adopted by Austria in future, and even in a distant future (103). But he presently saw that the task which he had set himself was less easy than he had expected to find it, since Napoleon cherished such 'great illusions' on so many points, and especially on those relating to the two countries of which it was most important to form a correct judgment, England and Russia. His ignorance of everything relating to England, of her resources, of the character of her people, and of her statesmen of both parties, struck Metternich with astonishment. And on these points he would listen to no contradiction, which he imputed to absurd prejudices. England must, he was certain, be eventually ruined by the Continental blockade. The Czar, he was equally confident, would never go to war with France; or, should he do so, would make peace after a single defeat. And, under the influence of these opinions, he rejected Metternich's proposals that Austria should endeavour to mediate between him and the English Government, pronouncing all negotiation with the Cabinet of S. James's impossible at the moment. But he invited him to use the good offices of his Sovereign to re-establish a good understanding between him and the Pope: a task which Metternich regarded as impossible to refuse, though he had no very sanguine anticipations of succeeding: so incompatible were the principles of the two potentates concerned. In letters which had passed between them four years before Napoleon had asserted in the plainest language his superiority to the Pope even in Rome itself. The Pope, he said, was Sovereign of Rome; but he was Emperor of Rome; while the Pope, in equally positive terms, had affirmed that there was no Emperor of Rome at all. Since that time the Pope had affixed to the doors of the Roman churches a Bull of Excommunication against Napoleon, and Napoleon's soldiers had stormed the Vatican and carried off him and his Prime Minister as prisoners to the North of Italy. And Metternich's interpretation to the Emperor Francis of Napoleon's proposal to employ his mediation was, that it was intended to make him an accomplice in that treatment of his Holiness (ii. 334): a part, of which, even in accepting the office of mediator, the experienced diplomatist was careful to steer

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clear. His efforts, as he expected, produced no fruit; but the records of his mediation still possess an interest, since the scheme of connexion between France and the Papacy which Napoleon desired to establish closely resembles that which in our own days has found favour with the King of Italy, and Italy's greatest statesman, Cavour; the chief practical difference being that the spiritual independence of the Holy See, which Victor Emmanuel willingly recognized, could have had but a nominal existence in the face of a power which, as France did under Napoleon, claimed and 'exercised a supremacy over all the lesser States of Europe' (ii. 339).

A still closer connexion with the present state of Europe, and one at the same time more interesting to English readers, is the enunciation of Napoleon's views with respect to Turkey and Russia. In the summer of 1810, the war which had been going on between the two countries for a twelvemonth was certainly not wearing a very promising appearance for the Russians. But Napoleon apparently did not doubt their eventually establishing their superiority; that they would acquire Wallachia and Moldavia he was convinced; and at Erfurt, in 1808, he had promised the Czar that he would not oppose his making such an acquisition. But he would not allow him to go further: he would resist any attempt of the Czar to acquire a foot of territory on the right bank of the Danube. And, as for Servia, he desired to see that province in the possession of Austria; the Servians themselves being, as appeared to him, desirous of such a change (ii. 362), which would compensate Francis for the territory which he had been compelled to surrender at the recent peace. And, with a certain degree of flattery of Austria, he spoke as if the acquisition of the Danubian provinces by Russia and of Servia by Austria were both partly desirable on the same ground; namely, that they must lead to a closer drawing together of the alliance between France and Austria, which would then become a 'political alliance based on a community of interests, and as such far more to be trusted than one resting on mere family connexions' (i. 108).

In the middle of October Metternich returned to Vienna, and the report which, at his first audience of his Imperial master, he made of his long visit, indicated, with an accuracy which does honour to his penetration, the course of policy which Napoleon was likely, if he were not already resolved, to adopt, and consequently that for which Austria also should at once prepare herself. The coming year 1811 would be interrupted by no fresh war. But Napoleon would employ

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himself actively in strengthening his army, and cementing his alliances, with the design of striking a heavy blow against Russia in the following year, and in the spring of 1812 he would begin that campaign. We need not pause to dilate on the minute fulfilment of these predictions. The conclusion which Metternich drew for his master was that Austria must devote the intervening year and a half to putting her finances in order, and to providing the means for equipping an imposing army by the time the war between France and Russia should begin, in which, however, Napoleon had announced that he should have no need of her assistance, or of any active co-operation against Russia. He had determined never again to have anything to do with coalitions; he had had enough of them in 1809 (i. 110–12). He did not foresee his own course as accurately as the statesman to whom he was unfolding it. But, slight as the foresight and weak as the resolutions of Alexander generally were, the causes that threatened the continuance of his alliance with Napoleon were too obvious and numerous to escape even his notice. And, even before Metternich quitted Paris, Alexander had sent his aide-de-camp, General Schuwalow, to Vienna, to sound the Austrian Government as to its views for the future, the General being even furnished with a project of a treaty of alliance between Austria and Russia, sketched out by the Czar himself, in the event of her being again attacked by Napoleon. Metternich, however, was firmly resolved to avoid any complications which might interfere with the line he had marked out for himself, and with this purpose he avoided giving any present definite answer to Schuwalow's proposals, which he pronounced to be premature. In his eyes his country's best preparation for the future was that line of policy which should strengthen her financial and military resources in the highest degree, and, as to connexions and alliances, should preserve to her perfect liberty of action till the last moment, though this policy of abstention did not prevent him from opening confidential communications with Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian Minister, with whom he had established cordial relations during his embassy at Berlin, and to whom, without committing his Sovereign too far, he contrived to convey assurances not only of a general good will, but of agreement and support, should events render such desirable for Prussia. And having thus laid the foundations of an 'union which withstood the storms of succeeding years,' he waited patiently for the time when the soundness or incorrectness of his expectations should be established by events.

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As the next year wore on, he saw increased reason to adhere to the line he had thus marked out, though at the same time adherence to it became more and more difficult. Russia and France evidently agreed in foreseeing a rupture. And the policy of both towards Austria was guided by that anticipation. France, no longer as indifferent to her co-operation as Napoleon had declared himself to be in the preceding year, now sought to find in the Turkish provinces a means of embroiling her with her intended enemy. Russia, disappointed in her hope of entangling her in an active alliance, bounded her endeavours now to suggestions designed to ensure her neutrality. And this would certainly have coincided with Metternich's views, unless, as he warned the Russian ambassador, Russia should herself render neutrality impossible, by encroaching on, or even threatening, Galicia.

As the autumn wore on, Metternich ceased to be the only man who foresaw the coming storm. Even those whose views were least distinct showed an uneasy consciousness of danger. Before the close of the year the approach of a rupture was so undeniable, that Austria was compelled to determine on and to declare her attitude; and to those untrained in diplomatic subtleties and refinements it seems a strange one. We must quote Metternich's own description of it:—

'We declared for an *armed neutrality*. Napoleon required of us an auxiliary corps of 30,000 men. The Emperor Francis acceded to his demand, but, on the condition that, in spite of this fact, the two belligerent powers should respect the neutrality and the inviolability of the Austrian territory. It is impossible to find a similar instance of a political situation so eccentric as ours, and undoubtedly no such will ever be found again'—(i. 119).

Yet it met the views of both the intended antagonists. Napoleon saw in it a means of keeping the whole Austrian army away from his own frontiers; Alexander regarded it as providing a rampart for his southern provinces; while Metternich himself was more than satisfied, since it reserved for his country absolute liberty of decision and action till the latest moment.

Again, both before and after the great catastrophe, he met Napoleon himself. In the spring of 1812 Napoleon was setting out on the Russian invasion, which was destined to be so fatal to him; and, as the Empress was to accompany him as far as Dresden, he made her presence a pretext for inviting her father to meet her in that capital. Francis accepted the invitation, taking his Prime Minister with him; but, though during his visit, the statesman had almost daily

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interviews with the French Emperor, general politics were scarcely ever discussed between them, as Napoleon usually turned the conversation on the system on which he proposed hereafter to govern France, giving utterance to views which he probably expected would diminish the apprehension with which he could not doubt that Metternich regarded the probability of his triumph over Russia; and which, through Metternich, might tranquillize the minds of other statesmen also. He was resolved on a thorough reform of the French Constitution. Already

'he had dissolved the Tribunate. He had put a gag in the mouth of the Legislative Body; and whenever such an Assembly is reduced to silence, it is at once discredited. In fact, it was already forgotten. Yet,' said he, 'I do not want absolute power. I want something more than forms. I will have a system which shall be all order and public usefulness.'

And he proceeded to describe the plan on which he intended to remodel the deliberative assemblies of the Empire, explaining that, though he meant to reserve to himself the nomination of the whole of the Senate, and of two-thirds of the Council of State,

'they would still be representative assemblies, because they would be wholly composed of men experienced in the conduct of public business. He would have no chatterers, no ideologists, no sham pinchbeck, and thus, even under a *Roi fainéant*, France would be well governed.'

Metternich asked the not unnatural question why he had not done all this already. The answer was:—

'Everything in its own time; the day for reform is not come yet; I must still have two or three years' breathing time. And who can tell when the war which I am commencing will end? It must be after the peace'—(i. 121).

The impression which Metternich derived from the entire series of conversations was that, though Napoleon fairly estimated the greatness of the present war, and the importance of the victory of which he felt assured, to crown the 'sort of Empire of Charlemagne under a Buonapartist dynasty,' which he seemed to be founding, he nevertheless greatly deceived himself as to 'the terrible hazards of his enterprise, and as to the degree in which it depended on the chances of war.' Among other things, he was convinced that Napoleon deceived himself as to the Russian tactics. He expected Alexander to advance to attack him; while Metternich, on the other hand,

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divined, if he was not in fact already informed of, the system of retreat which the Russians were prepared to adopt, and warned Napoleon of the likelihood of such a plan being pursued. Napoleon wholly disbelieved the warning.

Metternich and his Sovereign returned to Vienna to wait the solution of the problem which time alone could bring. Meanwhile the far-seeing Minister occupied himself in providing for the future by establishing and strengthening a cordial understanding with the statesmen at Berlin; his chief object being to induce them to prefer his scheme of patience to the projects of the impatient party which took Baron Stein[1] for its chief adviser. And he appeals with confidence to the result to prove the superior wisdom of his own policy.

The invasion of Russia had failed. And Francis and Metternich had now to look at matters under a fresh aspect. They had to consider 'what line they ought to take in order to come to play a more active part.' 'To persevere in their attitude of an armed neutrality would be to lower the Austrian power to a negative.' Prussia had at once made an alliance with Russia. But for Austria either to adopt the same course, or to draw closer to France, would be too 'brusque a transition.' The change from neutrality to war was only to be brought about by passing first from a position of armed neutrality to one of '*armed mediation*,' and circumstances eminently favoured the scheme of taking up such a position. There could be no doubt that Napoleon was preparing for a fresh campaign. Austria could not prevent him; it was her part 'to prepare to strike a decisive blow;' a part which 'the general state of affairs, and her own geographical position,' rendered peculiarly easy. The problems to be decided were *the when and the how*. How to strike such a blow as should bring about a peace; one which should be a real peace, not an armistice in disguise, such as all the treaties hitherto concluded, whether with the French republic or with Napoleon, had been. And to secure such a peace, an indispensable preliminary was to compel France to return within frontiers which should allow the expectation of a durable

[1] At this time Baron Stein was in Russia, having been invited to St. Petersburg by the Czar at the commencement of the war with France. See Seeley's *Life of Stein*, ii. 465. The party of which Gentz was the mouthpiece fully recognized the soundness of Metternich's calculations, as is proved by a letter of Gentz to him, quoted by the editor of these volumes (i. 242); with a comment of Metternich himself, added in 1851: 'History will bear me witness that I employed all the means in my power to second the hand of God. Did I find the succours which were necessary to accomplish the work of deliverance?'

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peace, and the re-establishment of a political equilibrium between the great powers' (i. 127).

Want of space must forbid our following up the examination of the numerous questions relating to such a re-establishment of the balance of power. We can only touch, and very briefly, on the steps necessary to lead to such re-establishment, by enabling Austria to speak with a voice of authority. They were the more successful that Metternich did not for a moment underrate the greatness of the difficulties which were still in his way. The singular calmness of his temper preserved him from the illusions to which the other Continental statesmen were surrendering themselves. The Prussians believed Napoleon's power to be annihilated by his recent disasters. The King of Saxony shared that conviction so fully that 'he put himself under the protection of Austria, and declared himself ready to follow the same line of political conduct as the Cabinet of Vienna.' Metternich stood almost alone in regarding Napoleon as still formidable: his power was greatly shaken indeed, but by no means destroyed. But it was to the firmness with which he held this opinion that his eventual success was in no slight degree due. It prevented his overlooking anything. He recruited the regiments which were below the war complement; he raised fresh levies; without committing his Imperial master, he contrived to inspire not only the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, but the inferior Princes of the south and west of Germany with a feeling that they could rely on the support of Austria. And thus, throughout the winter of 1812–13, he continued 'tranquil and inactive in appearance,' but maturing his plans; greatly encouraged to persistence in his own views by the perception that all Europe, and France more than almost any other country, was eager for a durable peace. And the moment which Austria should select for beginning to compel such a settlement by converting her *armed neutrality* into an *armed mediation* Francis left to his Minister to determine.

'Napoleon's victories at Lützen and Bautzen warned him that the hour had struck' (i. 134).

The eighth chapter, 'On the History of the Alliances of 1813–14,' was not originally meant to form a part of Metternich's autobiography, but was drawn up as a separate narrative; which, as he explains, is less minute and precise than it otherwise might have been from the peculiarity of the circumstances under which the principal part of the negotiations which took place were carried on; his own Sovereign, the Czar, and the King of Prussia being in most instances

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present at the deliberations which took place; so that there was no necessity nor occasion for framing instructions for, or receiving reports from, ambassadors or plenipotentiaries. There were 'no couriers, no exchanges of written notes. Many of the most important decisions were adopted verbally at a single conference.' And though the mode of proceeding beyond all question, in the opinion of Metternich, contributed to the success of the entire series of negotiations, it was so far unfortunate that it has deprived the historian of many records and other documents which would have been of permanent value; and the place of which this sketch, though traced by the hand of the great statesman himself who led the deliberations, can but in part and faintly supply;[1] though he took the greater pains with it, because he was convinced that his labour would be the sole means of preserving on the solid basis of truth the history of a period which he justly regarded as one of exceptional importance; and also because he felt a natural desire to correct the erroneous accounts of the different transactions given in the innumerable pamphlets and narratives of the day, publications in which he could recognize neither himself, nor the facts.[2]

It was on May 29, that the news of the battle of Bautzen[3] reached Vienna. Metternich saw at once that not a moment was to be lost if he would arrest Napoleon's career of victory, and confirm the adherence of the Czar and King of Prussia

[1] Metternich makes an exception with respect to the transactions of the Congress of Vienna, which are preserved with great completeness in the Archives of England and France, since the Ministers of those countries necessarily maintained an uninterrupted correspondence with their respective Governments (i. 139).

[2] How calculated these were to mislead, we may see in many instances from a comparison of the narrative of Alison, who naturally founds his account in a great degree on such publications, with that of Metternich; and even a greater proof how general was the misapprehension as to the Austrian objects is afforded by the concluding volume of the Prince Consort's Memoirs, just published. The Prince had, from his position, exceptional means of information on the policy of all the German Courts, and yet we find him, in September 1861, writing to the King of Prussia: 'In 1813, Austria saw in the German uprising under Prussia's guidance a greater danger than in Napoleon's oppression; and hesitated long to which side she should turn. Stimulated by Napoleon's insolence and blunders, and encouraged by the hope of being able in the long run to deceive and to suppress the German impulse towards freedom, she decided at last to join the allies' (v. 388). This eighth chapter of Metternich's autobiography shows how greatly the Prince was mistaken on the subject.

[3] Lützen was fought May 2; Bautzen, May 20, 21. In neither was Napoleon's success very decisive, and his losses in killed and wounded equalled, and probably exceeded, those of the enemy.

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to the alliance. For the Russian army was so thoroughly demoralized that there was no little danger that his officers might constrain Alexander to make peace, unless indeed, by the line of their retreat, they could compel Austria at once to cast in her lot with them. But the Austrian army was not yet ready, and the loss of a single battle prematurely engaged in would ruin everything. Metternich therefore instantly offered the mediation of his master, and induced Francis himself to repair to the head-quarters of the army. But, while he was on his way to Gitschin (a small town near Prague), a despatch from the Russian Minister Nesselrode brought word that an armistice had been already agreed upon at Pleswitz (or Poischewitz), and entreated a communication of the intentions of Austria. Francis's answer was to send Metternich to meet the other Sovereigns. And it was a resolution of practical wisdom ; for, according to his usual plan, Napoleon had already begun to open personal communications with them, relying on the influence which he flattered himself he still retained over the weak mind of Alexander to enable him to divide his enemies, and, by amusing them with illusory negotiations, to prevent them from contracting any mutual engagements, so as to gain time to reinforce his own army.

In reality the whole weight of the negotiations fell on Metternich, whose task was hardly rendered less arduous by the evasions of the French envoy, M. Maret, than by the singularly unmanageable disposition of the Czar, to whom he paid a visit in the middle of June at Opocno, and whom he found just at this time under the influence of advisers of an extreme line of policy, and indignant with, and jealous of, all who took any other view ; indignant at their presumption in differing from him, and jealous of their motives for doing so. Nothing but the union of calmness and firmness, which were among the most striking characteristics of Metternich, could have preserved the necessary concord and co-operation. Alexander desired everything to depend on his own will. Metternich, on the other hand, insisted on the necessity of the allies placing absolute confidence in Austria, whose position, in consequence of the family connexion subsisting with France, he admitted might give rise to distrust, were it not counterbalanced and overpowered by the unflinching integrity of Francis himself. In fact, it was that very connexion, he said, which placed Austria in a situation in which she could save Europe, and she would save it. The first and most indispensable step to be taken was for Russia to give in a formal recognition of Austria's mediation. And in one or two con-

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versations Metternich so convinced Alexander of the soundness of his views, that he had at last the satisfaction of gaining his complete concurrence; so that, when at the end of three days, he returned to Gitschin, Alexander expressed his entire confidence in the result of a negotiation to be conducted on the principles which he had explained to him.

The week following Metternich was invited to meet Napoleon himself at Dresden; and the minute narrative which he has left us of his first interview with him is, as his editor justly remarks, especially valuable as correcting the erroneous accounts of it given by Baron Fain, and adopted by Thiers, and other French and German authors.[1]

His visit was looked forward to with great anxiety by the French Marshals. When he reached Napoleon's quarters, he was received by Berthier, who found time to whisper to him, 'Do not forget that Europe has need of peace, and France most especially.' He had no time to reply, as he passed on to Napoleon's private room, where he found him, as he describes, 'standing in the middle of the room; his sword by his side, his hat under his arm.' He advanced towards Metternich with an affected calmness, asked after the Emperor's health. Presently his features became gloomy, he advanced in front of Metternich, and broke out,

'So, you will have war; 'tis well. You shall have it. I have annihilated the Prussian army at Lützen; I have beaten the Russians at Bautzen. You want to have your turn. I will give you your meeting at Vienna. Men are incorrigible. The lessons of experience are lost upon them. Three times I have re-established the Emperor Francis on his throne. I have promised to remain at peace with him as long as I lived. I married his daughter. I said to myself at the time, "You are making a fool of yourself, but it is done. Now I am sorry for it."'

Such a preface only showed Metternich the strength of his own position. He looked on himself as 'the representative of the whole society of the nations of Europe,' and Napoleon, if he can venture to say so, looked small. His reply was one of unruffled calmness:—'Peace and war were in the hands of Napoleon himself. Francis had duties to fulfil to which all other considerations must yield. Everything depended on

[1] He might have added by English authors also, for Alison relies upon Baron Fain implicitly. In a note at the end of the volume, the editor quotes a letter of Metternich, written in 1833, in which he affirms: 'In the account Fain gives of my personal negotiations with Napoleon in June 1813, there is *no truth*. Fain was Napoleon's secretary, and faithfully obeyed the instructions of his master, and under his inspiration wrote what he wished people to believe.'

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Napoleon alone. But there was a wide gulf between the aspirations of Europe and his desires.' The world had need of peace, and to ensure this peace 'Napoleon must either retire within such frontiers as were compatible with the general tranquillity, or he must be overwhelmed in the contest. To-day he could make peace; to-morrow it would be too late.'

Napoleon broke in abruptly; and at once announced the resolution to which he clung with ruinous tenacity to the last:—

'What, then, is it that you expect of me? To dishonour myself? Never. I know how to die. But I will never yield an inch of territory. I am not like other Sovereigns. I am but a soldier *parvenu*. My authority would not last a day after I ceased to be powerful, and to be feared. I was conquered by the elements; but I have repaired my losses, as the recent battles proved. It is not the army that wished for peace; only my generals, who were all demoralized by the cold of Moscow; I saw brave men weeping like children.'

Metternich tried to put in a few words: 'All this only proved that Europe and his Majesty could not come to an understanding. Napoleon's idea of a peace was only an armistice. He was about to throw down the gauntlet to all Europe, and it was not Europe which would be worsted.'

After a time he changed the subject, and Metternich might have thought that he wished to divert his attention from the object of his mission, if past experience had not shown him what a common trick of his these calculated ways of passing over a question were. He spoke of the general bearing of his operations in Russia, and went into long and minute details of what took place at the time of his last return to France. All that he said on the subject showed the Prince plainly that his constant aim was to make him believe that his defeat in 1812 was to be set down wholly to the season, and that his reputation had never been greater in France than since these events. 'It was a rude test,' said he, 'but I have come thoroughly well out of it.' The narrative proceeds:—

'After having listened to him for more than half-an-hour, I interrupted him by remarking that in what he had just said I saw a striking proof of the necessity of putting an end to these perpetual vicissitudes. "Fortune," I added, "may betray you again as she did in 1812. In ordinary times armies form only a slight portion of the population, but at present it is the entire people that you are calling to arms. Is not your actual army taken a whole generation in advance? I have seen your soldiers; they are children. Your Majesty is convinced that you are absolutely necessary to the nation; but have you not need of the nation in your turn? And when this

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army of youths whom you are calling out has disappeared, what will you do?"

'At these words Napoleon allowed his anger to run away with him. He grew pale; his features contracted. "You are no soldier," said he, rudely. "You do not know what passes in the mind of a soldier. I have grown great on fields of battle, and a man like me cares little for the lives of a million of men."[1] And in saying, or rather screaming out these words, he flung the hat, which till then he had held in his hand, into a corner of the room. I stood quietly leaning against a console table between the two windows; and being profoundly moved by what I had just heard, I said to him: "Why do you address yourself to me? Why do you make me such a declaration as this between four walls? Open the doors: and may your words reach from one end of France to the other. It is not the cause which I represent that will lose by it."

'Napoleon, restraining himself, then, in a calmer tone, uttered the following words, which are not less remarkable than what he had just said. "The French cannot complain of me; to spare them I have sacrificed the Germans and the Poles. I lost 300,000 men in the Russian campaign, but in the whole number there were not more than 30,000 Frenchmen."

'"You forget, Sire," I replied, "that you are speaking to a German."

'Napoleon again began to walk up and down the room with me. At the second turn he picked up his hat. He began to speak of his marriage. "Yes," said he, "I did a very foolish thing in marrying an Archduchess of Austria."

'"Since your Majesty wishes to know my opinion," I replied, "I will say frankly that Napoleon *the Conqueror* made a blunder."

'"So the Emperor Francis wishes to dethrone his daughter?"

'"The Emperor," I replied, "knows only his duties, whatever fortune may reserve for his daughter. The Emperor Francis is, before everything else, a sovereign; and the interest of his people will always occupy the first place in his calculations."

'"Yes," said he, interrupting me. "What you say does not surprise me. It all confirms me in the opinion that in that I committed an unpardonable blunder. In marrying an Archduchess I wished to unite the present and the past, Gothic prejudices and the institutions of my age. I deceived myself, and I this day feel the extent of my error. It will perhaps cost me my throne; but I will bring the world under its ruins"'[2] (i. 147–153).

[1] 'I cannot venture here to repeat the far coarser expressions which Napoleon used.'

[2] It will be at once seen that this account of this conversation differs widely from that contained in all previous narratives. A widely different account, drawn up by Baron Fain, is inserted in the *Napoleon Correspondence*, vol. xxv. p. 423, with a note by the editor saying that 'there are two versions of this celebrated conversation: but this of Baron Fain reproduced with the greater accuracy the sentiments and words of Napoleon.' Whichever account is the more correct, it is at all events but

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The conversation lasted nearly nine hours; and was carried on for some time with the greatest animation. 'Six times Metternich's words were equivalent to a declaration of war.' Gradually Napoleon became calmer, but the last sentences which Metternich reports were striking and singular.

'"Well," said Napoleon, striking me on the shoulder. "Do you know what will happen? You will not make war on me." "You are undone, Sire," I cried out with animation. "I had a presentiment of it when I came here; now that I am going away I am certain of it."'

Napoleon professed to be satisfied with the result of the conference. But, if Metternich's suspicions be correct, he did not impose upon his followers, who 'began to doubt of his infallibility.'

They had more than one interview after this, and finally Napoleon accepted the mediation of Austria, and it was settled that the armistice should last till August 10. But, as is well known, the negotiations failed in procuring peace; or rather, it may be said, no negotiations ever took place; and that they did not was owing to the unaccountable evasions of Napoleon. His principal plenipotentiary, Caulaincourt, did not arrive till some days after that appointed for opening the discussions; and when he did arrive, it was found that he had not received his 'powers.' He attempted, but, as we may easily suppose, in vain, to induce Metternich to dispense with them; Metternich rejoined, that it was impossible to suppose 'that they were not withheld designedly.' But they did not come; and finally, on the appointed August 10, beacon fires, which had been prepared in readiness, announced all along

an abridgment of a conversation that lasted nearly nine hours; Napoleon's account of the Russian campaign alone lasting several hours. But the question which narrative is correct is reduced to a question between the veracity of Metternich and Napoleon. And few people can doubt which is the more worthy of credit. Metternich's explanation of Fain's narrative is 'Fain was Napoleon's secretary, and faithfully obeyed his master's orders.' It was under this inspiration that he wrote, and that he wished to make people believe things. And, in this point of view, his work possesses a lively interest. If we recollect what has been mentioned a few pages back in the account of the negotiations after Wagram, and the production by Maret of a whole bundle of conferences which had never taken place, we shall have no difficulty in regarding this narrative of Baron Fain in a similar light: a report of what Napoleon wished the French to believe that he had said, but which he never did say. It may be added that Fain even falsifies the date; which in the *Napoleon Correspondence* is given as June 23 (Alison in the margin says June 28): but the real day was June 26. It was not till June 24 that Metternich left Gitschin.

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the frontier that the armistice was at an end, and once more the flames of war were rekindled.

We need not linger over the events of the fierce and momentous campaign which ensued, which in less than three months drove Napoleon with comparatively but a fragment of his army across the Rhine. When in the first week of November the allied Sovereigns reached Frankfort, diplomacy again began to regulate the operations of war; and we learn, with some surprise, that the choice of the line of operations was determined on the advice of Metternich, though he never professed any military knowledge (i. 172, § 4, 181); while another of the resolutions to which the Council came, by the invasion of France to strike a decisive blow at the *existence of Napoleon* (the italics are ours), affords a strong corroboration of Metternich's statement that those historians have entirely misrepresented the views of the Emperor Francis, who declare that his first wish was to preserve his crown for his daughter's husband, and that both diplomatic negotiations and warlike operations were greatly hampered by the weight given to this consideration. These volumes, on the contrary, affirm that Francis throughout regarded the interest of his country as the object which it was his first duty to promote, and that he gradually became so thoroughly convinced that no permanent peace could ever be concluded with Napoleon, none which he would not break the moment he felt himself in sufficient strength, that he recognized the absolute necessity of dethroning him, if it should be found practicable. The merit of bringing him to this decision [1] Metternich attributes to himself, we can hardly doubt with correctness, and explains that the only consideration which reconciled himself to the proposal of conditions of peace to Napoleon, a proposal which indeed it was in decency indispensable to make, was the conviction that he would never accept them.

[1] As early as Jan. 22, 1814, Lord Castlereagh, who had only arrived at Basle the week before, writes to Lord Liverpool that 'he has had a very full confidential communication with Metternich on the Bourbon Question' and that 'his opinion is that Austria will not embarrass it from any family considerations' (*Cast. Cor.* ix. 186); and this letter was written only three days before the Sovereigns reached Langres, where a discussion took place on the future government of France, in which it was allowed that 'the fall of Napoleon was inevitable,' and so, as Metternich puts it, 'there are but three solutions of the future possible: the recall of the Bourbons; a regency in the name of Napoleon's son; or the elevation of some third person to the throne. Right as well as reason, the separate interest of France, as well as the general interest of Europe, all pleaded in favour of the *first* solution; and so the Emperor of Austria had not a moment of hesitation on the subject.'—Mett. i. 182.

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The war then continued, the Rhine was crossed, and the invading hosts rapidly pushed forward into the very heart of France. Again we may leave unnoticed the details of the campaign, in which the skill of Napoleon, never perhaps more brilliantly shown, more than once seemed to make the result of the campaign doubtful in spite of the overwhelming amount of the armies against which he was contending. And more than once the resolution of the statesmen was called upon to prevent the evil consequences which might have resulted from the feebleness of the warriors. In the different discussions which took place we have more than Metternich's own word for the straightforwardness of the line which he took, and of the influence which it gave him. For more than one of the despatches of our own Ministers, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Aberdeen, and others, bear testimony to the 'loyal and gentlemanlike' tone of his communications, to his freedom from jealousy, and cordial co-operation with ourselves, and to the firmness with which he withstood the manœuvres of the Czar, whose imperious vanity was one of the greatest difficulties in the way of both the generals and the diplomatists.[1] There was no end to his absurdities: one day even, after it had been agreed on in terms as nearly positive as possible that the restoration of the Bourbons was the only safe end of the existing troubles, Alexander proposed to re-open the question and to refer the future government of France to the decision of the deputies. Metternich without hesitation rejected the idea, and found that the Russian Ministers, Nesselrode and Pozzo di Borgo, agreed with him fully; but it was only through his firmness that they saw a prospect of defeating the notion. All the Czar's ideas seemed to Metternich to 'be floating in the fog of a vague liberalism, or else influenced by a whimsical kind of selfishness.' We may well suppose that Metternich saw and remonstrated against the monstrous folly of the scheme of the Elba sovereignty, though he did not reach Paris till too late to prevent its adoption. Indeed, so wholly different were their views that Alexander at last began to regard Metternich as his personal enemy, and his irritation took a strange form for a Sovereign. He actually announced to Francis his intention to invite Metternich to a duel; and was apparently only diverted from the idea of sending him a challenge by the assurance of his brother Emperor that it would certainly be accepted.

The account which these volumes give of the Congress of

[1] See *Castlereagh Correspondence*, vol. ix. pp. 93, 106, 127, &c.

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Vienna is very brief: the way in which it was cut short before its work was done probably causing Metternich to think it superfluous to dwell with minuteness on its history. We have only space left to dwell on one incident connected with it on its revival in the autumn after Waterloo. If there was one topic which the Liberal politicians of the next few years (to give them the name they preferred to assume) selected as a reproach to both Metternich and our own Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, it was that they were at once the patrons and slaves of the Holy Alliance; and no imputation on the conduct or common sense of statesmen was ever more unfounded. In Yonge's *Life of Lord Liverpool* (ii. 226) we find the letter in which Lord Castlereagh first communicated to the Prime Minister the Treaty of which Metternich in great embarrassment had shown him the 'projet,' and which a day or two afterwards the Czar brought to him in due form with his own signature and that of the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia; and his report to his chief was that the Duke of Wellington was with him when the Czar called with 'this piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense,' and that 'it was not without difficulty that the Duke and he went through the interview with becoming gravity.' Metternich's account corresponds with that of Lord Castlereagh in every respect, with the addition that in his heart the King of Prussia disapproved of the Treaty as much as his own master, though both of them were equally reluctant to give Alexander personal offence by refusing to sign it.

Metternich is a man who from the first moment that he came into prominence as one of the leading statesmen of Europe has been the object of the unremitting hostility of a large party in every country, whom we can hardly acquit of designed misrepresentation respecting him: an offence against historical truth of which too many of our own countrymen were equally and similarly guilty in the case of his friend and fellow-labourer, Lord Castlereagh. And the publication of these volumes has revived in some quarters the disposition to attack both his policy and his reputation, and to deny him any right to rank among great statesmen. We think that those who thus disparage him shut their eyes to the unparalleled difficulties under which he assumed the reins of government. Thirteen years of warfare, so constantly and rapidly renewed that it may almost be called continual, had completely exhausted the military and financial resources of the empire. Three separate treaties had stripped it of valuable provinces; while at that very moment Vienna was in

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the hands of her conqueror, whose retirement could only be purchased by the most costly sacrifices. Naval annals record instances of some inferior officer of a ship, whose captain was disabled, whose masts were gone, whose sides were leaking, whose helm was unmanageable, venturing to take the command when the utmost success for which he could hope was to ride through the storm without further damage, and to keep the craft afloat till she could reach some port where her damages might be repaired: and not unlike this was the courage of Metternich, when he listened to the entreaties of his Sovereign to replace Stadion, though the highest service that Francis could expect from him was that he might find means of preventing matters from getting worse. That he himself had a secret expectation that he might be able to do more, and even to replace his country in the proud position which she had occupied in a former generation, when the power which was at present weighing her down should be broken, is greatly to the credit of his courage and foresight, but in no degree diminished his present difficulties. But, however bold and sagacious he might be, a Minister who took office at such a crisis could not be expected to inaugurate any independent scheme of policy, or to dazzle the eyes with any striking originality of statesmanship. He had rather (to recur to our former comparison) to watch every turn of wind and tide, varying his course with their every change, and to content himself with the very slowest rate of progress, sometimes even seeming to recede, so long as on the whole the ship and crew drew gradually nearer to the desired haven. Such being the task which Metternich undertook, that he performed it with eminent, with complete success, we need not say. And it was his peculiar felicity that his success contributed to the permanent welfare, not of his own country alone, but of all Europe. An old distich implies that Austria has gained more by diplomacy than by war; but it would be hard to point to any diplomatist to whom she owes more than to Metternich. In 1809 he found her with a defeated army, an exhausted exchequer, a grievously diminished dominion, and, as an inseparable consequence of these misfortunes, cast down from the influential position which she had been wont to hold in the councils of Christendom. In less than five years her general was the commander-in-chief of the whole allied army which crossed the Rhine; her finances had been recruited by a wise economy; the provinces which had been reft from her were restored with even some additions; and her representatives sat at the Congress of Vienna in the enjoyment of a con-

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sideration and influence second to none except perhaps those of Great Britain.

At present we may fairly limit our view of his statesmanship to the period covered by these volumes. The attacks on it to which we have alluded refer rather to his subsequent government of the empire: in which it is not impossible that his most sincere admirers may occasionally find cause to regret that the dread and hatred of revolutionary principles with which he had, not unnaturally, become imbued by the scenes which he had witnessed in his youth, had bred in him too stubborn a resistance to change of any kind, too great an inclination to confound reform with revolution, however imperious might be the voice with which the altered circumstances of the time and of the empire required some modification of the old principles of government. But the history of that later period forms the subject of the other divisions of these memoirs, the publication of which is for the present withheld, though it is promised to the world at no very distant day. That publication will doubtless afford the necessary materials for a survey of the entire career and character of the writer.

ART. III.—THE APOCRYPHA.

1. *Chemnitz.* Doctrinæ Jesuitarum Præcipua Capita à doctis quibusdam Theologis solidis rationibus confutata. (Rup. 1584.)
2. *Mensalia, or Dr. M. Luther's Divine Discourses at his Table.* Collected by Dr. Antonius Lauterbach, and translated by Captain Henry Bell. (London, 1652.)
3. PALLAVICINO, *Istoria di Concilio di Trento.* (Rome, 1657.)
4. NICHOLAS SERARIUS, *ex Soc. Jes. S.T.P., Commentarius in Sacrorum Bibliorum libros Tobiam, Judith, Esther, Machabæos.* (Moguntiæ, 1610.)
5. *The Holy Bible.* Translated from the Latin Vulgate. Published by the English Colleges at Douay and Rheims. (Dublin, 1835.)
6. The Rev. E. W. GRINFIELD, *Apology for the Septuagint.* (London, 1850.)
7. *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record,* January 1858. (London, 1858.)

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8. *The Bible in the Church.* By the Rev. B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. (Cambridge, 1864.)
9. *The Old Testament, with a Brief Commentary.* Part V. The Apocrypha: I. Esdras to Maccabees. (S.P.C.K. 1880.)
10. *The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, with Historical Introductions, a Revised Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory.* By EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D.D. (A Supplement to Lange's *Bibelwerk.*) (Edinburgh, 1880.)

IT is proposed in this article to give a brief survey of the controversies relating to the Apocrypha, and the various estimates which have been made of the books usually distinguished by that name, and of their use and value to Biblical students, or as sources of moral teaching to the Church; with special reference to the narratives of Tobit and Judith.

By the name Apocrypha it is here intended to describe those sacred writings of the Jews, which, though not contained in the Hebrew Canon, have formed part of the Bibles of the Christian Church as received in the East and West, being included in the manuscripts of the Septuagint and Vulgate, or in the Itala, or ancient Latin version which preceded the Vulgate. Other books and fragments, which are added by Fabricius and Fritzsche in their collections of ψευδεπίγραφα, belong to a different category, having not exercised the same influence in the Christian Church. The word Apocrypha has had various meanings attached to it, more or less fanciful: as (1) books whose authors conceal or disguise their names; or (2) books removed from the crypt or shelf on which the canonical Scriptures were kept, S. Epiphanius being usually alleged for this meaning; (3) or books read secretly or privately, as distinct from the canonical books, which were read in public; (4) S. Augustine, rejecting the notion that Apocryphal books were such as were purposely kept secret from the people, maintains that they were books whose origin was hidden from the Fathers, books that wanted testimonials, or were of suspected character or by unknown authors;[1] (5) Ruffinus gives a further definition of Apocryphal books, distinguishing them from ecclesiastical writings as well as from canonical Scripture. Ecclesiastical books were to be read in church, but not to be alleged to confirm matters of faith. Apocryphal books were of an inferior rank, and not worthy to be read in church at all.[2] Hence it appears that

[1] Hey, *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 481.

[2] Hooker, book v. c. 20-7.

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the word was not so commonly applied to all sacred writings that were outside the canon, but to an inferior class, that were not thought worthy of a place among the *Libri Ecclesiastici;* and it is to these, and not to such books as Tobit, Judith, or Ecclesiasticus, that S. Augustine is supposed to refer in *Civ. Dei*, lib. xv. 23: 'In Apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa, nulla est canonica authoritas.'

Others, with S. Jerome, took the word Apocrypha in a wider sense, such as would include many of the *Ecclesiastici*, in which traces are found of the 'stilus apocryphus.' The chief feature of this style was supposed to be that the author disguised or concealed his name. Thus Salvianus, presbyter of Marseilles, A.D. 445, excused, in a letter to Salonius, the assumption of the name of the apostle Timothy by an author who wrote with a good and pious object, and illustrated it by the conduct of the angel Raphael in Tobit:

'In every book let the profit of reading be sought rather than the name of the author. If the author, whoever he is, has something for the good instruction of his readers, why should he concern himself about a name, which can but gratify curiosity? Such an inquiry of mere curiosity might justly be met with the reply of the angel, "Dost thou seek my country or a hired servant?"[1] What profit is there in a name? The inquiry is superfluous.'

The angel Raphael is thus made the type of an Apocryphal writer, who seems to deprecate an inquiry into his name, or even into the strict accuracy of his story. 'Let it be enough that my purpose is your moral and spiritual edification, and that I am sent to do you good.'

Thus the word Apocrypha denotes something more than the want of canonical authority of the book. It describes a certain style or character which belongs, either wholly or in part, to the contents of the works thus denoted. It belongs especially to the character of the angel Raphael in Tobit; to the names of persons and places in the Book of Judith; to the assumption of the name and character of Solomon by the author of the Book of Wisdom; and generally to narratives like that of the third Book of Esdras, or the fourth of Maccabees, where philosophical dialogues or discourses are put into the mouths of historical persons, who give utterance to the sentiments of the author.

The belief that an Apocryphal character, as above defined, belongs to most of the books or fragments of books which are wanting in the Hebrew Canon is consistent with a high

[1] Tobit, v. 11.

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appreciation of their value and use in the Christian Church, as opposed to the contemptuous disparagement with which later Protestantism has treated them. The passages usually quoted from the *Speculum* of S. Augustine and the Epistles of S. Isidorus may be taken as true expressions of the estimation in which they were held, as preparing the way for Christ, and approximating in some important points to the teaching of the Gospel. 'Non sunt omittendi et hi libri, quos quidem ante Salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos; sed eos, non receptos à Judæis, recipit tamen ejusdem Salvatoris Ecclesia.' 'The books of the Old Testament which we place in the fourth rank are those which are not in the Hebrew canon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and two books of Maccabees, which, though the Hebrews separately place them among the Apocrypha, the Church of Christ honours and preaches them amongst the Divine Scriptures.'

Great obscurity rests upon the original intermixture of the Apocryphal portions with the canonical books in the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament. S. Jerome appears to have continued the arrangement of the books as he found it in the Itala. Mr. Grinfield observes that 'the circumstance of the intermixture was altogether accidental, and had no good authority to plead in its favour. Neither Philo, Josephus, nor Melito mention any such additions.'[1] Mr. Grinfield argues that the authority of the Septuagint is a wholly distinct question from that of the Apocryphal additions. Grabe suggested that the books must have received some kind of sanction from the Jewish Sanhedrim of Alexandria; but this was a pure conjecture. But as no heresy appears to have grown out of the Christian use of the Apocryphal books, what has been called accidental may perhaps be described rather as Providential, the end being the preservation of the Apocrypha as a testimony to Christ and His Gospel.

There is no sufficient reason to suppose that the canon of the Egyptian Jews differed from that of the Jews of Palestine. Mr. Grinfield says:—

'Philo, though he invariably quotes from the Septuagint, has not cited a single passage from the Apocrypha, and Josephus agrees numerically with our present canon. It is doubtful when the Apocryphal writings became mixed with the canonical books in the LXX. MSS.; but, I think, it must have been subsequent to the Apostolic age. The Hellenists are never charged with any such spurious additions in the New Testament; nor, as far as I can recollect, by

[1] *Apology for the Septuagint*, p. 51.

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any of the early Fathers. Had it been so, it is probable we should have found it noticed by Justin, who charges the Jews with erasing passages from the Septuagint.' [1]

Mr. Grinfield says further:—

'The arguments by which Grabe attempts to prove that the Apocryphal additions were included in the original manuscripts sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria are of no weight. It is not probable that any of them even existed at that remote period. Being not noticed by Philo or Josephus, they were plainly inserted at a subsequent era.'

The sixth Article of Religion enumerates fourteen books as belonging to the sacred literature of the Jewish Church, but not to the Hebrew canon. Of these nine are distinct treatises, and five are fragments; three being found in the Greek and Latin copies of Daniel; one an addition (divided into six chapters) to Esther; and one, the Prayer of Manasses, being found in some old Latin copies of the second Book of Chronicles, and in the appendix to the Greek Psalter. Commentators on the Article have not dwelt at any length on the subject of the Apocrypha; but after showing that the Hebrew canon has the support of antiquity, they have usually contented themselves with accepting the judgment of Jerome and Ruffinus upon the books called 'Ecclesiastical.'

The Apocrypha of the English Bible corresponds in the *number* of books with the old editions of the Vulgate, and with the old English versions of the Old Testament, which were made from the Vulgate. The changes which have been made are in the *position* and the *text* of the books. In the older editions the Books of Tobit and Judith preceded the canonical Book of Esther; the two Esdras's usually followed Nehemiah; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus followed the Song of Solomon; Baruch and Jeremy's Epistle preceded or followed the Lamentations; and the Maccabees were placed at the end of the Old Testament. In the Reformed Bibles the books and fragments were classed separately, and placed before or after the New Testament. A further change was made in the rejection of the text of the Vulgate in the books which were extant in Greek; a new version from the Greek being preferred, the Greek text being supposed to be the most ancient of the various forms in which the books have come down to us. This change involved, not only verbal differences, but considerable variations in the details of some of the Apocryphal histories, notably in Tobit and Judith.

[1] *Apology for the Septuagint*, p. 65.

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The English Apocrypha is incomplete in its omission of (1) the third and fourth Books of Maccabees; (2) of the foot-note to Job; (3) of the 151st Psalm; which are all found in the editions of the Greek Old Testament Scriptures. Many of the Greek psalters contain further an appendix of Old Testament and Christian canticles. The English Apocrypha differs from the Deutero-Canon of the Council of Trent, and from the Lutheran and other German Bibles, by retaining the two Books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses. It differs in its text from the old English versions, the Douay version, and all other versions which follow the Vulgate. The Vulgate Tobit, however, survives in the English Bibles of 1566, 1568, and 1595,[1] and in the Sentences of the Offertory, as well as in the use made of it in the Marriage Service.

The Vulgate gradually superseded the Antiqua Versio, or Itala, which seems to have been much nearer to the Greek in the text of the Apocryphal Books. In the older Latin psalters the 151st Psalm, 'Pusillus eram,' is placed before the appendix of creeds and canticles with which they conclude. As the newer Psalter of the Vulgate came into use, this psalm seems to have passed out of notice, and hence it is not included in the Mediæval Commentaries on the Psalter, which embrace the Te Deum, Quicunque Vult, and other canticles.

According to Sabatier, the books which underwent the least change were those of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Of these he gives one version, described as 'Versio Antiqua, quæ et Vulgata nostra,' on the ground that the Vulgate in these books corresponds with the quotations in Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. Of Baruch he gives two versions: (1) 'Versio Antiqua quæ et Vulgata nostra;' (2) 'alia versio vetus.' An introduction, taken in part from Jer. li., is prefixed to the latter. The Vulgate in Maccabees is also said to possess the same claim of antiquity with the 'alia versio vetus.' But the version of Tobit, Judith, and of the addition to Esther, is peculiar to the Vulgata Nova. In the 'Versio Antiqua' the dream of Mordecai is prefixed to Esther I., but the rest of the addition is omitted.

Besides the older versions founded upon the Greek, there was a new Latin version of the Septuagint, published by authority of Pope Sixtus V. at Rome, in 1588. This edition omits the fourth Book of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, the former having no extant Greek original, and the latter

[1] The Great Bible (Cranmer) and the Bishop's Bible (Tyndal) follow the Vulgate. The new version based on the Greek first appears in the Genevan Bible of 1560.

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being wanting in the Greek editions and manuscripts used by the Roman editors. The 3rd of Esdras is, as in some Greek editions, the first Book of Esdras. The canonical Ezra is the second Book. Then follows Nehemiah, with Tobit and Judith, according to the Greek. The longer addition to Esther is wanting; but nine or ten verses are appended to ch. x., concluding thus: 'Anno quarto regnante Ptolemæo et Cleopatrâ attulit Dositheus (qui dicebat se esse sacerdotem et Levitam) et Ptolemæus filius ejus propositam epistolam Phruræ; quam dixerunt esse, et interpretatum esse Lysimachum Ptolemæi qui in Hierusalem.' This edition also contains the footnote and other additions to Job, the 151st Psalm, Susanna prefixed to Daniel, as in most Greek copies, the Epistle of Jeremy in its Greek position (separated from Baruch by the Lamentations), and two books only of Maccabees.

Of the chief manuscripts of the Septuagint, the *Vatican* contains Wisdom, Sirach, Esther i.–x. only; then Judith and Tobit, followed by Hosea; the three additions to Daniel, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy. The *Sinaitic* contains Tobit, Judith, four Books of Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, the footnote to Job, and Psalm 151. The *Alexandrian* contains the third of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the additions to Daniel, Wisdom, Sirach, and four Books of Maccabees.[1]

The Complutensian editors, in their Polyglott, separated the Apocrypha from the canonical Books. Cardinal Ximenes wrote: 'The books which are without the canon, which the Church receives, rather for the edification of the people than for the establishment of ecclesiastical doctrines, are given only in Greek, but with a double translation.'[2] In their Apocrypha they included the addition to Esther and the third Book of Maccabees, but omitted the Books of Esdras, the Prayer of Manasses, and the 151st Psalm. In the Bibles printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the different languages of Europe, there is found a considerable variation, both in the number and position of the Apocryphal Books. The third Book of Maccabees, of which some Roman commentators speak with the utmost disdain, appears in the Bibles of Holland and Zürich. The Apocrypha is placed in a separate class; in some editions, as that of Leyden, 1676, the Greek Tobit is given; but in others the Vulgate Tobit is preferred, though Wisdom appears to be corrected by the Greek. In the Zürich Bible of 1566, the Apocryphal Books

[1] The fourth of Maccabees is, however, inserted as a separate appendix.

[2] Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 249.

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are grouped together and placed between the canonical Books of Esther and Job.

Most of the other versions, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, agree with the English Bibles in including the Books which are found in the old editions of the Vulgate; inserting the third and fourth of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, and omitting the third of Maccabees. A peculiar feature in a Bible (Italian) of 1477 is the insertion of the Book of Aristeas on the Septuagint after the Psalter.

The German Bibles, like that of Luther, agree with the Council of Trent in the number of books, excluding the Esdras's and Manasses; they also follow the Vulgate text, especially in Tobit. The books are generally grouped together after Malachi, but the old position is sometimes retained. A Finnish Bible agrees with the Lutheran. A Slavonic Bible of the seventeenth century combines some of the features of the Greek with those of the Vulgate. It includes the third and fourth of Esdras; it follows the Vulgate Tobit, and places the Epistle of Jeremy as Baruch vi. On the other hand, it includes the 151st Psalm and the third Book of Maccabees. Another Slavonic Bible places the Prayer of Manasses at the end of Chronicles, and includes the fourth of Esdras. On the other hand, it follows the Greek in Tobit; it includes the additions to Job, and appends to the Psalter the 151st Psalm, followed by a catalogue of hymns and canticles; it follows the Greek arrangement in Baruch, and includes three Books of Maccabees. Some Italian Bibles omit the addition to Esther; and one edition, that of 1532, omits also the additions to Daniel.

In general, it appears that in the Apocryphal additions to the Bibles of Western Christendom the chief influence has been that of the old editions of the Vulgate before the Council of Trent, rather than the reformed Vulgate in which the Apocrypha is reduced by the omission of the two Esdras's and the Prayer of Manasses; whilst the Latin text of Jerome has, to a very large extent, maintained its position against the rival claims of the Greek.

When we pass to the consideration of the ancient canons which relate to the Apocrypha, we find even a greater variety than in the different editions of the Latin and Greek Bible, or in the versions made from them. The 85th Apostolical Canon contains a list of the books of the Bible. It appears, however, that this list was introduced into its place at a later date. Here the books of the Hebrew Canon are enumerated with the addition of three Books of Maccabees;

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the Wisdom of Sirach is also mentioned, and recommended for the instruction of the young. S. Augustine, in his second book *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, mentions, in his catalogue of Scripture, Tobit, Judith, two Books of Maccabees, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (both of which he ascribes to the son of Sirach here, though he corrects the mistake in the *Retractationes*); but in the treatise *De Civitate Dei*, he distinguishes between the books of the Hebrew Canon and other sacred writings which possessed some kind of authority in the Church. Such were the Books of Maccabees, which were honoured by the Church on account of the marvellous sufferings of martyrs which they relate. At the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, at which S. Augustine was present, a list of canonical Scriptures was approved, which included Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit and Judith; and, according to some copies, two books of Maccabees.

These authorities have been much urged by the upholders of the Tridentine Canon; but it is doubtful whether 'canonical' had any further sense than 'approved for ecclesiastical use.'

The first Council of Toledo, A.D. 435, pronounced an anathema against those who should say or believe that any other Scriptures besides those which the Catholic Church receives are to be held as authoritative or to be reverenced. A canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, was directed against those who rejected the Apocalypse of S. John. Other Spanish Councils of early date prohibit the reading or singing of Psalms or other compositions not found in the canonical Scriptures. The Epistle of Innocent I., A.D. 405, mentions the same books as were included in the Canon of Carthage; Tobit, Judith and Maccabees following Job in the catalogue. The list in Hormisdas, Decretal. cap. i., is nearly the same.

The Council of Nicæa is sometimes alleged in the controversy, because of the saying of S. Jerome concerning the Book of Judith: 'Hunc librum Synodus Nicæa in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse.' These words were variously explained by Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, and others. But as no evidence is found elsewhere of any such canon having been decreed by the Council, it has been suggested that some spurious catalogue was forged under the name of the Council: a suspicion which, it is said, is confirmed by Cassiodorus, who assigns the first authority to the Hebrew Canon, and places in a secondary position the other Books mentioned by S. Augustine.

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Among the heresies enumerated by ancient authors, or censured by Councils, there are a considerable number condemned as depraving Scripture, or denying the authority of portions of the Canon; but in no case was the adhering to the Hebrew Canon regarded as a mark of heresy. Philastrius, in *Heresy* 28, describes the Procliani, an obscure sect in Galatia; they used the Wisdom of Sirach, denied the Incarnation, Resurrection and Judgment, and interpreted Ezekiel's four living creatures as signifying four worldly kingdoms. In *Heresy* 60, he describes another sect, called 'Apocryphi,' who rejected the law, and read the Prophets and Apostles, including spurious works ascribed to the latter, which they preferred to the canonical Scriptures; contrary to the Apostolical tradition, that canonical Books alone should be read, and other Books reserved for the use of the perfect.

In the controversies which ushered in the Reformation, the question as to the authority of the Apocryphal Books occupied a secondary or collateral place, nor does it appear to have been brought into prominence until after the decree of the Council of Trent. Amongst those who followed the teaching of S. Jerome as to the disparity in value and authority between the Canonical and Ecclesiastical Books, there must be reckoned not only Erasmus and Luther, but also Cardinal Cajetan, who was himself the opponent of Luther at Augsburg in 1518. At the earlier period of the reforming movement, there was no manifestation on the one side of a disposition to condemn the Apocrypha as altogether unworthy of credit, nor on the other side of any desire to merge the distinction between it and the Hebrew Canon. The opinions of Cajetan were often referred to by the moderate party at Trent; for whatever reverence he might claim for the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, he claimed 'canonical authority' in S. Jerome's sense for the Hebrew Books alone.[1]

The Parisian Council of 1528 (*Conc. Senonense*), at which Antoine du Prat, Archbishop of Sens, presided, condemned certain errors of Luther, Erasmus, Huss, and Balthasar, but it does not appear that the disparagement of the Apocryphal Books was one of them. Nor were the Books often quoted or relied upon in controversy, unless it might seem necessary to except certain passages in Tobit and the second Book of Maccabees, which were alleged for the intercession of saints and angels. But even in defence of this tenet, preference was given to the Hebrew Scriptures, as in the use of Isa. lxiii.,

[1] Westcott, p. 253.

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'Though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not;' or, in reference to Purgatory, Psalm lxvi., 'we went through fire and water.' On 2 Macc. xii. 43, Luther's argument laid less stress on the Book being not canonical, and rather denied that Purgatory could be inferred from Judas's sacrifice for the dead. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,[1] in his *Refutation of the Assertions of Luther*, A.D. 1523, observed that in the dispute on Purgatory Luther had denied the authority of the Book of Maccabees. He quotes S. Augustine in reply, and observes that the same Father refers to the pious acts of Judas in his treatise on *The Care for the Dead.* In his dispute with John Eck, Luther is said to have cited with approval, 'It was a holy and salutary thought to pray for the dead,' and to have admitted that Purgatory was scriptural, inasmuch as some sins are remitted hereafter, which was inferred from S. Matt. xii. 32.[2] There was no point upon which Luther's adversaries charged him with greater inconsistency and self-contradictions than in his estimate of the Apocryphal Books. So Baronius[3]—

'Luther had before rejected some of the Books of Holy Scripture because they were opposed to his errors. But now he praised them, and despised others which he before commended. He had before spoken of S. James as an "Epistola plane straminea, si ad alias conferatur;" but in his *Visitation of Saxony* he enumerated it among the books to be read in the churches on days when there was no sermon.'

Again—[4]

'Luther had before removed Ecclesiasticus from the number of the sacred books, and yet he restored it to its former dignity in his *Institution of the Saxon Church.* In this work he says, "It is written in Ecclus. xxxviii., All medicine is from God, and he will receive the gift from the king." Johannes Faber said, "You write this out of regard to the physicians."'

Luther's opinions of the Apocryphal Books are found in his introductions to the German version of the several books, and also in his *Table Talk.* In the former he ascribes Wisdom to Philo, and mentions that it was highly esteemed in the Church of Rome, and that more forms of Church hymns were derived from it than from any other book; tyrants are rebuked in it, and consolations are added for times of persecution. In the *Table Talk* he says of Ecclesiasticus, 'He who made that book was

[1] Joannes Roffensis.
[2] See Cochlæus' 'Lutherus septiceps,' vel 'Lutherus ubique sibi suis scriptis contrarius.'
[3] *Annales*, vol. 32, p. 77 (A.D. 1528). [4] *Ib.* p. 78.

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a preacher of the law or a lawyer. He teacheth how to carry a fine external conversation, but he was no prophet, neither teacheth he anything of Christ.' 'The third Book of Esdras I bid adieu. Those things which Esdras dreamed of in the fourth book are fair and pretty knacks, as the wine is strong, the king is stronger, women strongest of all, but the truth is stronger than all things.'

Upon Tobit he said, 'Tobias is a comedy in which discourse is made of woman, an example for house government.' When Justus Jonas translated Tobias into High Dutch, he attended Luther therewith, and said, 'Many ridiculous things are contained in the book, especially concerning the three nights, and the fish's liver wherewith the devil was scared away.' Luther said, 'It is a Jewish conceit, and the devil is too fierce and powerful an enemy to be scared away in such sort.'

On Judith, he said—

'Among all histories in Holie Scripture, I cannot conceive that the Book of Judith is a history. Besides, the country therein is not specified, where those passages should have happened. Therefore I hold that, like as the Legends of the Saints were devised, even so likewise this poem or imagination was made by some good and godly man, to the end he might teach that good and God-fearing people, and among them "Judith," that is "the Jewish kingdom," where God was known and confessed, overcame and vanquished Holofernes, that is, all the kingdoms of the world; and that all tyrants should come to such an end, namely, that through a woman they should be exterminated and destroyed. The author doubtless intended that it should be a figure and a parable, like Homer's conceit of Troy, or Virgil's of Æneas. So Judith is a tragedy describing the end of tyrants.'

On the second of Maccabees, he said—

'I am so great an enemy to the Book and to Esdras, that I wish they were not at all; for they are too much Jewished, and have many heathen fables.'

Other opinions of Luther, extracted chiefly from his German Bible, will be found in Dr. Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 260–263.

Some of these opinions of Luther seem to have been brought under the notice of the Council of Trent in the Session of February 1546. Certain articles extracted from Lutheran writings were recited; one of these was as follows:—

'Inter veteris Testamenti libros non alios recensendos quam qui in canone Judæorum sint; nec in Novo Testamento hos sex: epistolam quæ D. Pauli nomine circumfertur ad Hebræos; D. Jacobi;

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II. D. Petri; II. et III. D. Joannis, et unam D. Judæ. Item Apocalypsin.'

The Council then proceeded to frame a catalogue of canonical books. There was a general agreement that it should contain all the books that were read in the Roman Church, even those which were never received by the Hebrews. The authorities alleged were Popes Innocent I. and Gelasius, and the Councils of Laodicæa and Carthage. But the catalogue of books appears to have been taken from certain Constitutions which were made at the Council of Florence after the departure of the Greeks, for the guidance of the Armenians and Jacobites. This decree, which was subscribed by Pope Eugenius and his Cardinals, gave a list of the Books of the Old and New Testament: Nehemiah is followed by Tobias and Judith, the Song of Solomon by Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; Baruch is mentioned between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and Malachi is followed by two Books of Maccabees. This Florentine Constitution appears to have been taken as the basis of the decree of Trent, in preference to the old editions of the Vulgate, which included the two Esdras's and Manasses. The Tridentine and Florentine catalogues are identical as to the number and order of the Books, and in the discussion that preceded the promulgation of the decree, reference was repeatedly made to the proceedings at Florence. It was argued, for instance, by the moderate party, against annexing an anathema to the decree, that no anathema had been pronounced at Florence, from which the Council had taken its precedent. It was argued against requiring an 'equal faith and reverence' in the Apocryphal Books, that many writers who were above suspicion of heresy, as Cajetan, had held their authority to be uncertain and apocryphal; but 'the Ecumenical Council of Florence' was cited in reply, although it might well be questioned whether the 'Constitution' referred to formed an integral part of the Acta of the Council, or whether it was not rather a supplementary enactment, after the actual sessions of the Council were concluded. The decree, after the enumeration of the books, proceeds thus: 'Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit.'

'This fatal decree,' as Dr. Westcott observes (p. 257) 'was ratified by fifty-three prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished for historical learning, not one who was

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fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity.'

The result was, not to end strife, but rather to challenge and provoke controversy, and sorely to tax the ingenuity of those learned authors upon whom the defence and justification of it devolved.

The argument for the Tridentine Deutero-canon, as urged by such writers as Cardinal Bellarmine and Salmeron, was beset with difficulties on all sides. For (1) in order to weaken the authority of the Hebrew, it was necessary to uphold the rival claims of the Septuagint, and its inspiration as accepted by S. Augustine and other ancient writers. But (2) the Vulgate, which they were chiefly concerned to maintain, was to a large extent the version of S. Jerome, whose judgment on the Hebrew Canon and the Apocrypha the Council had deliberately abandoned. For the terms of the decree implied that the Deutero-canon, which included the books whose authorization came later than the rest, instead of forming a class of secondary authority among the sacred books, was equalized with the original Canon in respect of its acceptance by the faithful as the Word of God.

Nor is the Anglican position with respect to the Apocrypha free from its own peculiar difficulties and apparent inconsistencies. Beginning with a recognition of all the Books in the old Vulgate, before the recension which followed the decree of Trent, it accepts implicitly the judgment of S. Jerome, that such authority as the Books possess is ecclesiastical and not Divine. But in the text of the Books S. Jerome's authority is set aside, resort being had to the Greek, where, as in Tobit and Judith, it differs most materially from S. Jerome's version from the Chaldee. The Anglican Church has also given a special emphasis to the Ecclesiastical authority of certain of the Books, by introducing the continuous reading of them into the daily services to a degree unprecedented elsewhere, and by the manner in which they are quoted in the book of Homilies. Such being her position in the middle of the sixteenth century, she was exposed to a vigorous assault both from Roman controversialists, who made the utmost of her concessions as to the use of the Apocrypha, and from the Puritans, who complained bitterly of her divergence in this respect from the practice of the foreign Reformed Churches. Hence also the English Prayer-Book is sometimes cited by the Roman commentators on the Apocrypha as one of the testimonies from non-Roman sources to the value of the Books.

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The celebrated Jesuit Edmund Campian, in his mission to England in the reign of Elizabeth, made the disparagement of the Apocrypha one of his chief points of attack, and this led to a warm controversy, in which Whitaker and Lawrence Humphrey, the Puritan President of Magdalen College, Oxford, took a prominent part.

Campian's charge against the Reformed was as follows:

'Our opponents, after despising the evidence of other witnesses, cannot yet hold their own, without doing violence to the Divine Scriptures also; a clear sign that their cause is desperate. For why did the Manichæans reject S. Matthew and the Acts? They were in despair. These books embarrassed them in their denial of Christ's birth of a Virgin. Why did the Ebionites reject S. Paul's Epistles? They despaired of otherwise upholding circumcision. Why did Luther censure S. James as an epistle of straw, and unworthy of the spirit of an Apostle? He despaired of otherwise maintaining that righteousness consisted in "faith only." Why did Luther's cubs suddenly expunge from the Canon Tobias, Ecclesiasticus, and Maccabees, and from dislike of these many others not included in the same calumny? They were in despair. For they were thoroughly refuted out of these books in the argument concerning the "protection of Angels," the "freedom of the will," "the condition of the departed," and the "intercession of Saints."'

Then he charged the Calvinists with cutting out seven Books of the Old Testament, besides certain smaller portions of Books. 'The Lutherans disparage S. James, and five other "disputed" Books of the New Testament.' 'The latest Genevans add to these a Book of Esther, and nearly three chapters of Daniel, which their allies the Anabaptists had before condemned or ridiculed.' 'The Anabaptists called Job a fable, mixed with tragic and comic arrangements.' 'Castalio regarded as a mere worldly love-song that mystic Canticle which is to Catholics a hidden manna and a paradise of the soul.' He adds other charges against Luther, Beza, and others, of disparagement of portions of the New Testament Canon. These charges were mostly rebutted by Whitaker, who quoted Calvin as accepting S. James without controversy. The upholders of the Reformed religion were not Luther's cubs, but useful watch-dogs, who gave warning at the approach of thieves and strangers, especially Jesuits. S. Jerome and Cardinal Cajetan were quoted on the inferiority of the Apocryphal writings, especially the second book of Maccabees:—

'We deny not the office of Angels as guardians of the faithful. We only ignore your hierarchies and distinctions of orders and grades. We refuse to acknowledge them as mediators or objects of

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worship, relying upon S. Paul to the Colossians and S. John in Rev. xix. and xxii. As for the character of Raphael in Tobit, we care not for it, nor for the seven angels whom he mentions.[1] Much also of what is related by Raphael is alien from the canonical Books and savours of superstition.

'As for Ecclus. xv. 16, I attach no weight to it, nor will I believe the freedom of the will, though the author should assert a hundred times, "Before man is life and death, and whether him liketh shall be given him." This freedom, we say, was lost by the Fall (Gen. vi. 5), and this is the teaching both of the Fathers and human experience. The author might have referred to Adam before the Fall; but this testimony of an Apocryphal book is nothing to me.

'For the Maccabees I care less; being repudiated by Cyprian, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome. As for what is related about the sacrifice for the dead, I regard it as wholly supposititious and interpolated. Nothing of the sort is found in the Greek of Josephus, or in the Hebrew of Ben Gorion, who wrote on the same matters. Nor was there any such precept or custom recognized among the Hebrews, to make sacrifices or prayers for the dead. The passage in the Greek is moreover so confused and obscure that scarcely any sense can be elicited from it. The prayers of Onias in 2 Macc. xv. can prove nothing as to the intercession of Saints. The story is of a mere dream; and may be passed over as of no importance.'

Campian is further pressed with the argument that the two Esdras's, formerly held in high estimation by the Church of Rome, had been 'suddenly expunged' from the Canon. 'Jerome wrote that they were full of dreams: hence, perhaps, you are ashamed of them.'

The reply of Whitaker was followed by a more lengthy one from Lawrence Humphrey. He pleaded that there had been no sudden removal of Books from the Canon; that they had been repudiated by Christian antiquity, and not for the first time by Luther. He points out certain contradictions and inconsistencies in the Books of Maccabees, concerning the death of Judas, and the end of Antiochus, &c.

Of the teaching of Tobit concerning Angels he seems to make a juster estimate than Whitaker.

'We deny not that the Angels are patrons both of individuals and of nations; we acknowledge Raphael and Gabriel, and legions of Angels, spirits ministering to God and conferring benefits upon men and all creatures, being appointed to certain offices. But whilst we allow that God has committed this province of guardianship to the Angels, we maintain that all worship and veneration of them is forbidden. Though Raphael was one of the seven, though he brought up Tobit's tears and prayers before God, and was sent for this purpose,

[1] Whitaker here seems to have forgotten that the words of Raphael in Tob. xii. 15 are nearly identical with Rev. viii. 2.

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and to be the witness of his good deeds, yet nothing can be thence inferred as to invoking or worshipping Angels. The father and son in Tob. xii. fall prostrate in the worship of God, not of the Angel. We find no difficulty in the Book of Tobit in its teaching on this point, nor should we be driven to reject it by any such considerations.'

Humphrey then observes that Tobit had been urged by the Theological faculty of the University of Cologne in support of the doctrine of the 'merit of human actions.' They pleaded that in Tob. xiv. the Angel confessed that Tobit was accepted by God for his eminent works of piety and benevolence. But this, it was replied, was a threefold misstatement. For (1) it is the assertion not of the Angel, but of the writer of the book; (2) he says nothing of 'works that exceeded,' but only commends the honest life and holy conversation of Tobit and his family; (3) he speaks not of the merit of works unto justification and salvation, but only relates that the piety and goodness of the family were acceptable to God and man. The argument showed an eagerness on the part of the Roman controversialists to make use of the authority claimed for the Apocryphal Books.

Humphrey proceeds:

'The argument from 2 Macc. xii. in favour of prayers and offerings for the dead is weak and inconclusive. The writer only records the act of Judas without recommending it for imitation. No such sacrifices were authorized by the Law of Moses; and life and conduct are to be regulated by laws and not examples, Judas only followed the imagination of his own heart. The whole passage is open to suspicion from its omission by Josephus. So Munster, in his observations on Ben Gorion, says: "Since this is not found in any other passage of Scripture, nor is in use among the Jews at this day,—to pray for those who are already under God's judgment, it seems that this clause was added by some bold transcriber."'

Humphrey deals lastly with the use of 2 Macc. xv. as an argument for the invocation of Saints. So Alphonsus de Castro had urged:

'If Onias and Jeremiah prayed for their people, whilst they were still in the *limbus Patrum*, how much more easily and fervently may the Saints intercede for us, now that they enjoy the beatific vision of God?'

To this Humphrey replied:

'None of us ever denied that Jeremiah and the dead saints can cry under the altar, and pray for their brethren, the afflicted members of the universal Church. But that they make prayers singly for any one of us out of special regard to us, or that we ought to invoke them as intercessors between us and God, this they have never yet proved. Our controversy with them is not as to what the Church triumphant

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does, but on the duty of the Church militant towards them, of which not a word is found in this place. Duræus even quoted "this man calleth Elias" as evidence of the Jewish invocation of Saints. But shall we receive Christian doctrine from the enemies and revilers of Christ?'

Throughout this controversy it is evident that the upholders of the Apocryphal Books were attempting to give them a doctrinal importance and significance which they did not possess, the facts showing that on the matters in dispute the Apocrypha added little or nothing to the testimony of the received Books of Scripture. Neither Whitaker nor Humphrey seem to have apprehended that the Council of Trent had abandoned the old Apocrypha of the Vulgate by the elimination of the Esdras's and Manasses. Both express surprise at Campian's passing them by in his enumeration of Books 'suddenly expunged from the Canon.'

At the same time the Church of England was fiercely assailed by the Puritan faction for retaining the Apocrypha in her Bibles, and for ordering the reading of portions of it in her daily office. These books, they said, contained many things that were very frivolous, and much that was plainly contrary to the Holy Scripture. Some of the matter which they objected to was taken from books that were never read in Church. There was 'an eager desire to rake together whatsoever might any way hinder the credit of Apocryphal books.' They were charged as 'fraught with outrageous lies.' In reply to these exaggerated censures Hooker and Whitgift urged the 'Divine excellency' of much that is contained in the Apocryphal Books; that the Church had let them stand as a marginal border unto the Old Testament; that the Apocryphal Books had been called holy, ecclesiastical, sacred, and even divine, by those who distinguished them from canonical Scripture; that the whole Church of Christ had from the beginning approved their fitness for the public information of life and manners; and consequently we dare not thrust them out of our Bibles. Hence the attempt to expunge the Apocryphal lessons failed. But Puritanism succeeded so far, that the practice of printing and publishing the English Bible without the Apocrypha became more and more the rule instead of the exception.[1] Modern versions into Indian and other vernaculars have seldom, if ever, included the Apocryphal Books. The loss of continuity in the sacred history which resulted from this omission of the connexion between the Old and New Testament was thus deplored by Dr. Thomas

[1] *The Old and New Testament without the Apocrypha*, is the title of one of Field's Cambridge editions of the Bible, published in 1666.

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Jackson.[1] After quoting at length 1 Macc. xiii. 33-52 :—'He that will compare these, and many other passages in this grave writer, with the ninth of the Prophet Zechariah, will perceive that there may be good use of books, not canonical; and that this book, though apocryphal, did not deserve to be left out in the new impressions, or binding up of our Bible.'[2]

The expression 'Divine' as applied to portions of the Apocrypha may be illustrated by the saying of Drusius concerning Tobit: 'Liber iste ab ecclesiasticis viris olim receptus, publiceque in Ecclesiâ lectus, ac tantum non pro *Divino* habitus semper fuit.'

The Prayer-Book of the American Church retained the special Apocryphal lessons for Saints' days, but expunged the rest, providing for the months of October and November by a new arrangement and a slight abbreviation of the Old Testament lessons.

In the Greek Church Cyril Lucar and Metrophanes Critopulus, and a catechism quoted by Bishop Wordsworth on the Canon, testify to the exclusive canonical authority of the Hebrew Books, and to the inferior position of the Apocrypha, whilst the Synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 1672, charged Cyril with defaming (either through ignorance, folly, or deliberate malice) a portion of the sacred books and calling them Apocryphal. The decree then specifies the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, the history of the dragon, the history of Susanna, the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Sirach. 'But we reckon these also to be genuine portions of Scripture, and class them with the other genuine books of Divine Scripture.' But this judgment stands alone, and seems to have been formed under Latin pressure. At the contemporary synod of Constantinople a distinction was made between the canonical Scriptures and those books, which, though holy and excellent, are not contained in the enumeration of the Holy writers.[3]

After briefly describing the controversies in the English Church on the Apocrypha, Dr. Westcott observes:

'The growing study of the Bible shows day by day more clearly the importance of the Apocrypha "as books good and useful to be

[1] Book. viii. c. 27.

[2] Bishop Andrewes, in his sermon on 'the worshipping of imaginations,' says: 'They will have none of the Apocrypha cited. Another imagination: for S. Jude in his epistle hath not feared to allege, out of the book of Enoch, which book hath ever been reckoned Apocrypha. And by his example, all the ancient writers are full of allegations from them: ever to these writings yielding the next place after the canon of the Scriptures; and preferring them before all foreign 'writers whatsoever.'

[3] Westcott, p. 229.

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read," which link together the Old and New Testaments, and set before the Church in vivid pictures the working of the Old Dispensation throughout the Jewish world at times when there was "no prophet more." They witness alike to what Judaism could do, and to what it could not do. The Church of England has followed the golden mean in adhering to the judgment of Jerome, and thereby has borne witness to the true historic relations of the Bible.[1]

This statement, excellent as far as it goes, is scarcely exhaustive of the question of the Apocryphal lessons. It would go far to prove that the Apocryphal Books should be retained in our Bibles and studied, especially as containing the devout aspirations of the true Israelites, who waited for the kingdom of God, and expressing the faith of that orthodox part of the Jewish nation who were strong in their belief in the life to come, whence Christ gathered his little flock; but it fails to produce conviction that the Apocryphal narratives, upon whose authentic character such grave doubts must ever rest, were rightly ordered to be read under the same circumstances as the true narratives of Scripture. The question turns chiefly upon the Books of Tobit and Judith and the additions to Daniel, on the ground that they are not merely 'Books not canonical,' but books containing a large proportion of matter, which is in the stricter sense 'apocryphal.'

It is here that the opponents of the 'Libri Ecclesiastici' have boasted their chief triumphs. They have urged with some reason that the authors of those books do not even claim to be authentic historians. They appear to avow themselves 'apocryphi,' or moral teachers in disguise, and not recorders of history. Should then the story of Judith take rank beside that of Ruth or Esther? Does the author of the former make any claim to the same kind of credence for his story as has been given to the latter? If not, though the book contains much that is Scriptural, and manifests the pious and patriotic spirit of the author, it cannot be heard with the feelings of such reverence as is due to the authentic account of the divinely-controlled fortunes of the chosen people.

Hence, after removing much that is frivolous and puerile in the popular objections to Tobit and Judith,[2] there remains a residue of anachronism and improbable circumstance, which clothes the narratives with a disguise of historical unreality, and impairs their use and value as instructors of the Church or 'teachers of manners' in religion and piety.

[1] *Bible in the Church*, p. 291.

[2] See, for instance, two miserable articles on these Books in the *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record for* 1858–9.

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To speak more particularly of Judith. Luther, in the German Preface, says of it: 'It is a good, holy, and useful book, well worthy to be read by us Christians; for the words which the characters in the story speak are to be understood as the words of a sacred poet or prophet by the aid of the Holy Ghost,' &c. But he regarded it as an epic or tragedy, showing the end of tyrants. This idea is further expanded by the learned Grotius in his introduction to the book:

'Many learned men have laboured to reconcile the contents of Judith with the undoubted histories of sacred or Greek writers; but they will labour long before they will satisfy themselves or others. The contents of this book are allegorical. It was written when Antiochus came into Judæa, before the Temple was profaned, to confirm the Jews in the hope of Divine deliverance. "Judith" means the Jewish nation. "Bethulia" is the house of God, or the Temple. The sword proceeding from it is the power of prayer. (As in the Targum on Gen. xlviii. 22.) Nebuchodonosor signifies "Satan." Assyria means "pride." The instrument of Satan is Antiochus, disguised under the name of Holofernes, that is, "Hilphar Nachash," "the officer of the serpent." Judæa is a fair woman, "a pleasant land," as in Daniel, but a widow, helpless, desolate, and forsaken, whom Holofernes would subjugate. The hope of the faithful that God would arise and defend His people is expressed by the name Joachim, or Eliakim (Vulgate), signifying "God will arise." The rest of the story is episode, or such embellishment as is common in parables.

Amongst those who defend the authenticity of the story there may be mentioned Serarius, and other Roman commentators and Biblical critics; and, amongst ourselves, Dr. Prideaux in his *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, and the Rev. G. Williams, in the *Holy City*. Serarius gives nine different dates that have been assigned to it: three before, and six after, the Babylonish Captivity. With mediæval authors the theory which found most favour was the one which identified Nebuchodonosor with Cambyses. For this view Bede, Rabanus, Dionysius Carthusianus, and seven others are cited. S. Augustine placed it somewhere about the time of Cyrus and Darius, or between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes and Artaxerxes, or Ochus, are conjectured by others.

But the post-Captivity dates are generally rejected by the later defenders of the book. The dominant power in Judith is that of Assyria, to which both the Medes and the sons of Chelod, or Chaldæans, are subject. There is no sign of Persian domination; whilst the conflicts with the Medes, as described in Judith, appear to refer to the early revolt of the Medes

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against the power of Nineveh, as related in Herodotus, and are not so easily reconciled with the times when Media had become a satrapy of the Persian Empire. On the other hand, the mention of the recent return of the people from captivity; the re-occupation of Jerusalem, which had been desolate, and of the Temple, that was cast to the ground;[1] the government by the High-Priest and Sanhedrim; and the period of tranquillity which is said to have followed the deliverance from Holofernes, appear to be almost insuperable difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the early date. The Vulgate, whilst omitting one difficulty, that of the 'Temple cast to the ground,' adds others peculiar to itself, especially the institution of the festival in memory of the deliverance. Mr. Williams, in the *Holy City*, accepts the second of the two earlier dates which have been assigned, the reign of Josiah. The minority of the young king might account for the regal power being in abeyance, and the regency of the high-priest: whilst the defeat and death of Phraortes in Herodotus might be identified with the fate of Arphaxad in Judith i. 13–15. Two objections to this theory are gathered from Dr. Pusey's Introduction to Nahum: (1) that Manasseh's captivity was only a personal capture, followed presently by his restoration as a frontier power against Egypt; (2) that the account of Herodotus is now supposed to be misdated, and to refer to some event in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. To this it may be added that there is scarcely any period in Jewish history to which the time of tranquillity mentioned at the end of Judith would be less applicable than the reign of Josiah, and that Arphaxad's fortification of Ecbatana answers not to the acts of Phraortes, but to those of his predecessor Deioces. Hence the date which has found most favour is the reign of Manasseh. It was thought that his return from captivity might be referred to in the speech of Achior in chap. v. 19, and the restoration of the sanctuary might be his purification of it from idolatrous pollutions. According to this theory Arphaxad was the Deioces of Herodotus, and Nebuchodonosor was one of the successors of Esarhaddon, the name representing the Assyrian monarch Saosducheos, of whom nothing is known except that he is placed after Esarhaddon in the 'Ptolemæan Canon,' an ancient list of kings by Claudius Ptolemæus. Such is the theory of Dr. Prideaux, who, whilst admitting that some of the difficulties were insuperable, pleaded that they were not sufficient entirely to overthrow

[1] Chap. v. 18–19—Greek text.

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the historical character of the book. Calmet concluded that it was impossible to surmount all the difficulties. The Latin version points to an earlier date, but the Greek and Syriac rather to a period after the Captivity. The festival mentioned in the Vulgate is by some learned authors identified with the feast which was instituted after the renovation or dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus.

A closer examination of the contents of the Book of Judith tends to confirm the suspicion that it was written with special reference to the Maccabæan times. The name 'Judith,' though it might denote one who was praised, or whose doings were for the praise of God, or the land or people for whom she devoted herself, might also recall the name of Judas, the deliverer of the Jews. Judith iii. 7: 'They received them with garlands.' This may be compared with the 'crown taxes;' crowns offered in token of submission in 1 Macc. x. 25, xi. 35, xiii. 39. The boasting of Holofernes, Judith iii. 8, resembles that of Antiochus, 2 Macc. ix. 12. 'Scythopolis,' Judith iii. 9, compare 2 Macc. xii. 29, 'city of the Scythians.' Judith iv. 3, 'The vessels were sanctified;' compare 1 Macc. iv. 36, &c. Judith iv. 5, 'The fortification of the villages;' compare 1 Macc. ix. 50–52. The fear for the profanation of the Temple is common to Judith iv. 2 and 2 Macc. xi. 2, 3. The cry to God for help is common to Judith iv. 9 and 2 Macc. xi. 6. The humiliation and fasting in Judith iv. 14, 15, may be compared with 1 Macc. iii. 44–48. 'Hireling' or 'mercenary' occurs in Judith vi. 2 and 1 Macc. vi. 29.[1] The kindling of watch-fires is mentioned in Judith vii. 5 and 1 Macc. xii. 28, 29. The words of Judith in Judith viii. 17, 22, 23, resemble those of Judas in 1 Macc. iii. 58–60. Whether God would interfere to save them or not, an honourable death would be better than a disgraceful surrender. Judith ix. 7, 'The Lord that breakest the battles.' These words, originally found in the LXX. of Exod. xv. 3, are common to Judith xvi. 3 and 1 Macc. xii. 28. In Judith xi. 11, the word *ἀτοπίαν*, which stands for any action that is wrong or amiss, like *ἄτοπον* in the speech of the penitent thief, has its parallel in 2 Macc. xiv. 23. The 'licence from the senate,' Judith xi. 14, answers to the modification of ceremonial laws through the necessities of war in 1 Macc. ii. 38–41. The exposure of the head of Holofernes in Judith xiv. 1 answers to the similar exhibition of the head of Nicanor in 2 Macc. xv. 35. The confused

[1] The expression 'hirelings of Ephraim' is, however, to be traced to the LXX. of Isa. xxviii. 1, where it is explained by the confusion of the letters Vau and Yod.

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rout of the Assyrian camp, Judith xv. 3, and the pursuit of them with shouting and sounding of trumpets (Vulgate), resemble the flight of the enemies of Judas in 2 Macc. xii. 22, 1 Macc iv. 13–23. The word used for 'chasing' or out-flanking the fugitives in Judith xv. 5 is found again in 1 Macc. vii. 46. In the same chapter the triumph of the Jews, and the spoiling of the camp, have their counterpart in 1 Macc. iv. 23, 55. In Judith xvi. 17 the vengeance upon the enemies of God and His people in the world to come is anticipated. The same thought is expressed in 2 Macc. vi. 12–16. In Judith xvi. 18, 19, the dedication of the spoils as a thank-offering answers to 2 Macc. viii. 28–30. Lastly, it is conjectured that the encænia or dedication in 1 Macc. iv. 56, 59, 2 Macc. x. 5–7, is alluded to in the conclusion of Judith in the Vulgate: 'But the day of the festivity of this victory is received by the Hebrews in the number of holy days, and is religiously observed by the Jews from that time until this day.'

These points of contact between Judith and the first and second Books of Maccabees, though insufficient to point to a common authorship of the three, yet give a strong probability to the view that they are the productions of the same age, and that the author of Judith wrote with a special view to the events of his own time. The names of persons and places suggest a strong suspicion of the apocryphal character of the whole narrative, or that the author disguised the events to which he was referring by introducing circumstances borrowed from other periods of history.

According to this view the value of the Book of Judith is to be found, rather in the accessories of the story, than in the chief incident; in the episodes, rather than in the plot of the tale. It will be useful as expressing the faith of the writer, and of the pious Jews of his time, as an evidence of the power which the belief in God and immortality had obtained over the faithful Israelites in the days of their sore affliction and temporary desertion, and the triumph of their heathen enemies and oppressors. The Book of Judith is one of those Jewish writings in which the belief in the life to come is most strongly felt and expressed. If the enemies of God triumph now, it is inferred that a heavier judgment awaits them hereafter. Thus, in the hymn of Judith, ch. xvi. 17, their doom is anticipated: 'Woe to the nations that rise up against my kindred! The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall weep in sensible torment for ever.' The same idea

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recurs more than once in the Syriac Epistle of Baruch: that if God's people suffer in this world, their enemies will incur a far worse punishment in the world to come.[1]

The most important feature in the book is the character of Judith, the heroine herself. It is a superficial and inaccurate view which would compare her with Jael. In her enterprise, as risking her life for her people, after fasting and prayer, and casting herself upon the Divine protection, she approaches more nearly to the character of Esther. But the author aimed even higher than this, and has pictured to us a pattern of saintly widowhood, such as the New Testament commends, both in the person of Anna, and in the description in the Epistles of S. Paul of her that is a widow indeed and desolate. She rejects earthly consolations and chooses a life of prayer, preferring to suffer affliction with the people of God. She serves God in fastings and prayers night and day, devoting herself to unceasing intercession for the sanctuary of God, both before and after the defeat of the enemy. For this end she makes a tent or oratory upon her housetop and lives in strictest retirement. By this exercise in devotion she attains to a degree of faith in God, and a deep sense of His presence, which puts to shame the vacillation of the elders of Bethulia, who had promised to surrender the town, unless help should arrive within five days, thus trusting, not in God, 'Who is not as man that He may be threatened,' but, like the men of Jabesh Gilead of old, in the chances of human succour. It is in these intense ventures of faith that the Old Testament saints made the nearest approach to the triumphs of the martyrs of the Gospel; and the character of Judith thus reflects the high aim of invincible constancy which the Hebrew Church set before her children in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' There is also in the same character the training for the more heroic ventures of faith by the previous renunciation of all the pleasures of the world, which are described as within her reach, as she possessed wealth, rank, and beauty of person.

The assassination itself and the manner in which it was defended are subordinate to the chief aim of the writer. The appeal to the example of Simeon is very curious: for however it might be held that Dinah ought to have been avenged, the act of Simeon was generally condemned as irregular, cruel, and excessive, as in 4 Macc. ii. 19. There is, perhaps, a parallel to it in the Targum of Jerusalem on Gen. xliv., where

[1] See the passages quoted by Dr. Pusey in *What is of Faith*, p. 58, 59.

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Judah refers to the slaughter of Shechem, and then threatens that Joseph and Pharaoh, by whose life he swears, shall, in like manner, 'feel the edge of his sword.' But the boldness and jealousy of Simeon and Levi had but little in common with the spirit in which Judith was about to make her venture, in full confidence that whether Holofernes met with his death by her hand or not, he would not be permitted to profane the sanctuary of God. In short, the story draws the attention away from the act itself to the power of faith and prayer by which Judith prevailed, and to the weakness and effeminacy which rendered Holofernes a victim, rather of his own vices, than of any superior force that was directed against him.

The conduct of the High Priest Joachim or Eliachim, as described in Judith iv., might be a true picture of the author's own times. 'The priests put on haircloths, and they caused the little children to lie prostrate before the Temple of the Lord.' There is something especially pathetic in this incident. Dr. Pusey, on Joel ii., in referring to it observes: 'It might be inferred from Jonah iv. 11, that God was especially moved to pity by the cries of little children, who could not discern between the right hand and their left.' The speech of Eliakim in the Vulgate seems also to express one of the chief features of the book:—

'Know ye that the Lord will hear your prayers, if ye continue with perseverance in fastings and prayers in the sight of the Lord. Remember Moses, the servant of the Lord, who overcame Amalek, that trusted in his own strength, and in his own power, and in his army and in his shields, and in his chariots, not by fighting with the sword, but by holy prayers. So shall all the enemies of Israel be, if you persevere in this work which you have begun.'

The Book of Judith has some curious points of contact with the first Book of Samuel. Thus, in the Vulgate, in Judith xiv. 12, the Assyrian chiefs say to the eunuchs, 'Go in and awake him; for the mice coming out of their holes have presumed to challenge us to fight;' the words used by the Philistines in 1 Sam. xiv. 11. In the same chapter, v. 18, 'These slaves have dealt treacherously' are the words in the LXX. of 1 Sam. xiii. 3, where Saul is made to say, 'Our slaves have revolted,' instead of 'Let the Hebrews hear.' Lastly, in the hymn of Judith, ch. xvi. 12, 'The sons of the damsels,' and 'the fugitives' children,' correspond with the LXX. of 1 Sam. xx. 30, where Saul reproaches Jonathan: 'Thou son of fugitive handmaidens.'

Throughout the book the prevailing thought is that the

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mighty are weakened by their impiety and sensuality, whilst the weak are rendered invincible by the armour of faith and prayer. But since there is a strong suspicion that the narrative in which these abstract lessons are inculcated is apocryphal, and the Assyrian invasion either wholly a fiction or a disguise of some later events under names and circumstances borrowed from other periods, the fitness of Judith to be read as a portion of the sacred history is open to grave doubt, and we have probably parted with it from our table of daily lessons with less regret than some other portions of the Apocrypha.

The Book of Tobit, on account of its intrinsic beauties, has gained a stronger hold upon us, and with it we have probably parted with much more reluctance. According to Origen, it was read by the Jews, and regarded by them as a narrative of historical facts. It is doubtful whether any of the versions which have come down to us represent the original form of the story. The Greek edition bears marks of imperfection, especially when compared successively with the Syriac, Vulgate, and the two Hebrew editions of the story, one of which was brought to light by Sebastian Munster, and the other by Paul Fagius. The version which has been most widely known, and has exercised the largest influence in the Christian Church, is that of the Vulgate.[1] One of its chief distinctive features is the speech of the Angel in ch. vi. 15, &c. :—

'Hear me, and I will show thee who they are over whom the devil can prevail. For they, who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves and from their mind, and to give themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule which have not understanding, over them the devil hath power. But thou, when thou shalt take her, go in to the chamber, and for three days keep thyself continent from her, and give thyself to nothing else but to prayers with her. And on that night lay the liver of the fish on the fire, and the devil shall be driven away. But the second night thou shalt be admitted into the society of the holy patriarchs. On the third night thou shalt obtain blessing that sound children may be born of you. And when the third night is passed, thou shalt take the virgin with the fear of the Lord, moved rather for love of children than for lust, that in the seed of Abraham thou mayest obtain a blessing in children.'

[1] The *Chaldee Tobit*, which was published by Mr. Neubauer from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library (Macmillan, 1878), is shown by him to be probably an abridgment of the Chaldee text used by S. Jerome. It differs from any of the other versions, especially in the conclusion, where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are quoted as example of the powers of alms and tithes. The 'dog' disappears entirely; and the fish, instead of seeking to devour Tobit, aims only at his 'bread' or 'provision.'

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The form of betrothal in the Vulgate of ch. vii. 13 is also worthy of notice: 'And taking the right hand of his daughter, he gave it into the right hand of Tobias, saying, The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob be with you, and may He join you together, and fulfil His blessing in you.' In chap. viii. 4 Tobias says: 'Sara, arise, and let us pray unto God to-day and to-morrow and the next day; because for these three nights we are joined to God; and when the third night is over, we will be in our own wedlock. For we are the children of saints, and we must not be joined together like heathens that know not God.' The traces of these portions of Tobit in the Christian rites of marriage will occur at once to the reader; and the same is apparent from the mention of Tobias and Sara as the pattern of holy wedlock, though in our own marriage service it has been altered to 'Abraham and Sarah.' The 'young man's dog,' which is briefly mentioned in the Greek, figures more conspicuously in the Vulgate and Syriac. Thus in ch. xi. 6 Anna beheld 'the dog coming at full speed.' In v. 9, 'Then the dog, which had been with them in the way, ran before, and coming as if he had brought the news, showed his joy by his fawning and wagging his tail.' The Douay translators say: 'This may seem a very minute circumstance to be recorded in sacred history; but as we learn from our Saviour, S. Matth. v. 18, there are iotas and tittles in the word of God: that is to say, things that appear minute, but which have indeed a deep and mysterious meaning in them.' They probably allude to the comment of Bede, who compared the dog to the faithful watchers of Christ's fold, who are also messengers of good tidings to men. In the ninth chapter the Vulgate appears to supply some hiatuses and deficiencies in the Greek texts. Tobias says to Raphael: 'Brother Azarias, I pray thee hearken to my words; even if I should give myself for to be thy servant, I should not make a worthy return for thy care.' Upon Gabael's arrival at the house of Raguel, he blesses the bride and bridegroom in a form of great beauty. In ch. xiv. 10 the story of Aman is omitted in the Vulgate. The Syriac has: 'In Nineveh there are many evil-doers. For there Ahab made an evil return to Achiacharus, who brought up Tobit. For he misguided him, so that he could not possess the land. But Ahab entered into darkness, whilst Achiacharus escaped into the light out of the snare which Ahab had laid for him, and entered into possession of the land.' There is no mention of the second victim of the treachery of Ahab or Aman, who is called 'Manasses' in the Greek; or, as Junius read it, 'Nitzba.'

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The two Hebrew editions of the story differ widely from the Greek, Syriac and Vulgate, and from each other. One of them, in ch. i. 21, relates that Sennacherib, after his return from the overthrow of his army in Judæa, inquired of his wise men the cause of the zeal of the God of Israel for his people. The answer was that their father Abraham had sacrificed his son at the Divine command. Then said Sennacherib, I will slay my two sons, that the Deity may be propitious to me. But they, hearing of it, slew their father, and escaped into the land of Ararat. Another remarkable passage in one of the Hebrew editions is in ch. xiv. 5. After predicting the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of God's house, Tobit says:

'When the first age is ended, they shall go again into a very grievous captivity. Then the Blessed and Holy One shall remember them, and gather them from the four quarters of the World. Then the holy city Jerusalem shall be restored with a fair and splendid structure. The Temple also itself shall be erected in great magnificence, such as shall not be destroyed nor perish for ever and ever, as the Prophets have foretold.'

The conclusion, ch. xiv. 9-14, is wanting in both the Hebrew versions. One of them concludes the story at ch. xiii. 4, adding a short exhortation to the sons of Israel to practise almsgiving. The Syriac omits the latter part of Tobit's prayer in ch. xiii. 8-18. The five versions of the story are easily harmonized except on one point; the age of Tobit, and the period of his blindness. The Vulgate adds in ch. xiv. 1: 'After Tobit was restored to his sight he lived 42 years, so that he lived to be 102.' According to the Greek and Syriac he became blind at 58, and was blind for 7 or 8 years. In the Vulgate he was blind for 4 years. In the Greek he lived to be 158; but the Syriac, by reducing the years after the recovery of his sight, makes the years of his life the same as the Vulgate.

The author of Tobit, though he speaks of the agency of good and evil angels, does not appear to have intentionally recorded any event that could not be accounted for by natural causes. The death of Sara's successive partners is said in the Greek to have been owing to a wicked spirit who 'loved her:' but this is not found in the Vulgate, and the Hebrew simply says 'he has power over her.' The deadly influence was physical, for the remedy prescribed by Raphael was a fumigation. The healing power of Raphael was exercised in opposition to the noxious and destructive influence of Asmodeus, each working by natural means. The fate of Sara's husbands

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bore some resemblance to that of Er and Onan, especially as described in the 'Testament of Juda.' In each case sin exposes the victims of the destroyer to his deadly influence. They die, because they 'shut out God from themselves and from their mind.' The remedy prescribed to Tobias was therefore prayer and continence. The 'monstrous fish' and its capture by command of the angel represents the general truth that God 'created medicines out of the earth,' and through his angels, as ministers of his Providence, has guided men to the discovery of them, whether as drugs, salves, or fumigations.

On the subject of marriage the Book of Tobit represents that stricter Judaism which acknowledged to the full the sanctity of the marriage bond in opposition to the corrupt and degenerate Judaism which permitted 'divorce for any cause,' and thus was unfaithful to the teaching of the Prophets, which prepared the way for the stricter rule of the Gospel. It is a conception of marriage which leaves no place for the sanction of concubinage or polygamy. It recognizes in a remarkable way the affinity by which the wife owns all her husband's relations as her own kindred, as in ch. x. 12.[1] 'Honour thy father and thy mother-in-law, *which are now thy parents*, that I may hear good report of thee.' Where but in the Book of Tobit do we find the anticipation of the Christian conception of marriage, as expounded by Tertullian (*Ad Uxorem*, cap. viii.)?

'Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod Ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, *angeli renunciant*, pater rato habet? . . . Ubi caro una, unus et spiritus. Simul orant, et simul jejunia transigunt, alterutro docentes, alterutro hortantes, alterutro sustinentes.'

The parental charge in chap. iv., part of which is repeated by the angel in chap. xii., is one of the chief beauties of the Book of Tobit. It is much quoted by the Fathers, and furnishes two sentences to the Offertory, which follow the Vulgate rather than the Greek text. 'Do that to no man which thou hatest' is a near approach to S. Matt. vii. 12, and is quoted by a considerable number of ancient writers. The words 'Alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness,' have been charged with grave error by Protestant objectors, as 'unsupported by Scripture' and 'setting aside the Divine method of salvation.' The same objection is repeated against the saying of the angel in chap. xii. 9. Against this objection there may be urged, (1) its novelty:

[1] Quoted by the Rev. W. B. Galloway, on 'the unlawfulness of marriage of brother and sister-in-law.' (Rivingtons, 1870.)

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when the claims of the Book were under discussion in the sixteenth century, nothing was said against its exhortations to almsgiving; on the contrary, it is quoted with approval in the Homily on Almsdeeds, which quotes also Ecclus. iii. 30, Heb. xiii. 16, and comments on them as follows:—

'To be merciful and charitable in helping the poor is the means to keep the soul pure and clean in the sight of God. Merciful almsdealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin. A great confidence may they have before the high God, that show mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted. Deeds of mercy are as salves and remedies to heal the sores and grievous diseases of the soul.'

(2) The book of Tobit merely re-asserts the words of Scripture, which say that 'righteousness delivereth from death' (Prov. xi. 4, compared with Tobit xiv. 11). To righteousness or works of mercy there is annexed a special promise of deliverance (Ps. xli. 1). There is no reason for attaching to the words 'purging away sin' any other meaning than that of 'obtaining mercy from God,' which is the reward assured throughout Scripture to the merciful. There is nothing in the words involving 'meritum de condigno,' or the claiming the reward as 'of debt.'

The improbabilities of some of the details of the story, and the peculiar disguise adopted temporarily by the angel, involving a benevolent falsehood, prove only that the story is apocryphal, not strictly authentic and accurate throughout, and therefore not worthy of a place beside the Scripture narratives. They do not detract from its value as truly picturing to us the faith and piety of those who were Israelites indeed, waiting for the kingdom of God, and drawing from the teaching of the prophets the hope of 'that life which God will give to them that never change their faith from Him' (chap. ii. 18, Vulgate). Hence, though less suitable for reading *as history*, the Book of Tobit has a very high value, peculiar to itself, amongst the witnesses to Christ, and a special part in the preparation for the Gospel and for its reception in the world. In the Table of Lessons, the loss of Tobit is not so much to be regretted as that of the second part of Wisdom, chap. x.–xix., which is now represented only by chap. xvii. and portions of chaps. xi., xii. We have thus lost the reading of a meditation of great beauty and eloquence, on the benevolent purposes of God towards the heathen, and on His peculiar care for His Church, such as has no parallel except in S. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, in which he

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unfolds the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles. But such a book as Tobit deserves a special attention, as furnishing answers to some popular notions on divorce and polygamy, which may have importance in deciding questions with which we are met in the present day. It is also right that the Ecclesiastical Books should possess some weight in controversy, especially in opposition to the farrago of Talmudical and Rabbinical literature, which modern inquiry has tended to substitute for them.

ART. IV.—BARNEVELD AND GROTIUS.—ERASTIANISM.

1. *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland.* By J. L. MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L. (London, 1874.)
2. *The Life of Hugo Grotius.* By J. L. DE BURIGNY. (London, 1754.)
3. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Vol. xi., Art. 'Grotius.' (1880.)

HUGO GROTIUS, one of the most striking figures in political and theological literary history, has not been fortunate enough yet to find, at least in this country, an adequate modern biographer.[1] The notice of him in the last volume of the *Encyclopædia*, of which much might have been expected—coming, as it does, from the pen of the author of the *Life of Isaac Casaubon*—is jejune and inadequate. The lives of De Burigny and C. Butler are not likely to satisfy the historical requirements of the present day. A good Life of Grotius is much to be desired. But if this great and good man has been somewhat strangely neglected, the same cannot be said of his friend and fellow-sufferer, John of Barneveld.[2] The historian of the Dutch Republic, familiar, beyond any man of this generation, with the vast masses of documents reposing in the

[1] There are, as might be expected, divers elaborate works on Grotius in Dutch: as that of Gerard Brandt (Rotterdam, 1723), that of Casper Brandt and Van Cattenberg (Amsterdam, 1727), *Grotii Manes, &c.* (Delft, 1727).

[2] 'His proper appellation is Oldenbarneveld, but in his lifetime, and always in history from that time to this, he has been called Barneveld in English as well as in French.'—Motley, Pref. p. xii.

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archives of Holland, has devoted his unique powers to the illustration of the life and death of this famous statesman. Mr. Motley's vigorous and trenchant style is known to most readers. In combination with his extensive command of materials and considerable knowledge of the world, it must needs make his book a striking one. Nevertheless, as a Life of Barneveld, it has great defects. Designed to occupy a certain place in a series of historical works, of which the history of the Thirty Years' War is to be the crown and conclusion, it is necessarily employed with a mass of historical details in no sense properly biographical. We almost lose sight of the professed subject for whole chapters together. Again, the life of a man who was so closely connected with the religious controversies of the day that they may be said to have absolutely determined his fate is written by one who professes, apparently with a sort of pride, that he knows nothing about such subjects. 'I have avoided as much as possible any dealings with the theological controversies so closely connected with the events which I have attempted to describe. The author has neither wish nor power to grapple with the mysteries and passions which at that epoch possessed so many souls.'[1] Mr. Motley's narrative also, though vigorously written, is often disjointed, and hard to follow. His paragraphs are jerky, and his too constant striving after the epigrammatic is wearisome. In his sneers at religious controversies, and his contemptuous undervaluing of their importance, Mr. Motley is equalled, if not surpassed, by Mr. Pattison in his article on Grotius: 'Grotius was not sufficient of a philosopher to rise above the level of a mere theological wrangle.' 'He rose above the separatist bigotry of the vulgar theologian, but did not ascend into that philosophical region in which dogma is transcended and dissolved!'[2] Now, as there can be nothing more unphilosophical than to ignore, or to treat as of small moment, those questions and motives which have most powerfully swayed and influenced men, those who hold such views as those quoted are hardly competent to write the lives of the great Dutchmen of the seventeenth century. Again, as one of the first requirements of a biographer is a power of sympathy with his subject, and in such transcendental writers no sympathy with men strongly exercised with religious opinions can be looked for, here, too, is a considerable drawback to their qualifications. There can, however, be no question that Mr. Motley's *Life of Barneveld* is a

[1] Motley, Pref. p. x.

[2] *Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Grotius.'

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striking book, and that much valuable information may be gained from it as to the interesting times of which it treats. Our endeavour in the present article will be to exhibit the connexion of Barneveld and Grotius with the religious controversies of their day, and to bring out some of the dangers resulting from Erastian treatment of religious questions, as well as some of the phenomena of Protestant intolerance.

In the gallant struggle carried on for so many years by the Netherlands against the persecuting tyranny of Spain, the Reformed Religion had been one of the most potent factors. It is true that this was not the faith of more than half the population of the provinces, but it was the faith of the more energetic, zealous, and considerable section; and many of those who still professed the old Creed sympathized with the Protestants in their struggle for civil liberty. But what was this Reformed Religion which was so strongly held by a large portion of the Netherlanders? It was the Genevan and French form of Protestantism, not the German and Lutheran form. The latter, suited probably to the German mind, has never commended itself to other races, nor have its professors ever shown much sympathy or friendly care for those outside their own circle. But the bold and aggressive system of Calvin, propagated enthusiastically by its adherents, made for itself a different history. It was generally accepted and most earnestly held in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to suppose that the creed accepted in the Netherlands involved all the Predestinarian doctrine of Calvin. There was not, indeed, 'any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the Reformed Churches in any part of the world to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were adopted and taught at Geneva.'[1] Mr. Motley does not appear to be aware of this fact, and in his account of Arminius, in his first chapter, he mixes up creeds and catechisms in a most provoking manner. It would seem, indeed, as if he deliberately set himself to show his contempt for theological topics by making misstatements which the commonest care might have prevented; as when he speaks of Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1610, and calls the disputes about predestination and election *casuistry!*[2] When Arminius began to teach publicly, he knew perfectly well that 'the Belgic doctors were not obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt and propagate the principles of Calvin.'[3] Unless this be distinctly kept in

[1] Mosheim, cent. xvii. c. ii. s. 10. [2] Vol. i. pp. 266, 268. [3] Mosheim.

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mind, the full significance of the intolerant persecution with which he and his followers were assailed will not be rightly estimated, nor will the causes for holding the various Synods, culminating in the Synod of Dort, be understood. It was not to bring the teaching of the Arminians to the touchstone of the received confession that these Synods were held. It was, by means of an unscrupulous Calvinist majority, to make alterations in, or additions to, the accepted confession, which should prevent any but Calvinists officiating in the Protestant body. The position of the Arminians, in publishing their Remonstrance against the decrees of the Synod of Leyden, was a perfectly sound and legal one. It was not they who were the dissenters from the established creed. It was Gomarus and the Calvinists who were the dissenters, by enacting new conditions of conformity. Of course the great statesman, Barneveld, and the accomplished scholar, Grotius, were perfectly aware of the legality of the Arminian views. The great error which they made, the grievous mistake of their political career, was the thinking it justifiable to set out a legal creed on these topics, and to enforce it by civil power: for the State to intervene in religious questions, not merely as the ultimate court of appeal, but as the active director of what was to be taught and believed.

In the history of these times, then, we have, on the one side, the furious and unjustifiable intolerance of the Calvinistic party, which raged with extreme and murderous intensity against those who had a perfectly legal status in the Reformed community; on the other, the hasty and ill-judged Erastian proceedings of men in many ways singularly deserving of admiration, the issue of which was utter ruin to themselves. Before we come to speak of these tragical events, as detailed in Mr. Motley's narrative, it may be well to take a hasty glance at the history of these two great men previously to their appearing in conjunction. Barneveld is usually designated as the Grand Pensionary, but Mr. Motley prefers to call him the Advocate, of Holland. His exact position was 'the Seal-keeper of one of the Seven Provinces and the Deputy of Holland to the General Assembly.'[1]

'At the Congress of the States-General, the scene of his most important functions, he was the Ambassador of Holland, acting nominally according to their instructions, and exercising the power of Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, as it were, Prime Minister for the other confederates by their common consent. The system would have

[1] Motley, i. 199.

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been intolerable—the great affairs of war and peace could never have been carried on so triumphantly, had not the preponderance of the one province, Holland—richer, more powerful, more important in every way than the other six provinces combined—given to the confederacy, illegally, but virtually, many of the attributes of union. Rather by usucaption than usurpation, Holland had in many regards come to consider herself, and be considered as, the Republic itself. And Barneveld, acting always in the name of Holland, and with the most modest of titles and appointments, was, for a long time, in all civil matters, the chief of the whole country.'[1]

In this capacity of allowed, rather than of actually conferred, leadership, this great and virtuous statesman had brought the long war with Spain to a termination most glorious for the States, and had been treated almost as an equal, his friendship courted and valued, by the gallant and unstable Henry IV. of France. Very interesting, but scarcely, in strictness, relevant to the Life of Barneveld, are the copious details which Mr. Motley gives us as to the inner life of that remarkable prince. His character seems to us very happily sketched in the following terse sentences: 'Strange combination of the hero, the warrior, the voluptuary, the sage, and the schoolboy—it would be difficult to find in the whole range of history a more human, a more attractive, a more provoking, a less venerable character.'[2] With another sovereign Barneveld was scarcely less intimately connected than with the gallant French King. This was James I. of England, on whose devoted head Mr. Motley pours forth every conceivable epithet of scorn, contempt, and detestation. Some of the charges brought against James are simply ridiculous, and will not pass current for a moment with those who are acquainted with the true history of the reign as set forth in Mr. Gardiner's well-weighed volumes. James, no doubt, only grudgingly carried on his great predecessor's policy of aiding the States, and in one matter he certainly laid himself open to censure and ridicule in an especial degree. As this had a marked influence upon the fate of Barneveld, we must look for a moment at its details.

On the death of Arminius, the theological professorship at Leyden was given to Conrad Vorstius. Vorstius was what we should call a free-thinker, and, among other writings deemed by the orthodox very objectionable, had published a scholastical disquisition on the nature of God,[3] which was

[1] Motley, i. 283. [2] *Ibid.* i. 222.

[3] *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo, sive de Naturâ et Attributis Dei.* Steinfurth, 1610.

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thought by many to be little short of blasphemy. This work was unfortunately sent to King James I. of England. One day, on his return from hunting, the theological King took it up, and he was so much struck by what he thought its impieties that he proceeded at once to draw up a list of errors found in it and to despatch it to the States-General. This was the work of an hour, as it is said, but his anger against the book did not evaporate. He caused it to be burned publicly at Oxford, Cambridge and London, and then set himself to a more elaborate refutation of it. In imitation probably of the famous attack made by Henry VIII. on Luther, the English king, regarding himself as in some sense the Pope of Protestantism, fell violently on the Professor. Thus much we may learn from numerous sources. But when Mr. Motley fires off one of his sensational paragraphs as follows, 'Who but James knew anything of the nature of God, for had he not written a work in Latin explaining it all, so that humbler beings might read and be instructed?' we ask, with somewhat of amazement, what work? The list of the royal pedant's writings is sufficiently well known, and we do not find such a book among them. Probably indeed Mr. Motley means to allude to the treatise actually written against Vorstius, but if so, this way of writing history by spasms and jerks is very confusing. The treatise against Vorstius did not precede the foolish and unjustifiable attempt made by James to induce the States to banish the Professor, but followed it:—

'He had scarcely looked into the book before he was horror-struck, and instantly wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, his Ambassador at the Hague, ordering him to insist that this "blasphemous monster" should be at once removed from the country.'[1]

This uncalled-for interference with an independent State was bad enough, but when it was followed and accompanied by the revilings of a controversial tirade, it was not only bad, but eminently ridiculous. Barneveld, a man of high principle, as well as great political grasp, could not consent to further it, and hence unfortunately he lost the favour of James, and arrayed the King of England as an enemy against him when he especially needed every support possible to uphold him in his difficult position. James declared that the States must choose between him and Vorstius, that he would withdraw all help to them unless Vorstius were expelled. His ambassador even went so far as to imply that he might make it a *casus belli*:—

[1] Motley, i. 264.

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'Truly' [says Mr. Motley], 'if it had come to this, that a King of England was to go to war with a neighbouring and friendly Republic because an obnoxious professor of theology was not instantly hurled from a university of which His Majesty was not one of the overseers, it was time to look a little closely into the functions of governments, and the nature of public and international law.'[1]

The King's influence was sufficient to bring Vorstius to a solemn trial, but Barneveld's support of him availed to keep him still in his Professor's chair. 'Great therefore was the wrath treasured against him in clerical and royal minds.' In defending the right of a free State to resist external dictation, and in upholding the Arminians in their position as ministers in a body, the confession adopted by which did not condemn their views, we can fully sympathize with Barneveld. But he went much further than this. He held the supremacy of the State over the Church so fully and completely that the State had the right to dictate to the religious teaching body in everything, in drawing up articles and confessions of faith, in appointing ministers and officials, in regulating all ecclesiastical matters. In this degrading subjection to the lay authority no considerable body of Christians has ever been contented to remain, and probably never will be. It is absolutely incompatible with the true instincts of religious life, and, though statesmen are often found to favour it as a convenient arrangement for themselves, yet no really profound judge of men will ever rely upon it as a stable element. Mr. Motley, by the shouts and shrieks which he from time to time gives forth when the relations of Church and State come up, appears to be an enthusiast for the subjection of the religious body; but we hardly think his opinion will decide the matter. He manifests indeed an absolute ignorance as to the Church of England, over which he seems to think that the King's supremacy gives him the position of dictator and Pope. When Barneveld was thrust by circumstances into the dangerous position of contending against the prevailing religious spirit of the country by State enactments and State repression, he had for helper and supporter that most remarkable man, Hugo Grotius. Grotius was Pensionary or Advocate in the Assembly of the States for the city of Rotterdam. From his earliest childhood he had been the wonder of his country.[2] At eight years old he composed

[1] Motley, i. 271.

[2] He was born at Delft, 1583. His father was a lawyer and had been four times burgomaster. The family was of French extraction (De Cornet), an ancestor having taken the name of Groets on marriage with a Dutch heiress.

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excellent Latin Elegiacs; at twelve he was sufficiently instructed to enter the University of Leyden, where he at once attracted the notice and patronage of Joseph Scaliger. It was said that 'the childhood of Grotius astonished and shamed all the old men.' At fifteen he accompanied Barneveld and Justin of Nassau to Paris. Henry IV. gave him his picture and treated him with much consideration, and doubtless it was mainly through royal patronage that this boy of fifteen obtained the degree of Doctor of Law. He had already edited several books, and of one of them (the *Germanicus*) Scaliger said, 'It would be impossible to give a better text than that which Grotius has given.' His country heaped distinction upon him. He was made Advocate-General of Fisc, for Zealand and Holland, and Public Historian of the United Provinces. It is now known, by the discovery of the MS. in 1868, that as early as 1604 he composed his treatise *De Jure Prædæ*, which contains the main points expanded in the treatise *De Jure Belli*, published twenty years afterwards, and of which the famous tract known as *Mare Liberum* is only a chapter. By these treatises Grotius may be said to have created the Science of International Law. It is well said of the *De Jure Belli*, 'Though the book did not bring him profit, it brought him reputation, so widely spread and so long continued as no other legal treatise has ever enjoyed.'[1] It was to his special knowledge of this subject that Grotius owed his mission to England in 1615. There were great disputes as to the right of fishing in the Northern Seas; the Dutch were striving to get a liberty, while the English contended for a very unjust monopoly. Grotius as an able advocate laboured to establish the rights of his country. It is probably to this visit to England that the special set which the mind of Grotius obtained is to be attributed. In England, Grotius found a body of men with whose religious opinions he could altogether sympathize. In Andrewes, Overall, and Montagu he found divines who had been instrumental in raising the Church of England out of the thraldom of Calvinism. In King James he found a ruler who would strongly encourage his views as to the regulating power of the lay authority in matters of religion. Grotius had already (1613) published a treatise (*Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ*), in which he vigorously supported the right of lay interference. In England also he found Isaac Casaubon, the famous literary Frenchman to whom the King had given a

[1] *Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Grotius.'

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Prebend in Canterbury Cathedral. Casaubon speaks with admiration of the 'rare excellence of the divine genius' of Grotius, and of the enthusiasm which he excited everywhere. Unfortunately, however, the views in which Grotius was confirmed in England were not well suited for application in his own country. The religious conditions of England and the United Provinces were by no means similar. In England the Church itself, acting by its spiritualty, had arranged and settled a manual of devotion and a Confession of Faith. These had been confirmed by the civil power and ratified by the law. In the United Provinces there was indeed a Confession of Faith, but the way of conducting divine service was for the most part undefined. But the great difference was that, while in England Dissenters repudiated the authorized formularies, in Holland both Calvinists and Arminians accepted them. It was in the matter of doctrine that the dispute lay; a matter in which it was impossible for the lay power safely to intervene. Mr. Motley evidently thinks he makes a great point when he charges King James with grievous inconsistency:—

'At that very instant such of his own subjects as had seceded from the Established Church to hold conventicles in barns and breweries and back-shops in London were hunted by him with bishops' pursuivants and other beagles like vilest criminals. . . . He none the less instructed his envoy at the Hague to preach the self-same doctrines for which the New England Puritans were persecuted.'[1] 'Logic' [adds Mr. Motley] 'is rarely the quality on which kings pride themselves.'

It is sometimes lacking even in historians. The cases were essentially different. The Puritans in England were punished for breaking the law. The Calvinists in Holland were supported because they had essentially a legal status. It is true that Grotius, after his return from England, concocted with Barneveld a decree or edict by which they thought to settle the dispute; but this, as coming merely from the lay power, no religious-minded person of the Calvinist view could accept. They thought, and justly, that the lay power had no more right to make laws for the clergy without their concurrence, than the clergy had to make laws for the laymen. It is true, they had the material power, but might does not make right: and so strong is right that often, as in this instance, it triumphs over might. Mr. Motley, taking an outside and superficial view, can see no difference between the Anglican enforcement of

[1] Motley, ii. 117.

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unity as against the Puritans and the attempt to enforce unity made by Barneveld and Grotius as against the Calvinists. Mr. Hallam can see more clearly. He says:—

'The tenets of some of those who have been called High Church Anglicans may in themselves be little different from those of Grotius and Calixtus. But the spirit in which they have been conceived is altogether opposite. . . . . One had in view to reconcile discordant communions by mutual concessions, and either by such explication of contrarieties as might make them appear less incompatible with outward unity, or by an avowed tolerance of their profession within the Church; the other would permit nothing but submission to its own authority.'[1]

But the lay power has no more right to enforce on religious bodies its 'explication of contrarieties' than it has any other self-originating decree. This was the great and crushing mistake made by Barneveld and Grotius. Their intentions were good. Their 'explications' may have been admirable. But the Calvinists did not like them, and the Calvinists were entitled to their opinion. They were within the law. They had not rejected the Belgic confession. They demanded, with perfect justice, that, if doubts and disputes had arisen, a synod should be called to settle them. Barneveld and Grotius would not hear of a synod. They themselves would settle the difficulties. They would explain and arrange everything; and those who would not accept their explanations and arrangements should be subjected to civil penalties. Barneveld applied to Grotius to draw up an *edict* on these matters of doctrine, which all ministers should be obliged to accept on pain of being expelled from their churches. This extraordinary production ordains that—

'In the explanation of the Scripture, as often as occasion shall offer, the Pastors shall declare to the people and instil into the minds of all under their care that men are not indebted for the beginning, the progress, and the completion of their salvation, and even of faith, to their natural strength or works, but to the sole grace of God in Jesus Christ our Saviour; that God has created no man to damn him; that God has not laid us under a necessity of sinning, and that He invites no man to be saved to whom He is resolved to deny salvation,' &c. &c.[2]

This edict all ministers were to be compelled to receive; and, when many refused it, and desired to teach their own doctrine to their congregations in their own way, the States of Holland, at Barneveld's suggestion, agreed to what was called

[1] Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii. 321.

[2] De Burigny, p. 48.

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the 'Sharp Resolve;' that is, to put down by armed force all dissent from the authorized religion, to expel the ministers and their congregations from any conventicles which they might have formed, and, if resistance was offered, even to take life. For this purpose all the cities were empowered to enlist soldiers. A more genuine persecution than that which was directed by them against the Calvinists in Holland in 1616 and 1617 it would be hard to find. Arminianism thus showed its intolerant side as Calvinism had done a little before, and was to do in a much more marked manner a little later. In the account given in Mr. Motley's volumes of the violence used against the religionists, the 'Sharp Resolve,' the enlisting of soldiers in all the towns to enforce 'Christian toleration,' Barneveld and Grotius seem like men who had absolutely lost their heads. The 'Advocate' had done a great work in Europe. He had brought the struggle against Spain to a fortunate close. He was a great diplomatist, an able and virtuous man. But as a manager of domestic affairs, as one having knowledge of his countrymen, he cannot be ranked high. The exact position in the United Provinces was as follows. Barneveld was chief minister of the State of Holland, the leading State. According to the constitution of the country each State was to have control of its religious affairs. The majority of representatives in the Assembly and of the representatives of the States of Holland were in favour of the comprehensive scheme of Barneveld and Grotius. Some important towns, notably that of Amsterdam, dissented. But Barneveld had the majority as opposed to the calling of a synod and leaving the dispute to be settled by the edicts of the lay power. It was not so, however, in the Assembly of the States-General, which was formed by the State of Holland and six other States. In this sovereign Assembly the majority was in favour of calling a synod to decide the questions between the Remonstrants and contra-Remonstrants and of not attempting to force upon them a lay solution.[1] Thus Barneveld, in enforcing his 'Sharp Resolve,' though he was within the letter of the law, because his own State upheld him, yet was running directly counter to the sense of the sovereign Assembly. It is clear, therefore, that, if he had enemies, he must be exposing himself in doing thus to the greatest danger; and that a man so distinguished, so energetic, who had taken a leading part in politics, for so many years, should be without enemies, was

[1] Only Utrecht, which was more Catholic than Protestant, was with Holland.

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hardly to be imagined As a matter of fact, he had one watchful and determined enemy, who only too gladly took the opportunity which the rash and persecuting Erastianism of Barneveld gave him. He came forward at once to place himself at the head of the Calvinists, and in accordance with the sentiment of the States-General to hurl the great Advocate from power and to bring his noble career to a melancholy end. This enemy was Maurice of Nassau, son of William the Silent, the author of Dutch independence. Maurice was Stadholder or commander-in-chief of the United Provinces. He would have been their king had he been older at the time of the assassination of his father. He was a consummate general and a man of good abilities; but bitter and unscrupulous, and, though professing great care for the Reformed religion, a man of immoral life. From a combination of causes fully detailed in Mr. Motley's volumes he hated Barneveld. He saw his opportunity, he struck vigorously, and both Barneveld and Grotius were arrested. The policy of enforcing lay 'explications' upon contending divines had thus effected nothing except the ruin of its authors. It was decided by the States-General that a synod should be held to examine the arguments of the Remonstrants or Arminians and to see how far their claim to be as legally members of the Reformed Church as the Calvinist party could be admitted. Of this famous synod, which in fact determined the fate of Barneveld and Grotius, Mr. Motley has nothing to tell us. The few sentences which he assigns to it contain a palpable error, and are couched in a mocking tone, which ill suits with religious questions. 'It was established,' says Mr. Motley, 'that two forms of Divine worship in one country were forbidden by God's Word, and that thenceforth by Netherland law there could be but one religion, the Reformed or Calvinistic Creed.'[1] This was not 'established' in any way by the Synod of Dort. None of those who took part in the synod in fact doubted of it. It was the principle of the Arminians as well as of the Calvinists.[2] It was the very thing that Barneveld and Grotius had been seeking to enforce by armed force that was the substance of the 'Sharp Resolve,' as given by Mr. Motley himself:—

'The States having seen what had befallen in many cities, and

[1] Motley, ii. 309.

[2] In his famous treatise, *De Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*, Grotius strongly maintains the absolute right of the ruling body to prevent any dissidence from the established religion. *See* Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii. 339.

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especially in the Hague, against the order, liberties, and laws of the land, and having in vain attempted to bring into harmony with the States certain cities which refused to co-operate with the majority, had at last resolved to refuse the national synod as conflicting with the sovereignty of the laws of Holland. They had thought good to set forth in public print *their views as to religious worship*, and to take measures to prevent all deeds of violence against persons and property. To this end the regents of cities were authorized, in case of need, until otherwise ordained, to enrol men-at-arms for their security and prevention of violence.' [1]

This in fact meant nothing more nor less than that Barneveld's *views on religious worship* should be enforced by force of arms. The Arminians were quite as much opposed to tolerating another religious body besides that to which they themselves belonged as the Calvinists were. The difference was this. The Arminians held that they, as well as the Calvinists, might fairly remain members *of the same Church*, on the ground of the Belgic Confession. And what the Synod of Dort 'established' (by the grossest injustice) was this: that they could not, and should not. It is to be observed that whatever persecution and harsh proceedings are to be set down to the Arminian side are to be set down, not to the ministers of religion, who seem for the most part to have been tolerant men, but to statesmen whose heads appear to have been turned for the nonce, and who could not see the dangerous and fatal error of attempting to solve religious controversies by lay interference. But the persecution directed against the Arminians was distinctly the work of the Calvinist ministers—the genuine product of their Synod of Dort—and therefore illustrates very pointedly the entire absence of toleration in such a system. The Calvinist is just as essentially a persecutor as the Romanist. Mr. Motley, whose liveliness, not to say exuberance, of style is remarkable, might have given us a brilliant sketch of the famous Dort meeting, where all things had been so carefully prepared and arranged to browbeat and humble the Arminians.[2] The Arminians were treated as persons on their trial, not the least as on equal terms with the others. 'It is good that they should be informed,' said one of the Calvinist elders, 'that they come not to conference, but to propose their opinions, with their reasons, and let the Synod judge of them.' They were bid to give in their opinions *in writing* and let 'the

[1] Motley, ii. 131.

[2] The most lively details of the Synod are to be found in Mr. John Hales' *Letters to Sir D. Carleton.* Carleton was then ambassador at the Hague, and Hales was his chaplain, and, as such, admitted to the Synod.

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Synod' judge of them. The Calvinists were in fact afraid of the great learning and powerful eloquence of Simon Episcopius, with whom they had no man competent to contend. They shrank also from a public exposure of their tenets as to reprobation, which must needs sound fearful blasphemy in the ears of the uninitiated. But in spite of this arranged reticence they could not always be restrained. 'Episcopius,' cried Gomarus, 'has falsified the tenet of reprobation: no man teaches that God has absolutely decreed to cast away men without sin: but as He did decree the end, so did He decree the means; that is, as He predestined man to death, so He predestined him to sin, the only way to death.' 'And so,' says Mr. Hales, 'he mended the question as tinkers mend kettles, and made it worse than before.' The only traces of moderation and fair discussion to be found in the proceedings of the Synod were distinctly due to the English deputies, and in the canons which were drawn up, and to which all ministers were to subscribe, there was all the concentrated bitterness of Calvinism. 'They are so eager to kill the Arminians,' says Mr. Balcanqual, 'that they would make their words have that sense which no grammar can find in them.' The worst part of this partisan gathering was its effects. About 700 ministers, who refused to subscribe the canons, were banished with their families; and it was clear that it would go hard with the illustrious prisoners, Barneveld, Hoogerbeet, and Grotius, whose well-meant but rash action had greatly precipitated this polemical catastrophe.

The facts of the trial and execution of John of Barneveld are given in much detail and with great spirit and vigour by Mr. Motley. No greater parody of justice was perhaps ever perpetrated. The Advocate's character was an eminently great one, but one also eminently dangerous for himself. Of spotless integrity, and virtuous life, he was nevertheless in his political relations 'arrogant, overbearing, self-concentrated; accustomed to lead senates and to guide the councils and share the secrets of kings; irascible, courageous, austere, contemptuous,'[1] he was a man to make enemies if not to deserve them. For upwards of thirty years he had rendered inestimable services to his country. He had saved her from the Spaniard and the Inquisition. He had made her a State looked upon with respect by all the powers of Europe. He had done all this and more, but he offended the religious prejudices of his countrymen. He thought to bear down and reduce religious differences by the strong hand of power. He

[1] Motley, ii. 109.

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found this a task beyond his strength, and he fell. The part which King James bore in the downfall of this great man is one of the least creditable among the many discreditable transactions of that unfortunate king. We pass now from Barneveld to Grotius. Mr. Motley is a little hard upon him for having admitted in his defence the possibility of some of the charges against the Advocate being true. But Grotius could not know what evidence had been produced, and when a solemn decision had been made by judges presumably fair and competent, he could not in common prudence utterly ignore it. He does not go beyond the conditional, and expresses no belief in the truth of the charges. We cannot see the necessity for stigmatizing his words as 'faltering and ungenerous.'[1] Grotius was condemned, by the same blind and prejudiced tribunal which had sentenced Barneveld, to perpetual imprisonment—a fearful doom—the only alleviation being the permitted presence in the castle of his wife and children. His goods were confiscated, and a small prison allowance was the only support of the family.

'His deportment in prison was a magnificent moral lesson. Shut up in a kind of cage, consisting of a bedroom and a study, he was debarred from physical exercise, so necessary to his mental and bodily health. Not choosing, for the gratification of Lieutenant Deventer, to indulge in weak complaints, he procured a huge top, which he employed himself in whipping several hours a day; while for intellectual employment, he plunged once more into those classical, juridical, and theological studies which had always employed his leisure hours from childhood upwards. It had been forbidden by the States-General to sell his likeness in the shops. The copper-plates on which they had been engraved had as far as possible been destroyed. The wish of the Government, especially of his judges, was that his name and memory should die at once and for ever. They were not destined to be successful; for it would be equally difficult to-day to find an educated man in Christendom ignorant of the name of Hugo Grotius or acquainted with that of a single one of his judges.'[2]

The details of Grotius' life in prison and his romantic escape in the book-chest are given by Mr. Motley with a fulness and a freshness which it would be hard to excel. The chest in which he was carried, unwittingly, by the soldiers out of the fortress was 'two finger-breadths less than four feet in length, and not very broad or deep in proportion.' There was no other aperture for air save the key-hole. That a man above the middle height should have been able to squeeze

[1] Motley, ii. 398. [2] *Ibid.* 405.

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himself into this box and remain there without moving for hours while carried by soldiers, pitched carelessly into the ferry-boat, or loaded upon a dray, must ever remain a marvel. Madame de Groot, and Elsji, the clever servant-girl, well deserve a place among the statues of illustrious women. They gave back to the world of politics and letters a noble genius, and saved the Government of the United Provinces from continuing and consummating a great crime. It was during his imprisonment in Louvestein that Grotius composed the little treatise by which he is perhaps best known, the *De Veritate.*

'It is so written as to form a code of common Christianity, irrespective of sect. The little treatise diffused itself rapidly over Christendom, gaining, rather than losing, popularity in the eighteenth century; and it became the classical manual for apologetics in Protestant colleges, and was translated for missionary purposes.'[1]

Grave accusations were brought against it of favouring Socinianism. Of these Grotius writes:

'I have often doubted which was best, to answer the censures of fools and knaves, or, resting in a good conscience, to despise them. My book of the Truth of the Christian Religion is read with applause by pious and learned men, not only in the language in which I composed it, but also in Swedish, French, German and English. Those who think it their interest that I should not pass for a good Christian seek every pretext to hurt me, but this book will live and flourish in spite of the envy of my enemies. It was not proper for me to speak directly of the Trinity, and such as have heretofore brought their arguments to prove it from natural reason or the authority of Plato have done more hurt than service to Christianity.'[2]

At Paris, to which city Grotius went on his escape, he was soon settled in the dignified position of ambassador for Sweden. But he was still intent upon theology. He now published his Commentaries, first those on the Old Testament, then those on the New. His views were acceptable to no considerable section of the religious world of Paris, and it was difficult to effect the publication.

'I am at a loss,' he writes to Vossius, 'what to do with my notes on the New Testament. I shall easily find a bookseller here, but I am afraid of meeting with some difficulties from the Divines, who will have nothing of the kind published without their approbation; and, for my part, I cannot submit in everything to either of the two parties, nor can I be silent when I have something of use to deliver.'

The book, however, was printed by the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, who saw with the instinctive glance of genius

[1] *Encyc. Brit.* xi. art. 'Grotius.' [2] Grotius, *Epist.*, No. 439.

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that the encouragement of Grotius would be more likely to benefit the dominant religion than the contrary. The favour indeed was quickly repaid by the publication of the *Treatise on Antichrist*, in which, in opposition to the whole body of Reformed divines, Grotius rejects the notion of the Pope being Antichrist, and assigns that character to some of the early heretics. This work was followed by others more directly advocating the peace of the Church and union between the Romanists and the Reformed. As he had before attempted the union of Calvinist and Arminian, so now he laboured for the union of Romanist and Protestant. 'The true interpretation of his mind,' says Mr. Pattison, 'seems to be an indifference to dogmatic propositions, produced by a profound sentiment of piety.'[1] He was not so far misled in making these attempts at union as to anticipate their success. 'Perhaps,' he writes, 'by writing to reconcile such as entertain very opposite sentiments, I shall offend both parties.' The Romanist author of his Life makes the profound observation—'The Catholic (Roman) Church cannot show indulgence with regard to any tenet condemned by the Council of Trent without betraying her principles.'[2] Grotius soon found that no concessions were to be expected from the Roman side, but in his extreme desire for union he was carried on step by step to defend almost every corruption and innovation of the Church of Rome. The friend of Father Petau, the Jesuit, he adopted his theory of development and his disparaging treatment of the early Fathers and the primitive Creeds. Yet with all this Grotius never became a Romanist. He died a believing and religious member of the Reformed religion according to the Arminian view. The problem of his mind on religious topics is a very interesting one. It is but scantily treated by Mr. Pattison in his article in the *Encyclopædia*, but has been very ably and satisfactorily investigated by Mr. Hallam. His learned friend, Isaac Casaubon, dissatisfied, like himself, with the meagre and unprimitive views of the Reformed divines, found in the Anglican Church 'exactly what he could wish' and rested contentedly there. Grotius began by commending the Anglican Church for the respect it showed to primitive antiquity, but he did not actually adopt its tenets. For many years he rested in an insulated position, neither approving the Reformation nor the Church of Rome. Gradually led by his great desire for

[1] *Encyc. Brit.* xi. art. 'Grotius.'
[2] De Burigny, *Life of Grotius*, p. 303.

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union, he advanced more and more towards the Roman system:

'The whole bent of his mind was to effect an exterior union among Christians; and for this end he did not hesitate to recommend equivocal senses of words, convenient explanations, and respectful silence. He first took up his reverence for antiquity because he found antiquity unfavourable to the doctrine of Calvin. His antipathy to this Reformer and to his followers led him on to an admiration for the episcopal succession, the organized hierarchy, the ceremonial and liturgical institutions, the high notions of sacramental rites, which he found in the ancient Church and which Luther and Zwingle had cast away. He became imbued with the notion of unity as essential to the Catholic Church; but he never seems to have gone the length of abandoning his own judgment or of asserting any positive infallibility to the decrees of man. . . . . Two predominant ideas seem to have swayed the mind of this great man in the very gradual transition which we have indicated; one, his extreme reverence for antiquity and for the consent of the Catholic Church; the other, his Erastian principles as to the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. Both conspired to give him an abhorrence of the "liberty of prophesying," the right of private men to promulgate tenets inconsistent with the established faith. In friendly conversation or correspondence, even, perhaps, with due reserve in Latin writings, much might be indulged to the learned; room was to be found for an Erasmus and Cassander; or, if they would themselves consent, for an Episcopius and a Wytenbozart, at least for a Montagu and a Laud; but no pretext was ever to justify a separation. The scheme of Grotius is in a modified degree much the same as that of Hobbes.'[1]

In fact, persecution on the most liberal principles was compatible with the views of Grotius, as we have seen it practised by him and Barneveld. But men are no more contented to be persecuted, in order to force them to adopt tolerant and comprehensive principles, than they are to be thus treated in the behalf of the most rigid orthodoxy. The system of Grotius was after all but a dream. There can be no unity except unity of faith. A wholesome abstinence from compulsion and interference with a perfect freedom for religious creeds is the only sound policy for the civil magistrate. It is well to mark that Erastianism, which comes under the specious guise of liberty, is in reality at bottom a persecutor. It will allow a considerable licence, but it is itself to be the judge of how much licence may be allowed. Beyond the limits which it has marked out, no further concession is to be made. The services may be heterogeneous, but they must

[1] Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii. 318.

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be 'Christian and orderly.' Any transgression of the limits which it assigns will bring down the arm of the law. And not only is Erastianism under the specious guise of liberty in reality a persecutor, but also under the guise of enlightenment and reasonable views it is in the highest degree illogical. About the same time that the later works of Grotius were issuing from the press, there came out in England Jeremy Taylor's famous *Treatise on Liberty of Prophesying* (1647). This has gained for its author great and general commendation, inasmuch as it was almost the first English treatise that showed anything like a tolerant spirit towards dissidents from the established faith. But when the argument of the treatise comes to be calmly considered by the light of our present experience, it will be found in many ways objectionable and untenable. For, first, in order to prove that unity in religious opinions is hopeless, Taylor greatly exaggerates the differences and disparages the means of settling them, and then, having shown the hopelessness of unity, he goes on to advocate perfect toleration—for whom? For all those who hold the doctrines of the Apostles' Creed. All others are to be restrained and coerced by the civil magistrate. What can be more supremely illogical? A 'liberty of prophesying' only as far as the magistrate thinks the liberty desirable is in fact no liberty at all. Why draw the line at the Apostles' Creed? You are just as truly constituting yourself a judge and censor and repressor of religious freedom by choosing this limit as by taking any other. It is merely a question of degree. Now in allowing this power of selection to the magistrate and constituting him an ecclesiastical censor to this extent, Taylor did, in fact, run into the full-blown Erastianism of Grotius. In his treatise *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra* Grotius maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to judge, select, and determine as to the form of religion to be publicly exercised and to allow no other.[1] At first sight this might appear to oppose the doctrine of Taylor, who would counsel the magistrate to allow many; but in reality the principle is the same. The civil magistrate in both cases is to constitute himself a judge, critic, and selector, and is to bring to bear a repressive and coercive jurisdiction on purely religious bodies. The whole theory is condemned alike by history and by reason.

It would seem as if the Netherlands in the seventeenth century were destined to furnish a melancholy example of

[1] Grotius, *de Imperio*, &c. cap. 8.

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every sort of intolerance. Arminians persecuted Calvinists; Calvinists, Arminians; and in the old Church of the land—the Church which had stood apart from, and refused complicity in, the abuses of Rome, the Church of Utrecht, as we have come to call it—Jesuits were bitterly assailing and persecuting the true Catholics, while the Protestant rulers were persecuting both. And as there were the *Five Points* of the Arminians, so were there the *Five Propositions* of the Jansenists.[1] Certainly no greater outrage was committed by the Calvinists in enforcing the decrees of the Synod of Dort than was committed by the Pope and the Roman Conclave in suspending Archbishop Codde and appointing De Cock vicar-general in his room. The Church of Utrecht, which has remained separated from Rome ever since, has in these days received an unexpected development by giving the succession to the Old Catholics of Germany. Arminian views, which appeared for a moment crushed by the proceedings after the Dort Synod, found a congenial soil in England, where they grew and flourished in the school of Laud and Montagu, in spite of the bitter hostility of the Puritans. They were accompanied here, as they had been in the Netherlands, with a strong tinge of Erastianism. Laud thought to govern the Church through the royal supremacy, rather than by its own voice and by ecclesiastical methods. He incurred the same danger which was incurred by Barneveld and Grotius: and so long as the religious instincts of man remain strong and vivid; so long as a man's religious faith is his dearest and most sacred possession; so long will it be dangerous to attempt to constrain, direct, or regulate it by the lay authority, whether that authority be Republic, King, or Parliament.

ART. V.—SPENCER'S DATA OF ETHICS.

The Data of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. (London, 1879.)

IF it be the duty of the clergy to keep abreast of the thought of their time, few books of recent years are more worthy of their study than this. It issues from a mind lavishly endowed both with power and knowledge, and of commanding influence in the world of thought. It is built upon that system of

[1] Extracted out of Jansen's *Augustinus*, and condemned by the Pope.

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Evolution which has so widely approved itself to thinking men, that the question for the Church is not whether she will adopt it at all, but with what explanations or corrections she will assimilate it to her system. Moreover, the subject of the book is that which most closely and vitally affects the Church. The current philosophy in other departments may often seem beyond our grasp, and best left to experts. But in the department of morals we ought ourselves to be experts, qualified to test the truth of statements, and bound in duty not to permit such as are unsound to pass without challenge.

To Mr. Spencer himself we shall appear highly incompetent for such a task. Respect for his opponents is not among his merits. He appears to identify his own philosophy with the course of nature, and to regard those who differ from him as vain disturbers of the irresistible development of things. In truth, he is not only very contemptuous, but he is often very unfair. Professor Calderwood, in the *Contemporary* for January last, protests on behalf of intuitionism against Mr. Spencer's misconceptions; in *Mind* for July, a similar complaint is made by Professor McMeans for utilitarianism; in the *Contemporary* for August, Professor Wace convicts the author of serious misapprehension of Aristotle; and in *Mind* for October, Mr. Benn enters the like complaint on behalf both of optimists and pessimists. No wonder if the Christian clergy come in for their share of his contempt. To him they are the 'ten thousand priests of the religion of love, who are silent when the nation is moved by the religion of hate.' In which censure we observe the peculiar advantage afforded by Mr. Spencer's moral system for encouraging contempt of other men. It includes, as we shall see, firstly an ideal standard, and secondly, an application to things as they are which may differ indefinitely from the ideal. Adherents, therefore, of the Cosmic moral system may judge of other men's teachings by comparison with the ideal; while for their own they claim all the allowance which practical difficulties may call for.

It would not be difficult to show, if we had not greater matters to treat of, that this allusion to the clergy is marked by the unfairness of which others have had to complain. But whatever Mr. Spencer may say of us, we feel no temptation to return his severity in kind. Although he rejects the beliefs which we deem most vital, and although even he cannot be more sure that he is right than we are that he is wrong, yet his merits are such as to render any save the most respectful treatment of him wholly out of place. We allude not merely to the magnificence of his mental grasp, nor to

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his amazing industry and persistence in work, but to qualities more truly moral than even these. His Christian readers may count in him upon that truthfulness which, where religion is concerned, is oftener the boast than the practice of our men of science. Though he may err woefully as to the importance, and even as to the nature of the facts upon which religion depends, yet his errors are due to the short-sightedness even of the greatest minds, when they espouse a system, and not to carelessness for truth. And whatever pain he may give us, we never find in him that light and easy treatment of the question how morality is to be founded, which enables certain writers to settle offhand in the laboratory or dissecting-room the deepest problems of the conscience and the spirit.

It is his sense of the paramount importance of questions of morals that has led Mr. Spencer to undertake the present work. And the words in which he conveys this statement possess a stern pathos:—

'Hints, repeated of late years with increasing frequency and distinctness, have shown me that health may permanently fail, even if life does not end, before I reach the last part of the task I have marked out for myself. This last part of the task it is to which I regard all the preceding parts as subsidiary . . . My ultimate purpose, lying behind all proximate purposes, has been that of finding for the principles of right and wrong in conduct at large a scientific basis . . . I am the more anxious to indicate in outline, if I cannot complete, this final work, because the establishment of rules of right conduct on a scientific basis is a pressing need. Now that moral injunctions are losing the authority given by their supposed sacred origin, the secularization of morals is becoming imperative. Few things can happen more disastrous than the decay and death of a regulative system no longer fit, before another and fitter regulative system has grown up to replace it . . . As the change which promises or threatens to bring about this state, desired or dreaded, is rapidly progressing, those who believe that the vacuum can be filled, and that it must be filled, are bound to do something in pursuance of their belief.'

These truthful and courageous words demand serious attention from all who take the negative side in the discussions of the day. Many of these intellectual persons appear to suppose that Christianity is no longer even on its trial, but stands condemned: an extravagant over-estimate of the amount of their success. But if so it be, they may rest assured that with the end of the trial of Christianity comes the beginning of the trial of Agnosticism; the trial whether, in the words of its own prophet, it can 'fill the vacuum.' If it

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cannot, no fact in physical science is more sure, than that mankind will return to that which, amid whatever defects of evidence, fills the vacuum, rather than leave it permanently void.

We ask the reader then to observe that the declared and deliberate purpose of Mr. Spencer's work is practical. We are to look here not for data of ethics in the sense of an accumulation of facts for a history of the development of ethics in the past, or a forecast of its future progress. We are to look for reasons of morality, which, in proportion as they are scientific, ought to be only the more immediately reducible to practice. Christianity has furnished mankind with reasons for morality which were, at all events, quickly and easily applicable to the conduct of all men who received them. Christianity, it seems, is to be set aside, chiefly on the ground of its mysticism, and because it is not in harmony with practice and fact. But if Mr. Spencer does not furnish reasons of morals which are as ready for practical use as those of Christianity, he must be regarded as having failed in his attempt; for he has replaced that which was too mystical with something more mystical still. What then is his system?

Conduct is the proper subject of ethics. But it will be understood by all who have grasped the theory of Evolution that in the view of Mr. Spencer no sharp line of distinction among the movements of atoms can be drawn by which the application of the word conduct shall be restricted. The functions of parts within an organism, whereby its internal processes are carried on, are in evolution doctrine the result of the same unknowable force to which the external movements of the organism in relation to its environment are due; while those actions which have what we call a purpose, are not in reality distinguishable in character from the most automatic movements of the lowest creatures that have life, or even from still lower combinations of matter. Each one of these species of movement passes into the other by insensible gradations; and under this system it is more for the sake of convenience than through any essential distinction that we restrict the subject of ethical study, first to living beings, then to man, and then to those departments of men's action in which he holds relation to other men, and displays choice and purpose. Everywhere in this sphere the maintenance of life constitutes in Mr. Spencer's view the supreme end. In the pursuit of this object conduct becomes more and more evolved; the preservation of individual life passes onward into the preservation of that of the species; and

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in both it frequently happens that a successful adjustment of conduct, whereby life is preserved to one creature or its family, involves an unsuccessful adjustment and loss of life to another. But the progress of evolution corrects this defect. It is found that each creature may make better adjustments by refraining from injury to others; nor this alone, but the members of a society may give mutual help for the achievement of ends. And as this society, which the individual helps, and whose help he receives, widens out and out till it embraces all sentient existences, we find ourselves face to face with the problems of conduct in their highest form. Good conduct is that which tends to preserve life in the individual, and in the race; and bad, that which tends to shorten it. Such briefly are the principles which, with their various applications and details, make up Mr. Spencer's system.

He justly observes that when we regard preservation of life as the end of conduct, we make the assumption that life is worth living. He observes this; but we cannot perceive that he demonstrates, or even attempts to demonstrate, that in his system the great assumption is justified. He indeed proceeds to narrow the question by explaining (§ 10) that, whichever side we take upon the controversy as to the worth of life, we alike assume that life is good or bad according as it does or does not bring a surplus of agreeable feeling. But this is only to state the terms of the problem not to resolve it. Be he right in this or wrong, he cannot afford to dispense with the fullest and clearest proof that the object which we are to set before us as a sufficient substitute for all other motives of morality is really a desirable one, or, if desirable, within the grasp of hope.

Let us for the present suppose it possible on evolution principles, that an individual should aim at the happiness of his race to the exclusion of his own. The degree in which it will be his wish, or even his duty, to do this, will depend upon the prospect that happiness for the race can ever be secured. We are aware that Mr. Spencer considers himself to have demonstrated that in the course of time such a perfect adjustment of society must come about as will perfectly secure happiness. We should like to know whether a single individual exists beside Mr. Spencer himself, who thinks that he has demonstrated anything of the kind. For he has shown with equal certainty that development must end in the total expenditure of the heat of the solar system, and consequently in universal cessation of movement and death. And we cannot remember that he has anywhere attempted to estimate the

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comparative distance in point of time of these two equilibriums, or proved that the equilibrium of universal happiness will precede that of universal stillness, still less that it will precede it by so long a time as to compensate for the privations to which we must subject ourselves and others in order to secure this distant end. And if this cannot be shown, what right have we (even if we say nothing of our own happiness) to beget children for a life of possible misery, and at best very doubtful happiness, in order that happiness may come to a posterity so remote that it is extremely problematical if the world will last long enough to produce it? Here, therefore, Mr. Spencer leaves a vital point unsettled.

However, we shall now ask leave to consider the principle maintained with much emphasis, that 'in calling good the conduct which subserves life, and bad the conduct which hinders or destroys it, and in so implying that life is a blessing and not a curse, we are inevitably asserting that conduct is good or bad according as its total effects are pleasurable or painful.' In favour of this theory the claims of Perfection, Virtue, Rectitude of motive, to be the tests or guides of conduct, are successively rejected. Now there is, at all events, one proof of this thesis upon which Mr. Spencer appears very confidently to rely, but which we must summarily reject as illogical. He repeatedly appeals in triumph to the fact, that we cannot imagine acts to be virtuous if they be at the same time productive of misery, for proof that it is the power to produce happiness which constitutes their virtue. We cannot imagine a railway train running without noise; but to argue that, therefore, noise is the power which propels the train would be a flagrant instance of the fallacy, *non causa pro causâ*. We greatly doubt the impossibility of separating in imagination happiness from virtue; for why should not our thoughts extend to any degree a separation which we constantly see existing and must plainly imagine possible for many ages to come? But were it impossible to separate the two, the account of this might be quite as logically sought in the belief that happiness necessarily follows virtue as in the belief that virtue follows happiness.

From Mr. Spencer's method of arguing this point, we should be tempted to impute to him the doctrine that the perception of pleasureable effects from certain actions is the proper moral reason to the agent for performing them. But in this we should be mistaken. For on referring to p. 57 we find him declaring that it is the business of moral science to deduce from the laws of life and the conditions of exis-

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tence what kinds of actions necessarily tend to produce happiness; but that having done this, its deductions are to be recognized as laws of conduct, and are to be conformed to irrespective of a direct estimation of happiness or misery. And when (p. 163) Bentham asserts that happiness, not justice, is to be the immediate object of our pursuit, Mr. Spencer replies to him that to propose happiness as our immediate object, is to forget that the human race in the course of its history has gained experience, and accumulated principles for the pursuit of happiness. For, if it has, then these principles are to be proposed to individuals as absolute conditions of living, without allowing them to pursue that happiness which, though the final object, yet lies probably far beyond their compass.

But if this be so; if, while happiness is the ultimate end, the end which an individual is to contemplate for himself may not be happiness at all; then it is plain that Mr. Spencer's rejection of other philosophical systems in favour of the greater happiness principle has been much too summary. The thinkers who framed these doctrines had in contemplation the ends of life which can be proposed to individuals; and if happiness cannot be so proposed, there is very insufficient reason for pronouncing them wrong. Mr. Spencer appears to forget the obvious truth that, if I pursue a happiness which is not my own—a happiness which I cannot even discern—I am really not making happiness my object. Although happiness for others may in the long run come from what I do, there is need of some word quite other than happiness to express my own spring of action. It is vain to confound it with the immediate pursuit of pleasure, on the ground that pleasure for somebody or other is to flow from it. If the loveliness of virtue comes merely from its promotion of happiness, a man may well say, 'if she be not fair to me, what care I how fair she be?'

Not the pursuit of happiness, then, but the laws of moral science, are, it seems, to be recognized as laws of conduct.[1] It appears to us that Mr. Spencer here attributes far too much power to the laws of moral science, and is guilty in no

[1] But Mr. Spencer sometimes contemplates the pleasure and pain of the immediate agent as his criterion of right and wrong. In one passage for instance (p. 259) he denies the idea of rightness to God's action, on the ground that analysis carries us back to pleasure and pain as the elements out of which the conceptions of right and wrong are framed. But if pleasure and pain viewed in others made actions right and wrong to us, that could be as well imagined in God as in us, even though in His case the same genesis could not be ascribed to the idea.

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slight degree of that forgetfulness of the principle of causation, which he attributes to those who would guide their conduct by the will of God. Such persons, he declares, imply the assertion that acts have no natural effects; for if they realized this, they would find in these natural effects the proper reasons for doing or abstaining. The very same objection may be made to the use of his rules. For let us remember what the course of Evolution is supposed to be.

The lower creatures seek their food, and whatever else is needed for the support of their life. We see that they derive happiness from success in the search; but it is quite incorrect to say that they seek happiness. They are incapable of understanding the idea. Happiness is but a word devised by intelligent observers to describe the condition of a creature which has found what it wants. Higher in the scale of living we find that higher needs are felt. The dam will take trouble and will suffer for the good of her young. She is happy in doing so, but it is not happiness that she seeks. And when we come to civilized and moral man, the same system prevails. However he may deny himself, he cannot, on any principle of evolution, do so except in obedience to some call of his inward nature, and some adaptation to that nature of the act which he does. He is indeed capable, through the power of his intellect, of disengaging the idea of happiness, and contemplating it by itself as an object. But his happiness is only to be found by securing the things for which his nature is fitted; happiness is an abstract word, and describes a thing which in itself is incapable of being pursued. If found at all, it must be found through the pursuit of those objects which are fitted to give it.

Now in the progress of human nature it has come to pass that all men in some degree, though some in a greater degree than others, find, in seeking for their own satisfaction, the need of giving pleasure and aid to others. Evolutionists describe the process by which the act of a beast seeking food, and the pleasure consequent on finding it, become transmuted, through the causation of earthly facts in the lapse of ages, into the act of a man helping his fellow at the cost of his own life, and the consequent pleasure which results to him. But it is agreed that this development of human nature, by which that which is good for the welfare of mankind becomes pleasurable to each individual, is very imperfect. It much requires aid in order that man may progress further towards perfect beneficence. And the question is, how may this aid be supplied to him?

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By the rules of moral science, says Mr. Spencer; for these are to be accepted as principles of conduct, and are to be conformed to, irrespective of any direct estimate of happiness or misery. If by this is meant that moral science may explain to a man, better than he knew it before, the means by which his happiness and misery are most truly and wisely sought, the form of Mr. Spencer's sentence is unfortunate. Because in that case the office of moral science is not to furnish rules to be conformed to irrespective of estimates of happiness, but rather to furnish helps by which such an estimate may be most correctly made. But if he means more than this; if he means that moral science can extend man's moral action beyond the point to which, in the course of natural causation, moral action has become the thing best fitted to make him happy; then the author is himself forgetful of his principles of causation. He is requiring that man, having been developed and civilized by the constant offers of pleasure and pain, should now be governed by something else, namely, the laws of moral science.

By what sanction does he suppose that men will be induced to obey these laws? He appears to be himself so struck with interest and admiration for the great plan of development whereby ultimate perfection is to be secured, that he supposes every one else must, upon learning that this is the plan and tendency of nature, at once sacrifice himself to forward it. But this admiration of the scheme of development belongs to philosophers in the study, not to men in action. What concern have men as such with the completion of the tendencies of nature? That which they have to do is to complete their own life by supplying it, in the wisest and completest manner known to them, with what it needs. So far as moral science is able to suggest the means to this, and prove its suggestions, so far will it be listened to; no further. The means of interesting the individual in the plans and tendencies of nature as a whole; the means of inducing the individual to cultivate habits of self-denial beyond the point to which, in the course of natural and actual fact, his inward constitution has attained; are matters beyond the reach of Mr. Spencer's moral science. The machine which he describes may be a very perfect one, but the heat to make it work is wanting.

We hold, therefore, that moral science is, on Mr. Spencer's system, powerless for the moral improvement of man, which depends wholly on the natural causation of experienced pleasures and pains. But we go further, and venture to believe

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that acceptance of Mr. Spencer's system is fitted to be an actual hindrance to progress in virtue, on the part of those who do not actually find virtue the pleasantest thing. We shall grant that cosmic ethics may confirm a man in the diligent practice of any good habits to which nature has in fact led him. But, if these habits involve any pain, the system will lead him very diligently to scrutinize the question whether indeed nature has led him so far. And it will make him entirely refuse to be led any further. That we may explain why we look for this effect from Mr. Spencer's ethics, we shall ask the reader to consider what Mr. Sidgwick calls the fundamental paradox of Hedonism, and Mr. Spencer's reply to that able writer.

The fundamental paradox of Hedonism is this: that we cannot attain to pleasure in its best form so long as we concentrate our aim on pleasure. The truth of this observation is matter of daily experience. And we may venture to name two causes of it. One is, that the deliberate aim at pleasure is so self-conscious and thoughtful a state of mind, that it spoils the self-abandonment and self-forgetfulness in which alone pleasure is to be found. And the second is, that this conscious aim at self-satisfaction causes a man to scrutinize with so great care the sufficiency of the pleasures within his reach, that he finds many to be not worth the seeking, which, had he taken them unthinkingly, would have satisfied him well enough.

Mr. Spencer, in his reply, would almost seem to have mistaken Mr. Sidgwick's observation on the pursuit of pleasure for one on the pleasure of pursuit. Certain it is that the pleasure of the chase is the only case which he analyses. He remarks (no doubt with perfect truth) that the pleasure of the chase consists, not in the attainment of the end in view, but rather in the sense of personal efficiency, and the hope of applause from others, which a good shot or a good rider obtains by his skilful use of the means of pursuit. And it appears to Mr. Spencer that in the light of this observation the fundamental paradox of Hedonism has disappeared. We cannot think so. On the contrary, the fact which he mentions appears to be an excellent illustration of the principle that pleasure can only be found in its best form when unconsciously pursued. There is a very large class of enjoyments, the chase being one of them, in which the nominal pursuit of a certain end serves to hinder the mind from any deliberate aim at the pleasure derived from the means used to gain it. And thus the pleasure of the means is left in a

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condition to be unconsciously, and therefore most thoroughly enjoyed. But suppose a man to have learnt from Mr. Spencer that what gives him pleasure in the chase is not the professed end, but the sense of personal efficiency, and the hope of applause. He will thereby be brought face to face with the latter pleasures themselves, and if he aims at them at all, it must be with a conscious aim. Will they retain their charm for him? He cannot continue to experience the same delight in doing a thing which he knows already that he can do perfectly well, and enjoying the applause of people whose approval, when he thinks of it, is of no value whatever.

Now Mr. Spencer's failure to answer Mr. Sidgwick is a failure which touches the whole use and effect of his moral system. His moral science is calculated to put all men just in this thoughtful and observant position towards the whole pleasure of virtue. They have found it all out. They are acquainted with the scheme of Evolution, and know it to be a system in which happiness is the final test. It began in happiness, when the lower creatures did the acts which gained their food; it is to end in happiness, when such an equilibrium shall have been reached, that everything which is right will also be pleasant. And if it is not making myself happy, I am being cheated out of something which naturally belongs to me. Mr. Spencer recognizes to some extent this application of his philosophy as legitimate. He thinks it quite possible that one may be too altruistic; but reassures himself (p. 197) with the thought that those who are too altruistic will, in the excess of their care for others, remain unmarried and leave no descendants, and so their race will die out. We feel quite sure that his philosophy will never be troubled by any objectionable excesses of altruism. Rather will men, while doing some benevolence so far as they find it agreeable, make sure with the greatest care that they have such gratifications as shall at least secure to themselves their due share of the world's good. If, as Mr. Spencer says (p. 171), 'happiness for *each* and *all*' is the end, it is each man's business to see that he is not excluded from the end to which he has as good a right as another. And this due share cannot be limited by any fixed or abstract theories of virtue and vice, but depends upon the position and degree of evolution to which the man's nature may have reached: the low-minded are bound to give themselves the low pleasures which appear to them to be adapted to their cases, exactly on the same principle as the high-minded seek the pleasures of virtue and

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self-denial. Moral progress on this system seems likely to be slow.

A scheme of Evolution reduces the individual to a very limited and subordinate position in a mighty whole. The philosophy is, therefore, bound by its nature to regard the motives by which the organism can be influenced as the product of the history of its descent, and as impossible by the very course of causation to be altered. But Mr. Spencer's moral man is to be influenced not by the nature of his organism, not by his inherited tendencies, but by an intellectual perception of the ideal tendencies of the great whole of which he is an infinitely insignificant part. The religious motives of morality, though they have been ingrained in the race by immemorial inheritance, are, it seems, to vanish at the breath of an intellectual doubt. And man becomes a double creature: firstly, an item in the sum of things, governed by what goes before him and what surrounds him; and, secondly, a ruling intellect comprehending the great game, and assigning to himself his own place in it. Nor is there any page of Mr. Spencer's work which tells us how the one character is expected to pass into the other, and how perception of the rules of development is to become a motive and pleasurable incitement. He unawares substitutes his own interest in his system for those motives of pleasure and pain which, on that system itself, are alone capable of influencing men.

Now it is undeniable that religion furnishes to Mr. Spencer's system exactly the requisite, which, in the form in which he sets it before us, is so fatally absent. Religion displays to us a Being who is the life of the universal system, its loving father, and its judge. The higher creatures consciously know Him, as the lower unconsciously seek their needs from Him. And this is the power which can give the individual an interest in the whole; this can enlist his sympathies with the distant objects towards which nature tends. It promises him pleasures and pains (and those of no mean nature, but worthy of a noble being) in proportion as he co-operates with those objects. But if you take away religion, the individual remains in his own limited sphere; the interests which he perceives around him, and his actual desires, bind him down. Mr. Spencer must not import into his theory the assumption of an interest on the part of the individual in the ends of nature, which in truth belongs to Theism and cannot be had without it.

And, indeed, we cannot but think that a perception of the failure of his system to supply practical motive or practical guidance comes over Mr. Spencer at the last. The system

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leads to an 'ideal code of conduct, formulating the behaviour of the completely adapted man in the completely evolved society' (p. 275). But for the ideal man in the ideal society, pleasure and morality will have become absolutely identified, and the rules of moral science needless. We perceive, therefore, that Mr. Spencer's code of ethics is fully adapted only to those persons who need no code at all.

What does he give to the actual man? A science, which, when used to interpret the phenomena of real societies in their transitional states, full of the miseries due to non-adaptation (which we may call pathological states), enables us to form approximately true conclusions respecting the nature of the abnormalities and the courses which most tend in the direction of the normal (p. 277). Now let us remember that every circumstance in our environment which varies from the ideal environment, and every characteristic of our own organism different from the ideal organism, tends to make the ideal ethics so far inapplicable, and impose on us rules so different, that the ideal morality is actually immoral for us. It will be plain, then, that Mr. Spencer's ethics are nearly as useless to the actual man, because of their inappropriateness to his circumstances, as they were to the ideal man because of their needlessness. Although Mr. Spencer makes far too little of the difference between the actual and the ideal, yet he is too truthful wholly to conceal it; and the conclusion of his book derives from this circumstance the tone of failure of which we speak:—

'To what extent, under given circumstances, shall private welfare be subordinated to public welfare?—a question to be answered after considering the importance of the end and the seriousness of the sacrifice. What benefit and what detriment will result from gratuitous aid yielded to another?—a question in each case implying an estimate of probabilities. Is there any unfair treatment of sundry others involved by more than fair treatment of this one other? Up to what limit may help be given to the existing generation of the inferior, without entailing mischief on future generations of the superior? Evidently, to these and many kindred questions included in this division of relative ethics, approximately true answers only can be given.

'But though, here, absolute ethics, by the standard it supplies, does not greatly aid relative ethics, yet, as in other cases, it aids somewhat, by keeping before consciousness an ideal conciliation of the various claims involved; and by suggesting the search for such compromise among them as shall not disregard any, but shall satisfy all to the greatest extent practicable.'

It will be remembered that the doctrine of the relativity of

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all human knowledge is the very foundation of Mr. Spencer's philosophy. It would not, we think, be difficult to show that his conception of absolute ethics is liable (in spite of what he says at p. 258) to all the objections which he has himself brought against the possibility of knowing the absolute at all. The word ethics implies relativity, and that in no merely verbal sense, but so essentially that the phrase absolute ethics is a contradiction. And it is strange to find the philosophy which professes to found itself wholly upon ascertained facts taking refuge in an ideal and an absolute which never have been, and, we may add, never can be, presented to experience.

It is with this impotent conclusion, however, that we are to 'fill the vacuum' left by the disappearance of the code of supernatural ethics! It is impossible for Christians to read this passage, in which Mr. Spencer confesses his inability fully to connect his ideal with the actual, and not remember how wonderfully their faith answers this very difficulty.

In the character of our Lord Jesus Christ we have what the best men of every age have confessed to be the ideal of morality. Mr. Spencer himself hardly seems to claim any superiority for the ethics of his golden age in the dim future over those of Christianity; he calls them (p. 257) 'a rationalized version of its ethical principles.' It must strike the mind of an evolutionist as an actual miracle that the perfect moral principles to which development tends should thus be not only proclaimed, but embodied, at so rudimentary a stage of moral evolution as that at which our Lord appeared. It is as if in the physical world a perfected man should have all at once appeared among the shell-fish or the birds. And what makes the thing more strange is, that this ideal instance of morality not only appeared, but maintained itself without making the demand, with which Mr. Spencer's ideal man cannot dispense, of an ideal state of circumstances to surround it, and essayed the more difficult task of perfect behaviour in the midst of all the sins and miseries of the actual present. But what we now wish to point out is not the argument for Christianity derivable from this wonderful fact, but the moral significance to our souls of the recorded commands of our ideal man and the present spiritual contact, whereby he speaks with power and decision to men in every present circumstance of our life. Mr. Spencer must needs admit that, in this established communion of the ideal with the real, religion again supplies a most striking want in his system, and that conversely his claim to provide for the vacuum which the loss of religion leaves is completely vain.

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It will be said, however, that while Mr. Spencer's philosophy is powerless to fill the vacuum, it is at least effectual to cause it, and that if we accept his principles we must do without religion, be the consequences what they may. And to be sure if we admit the postulates of religion we must make considerable modifications in Mr. Spencer's development of his system. The word Agnosticism, which (however disagreeable so negative a term must be to its author) expresses the popular view of its nature, must cease to be applicable. But it is our deliberate opinion that the *principles* of Mr. Spencer's philosophy are not properly or completely Agnostic. They do not warrant that total exclusion of religion which he makes in working out its details, and Theists are but carrying out thoroughly ideas, to the truth of which a witness remains in the very basis upon which he sets out.

Readers of the *First Principles* will remember that he founds his work upon the profession of making a reconciliation between religion and science, and recognizes the fact that the persistence of religion in history indicates a permanent necessity of thought. The essence of religion he there takes to consist in the acknowledgment of an unknowable power beneath humanity, and beneath all other things.

It has been frequently pointed out that this description of the essence of religion is a contradiction. That which is known to exist cannot be unknowable, and the definitions of the philosophy therefore succeed but imperfectly in excluding God from the range of human knowledge. And this original vice in the foundation prepares the way for contradictions and inconsistencies in the subsequent treatment of the religious question. According to the hypothesis, religion has its root and essence in our contact with the unknowable. But in the actual history of religious development, which is presented to us in the *Principles of Sociology*, we find religion persistently traced to the operation of phenomenal causes. The ghost theory, for instance, has nothing to do with the unknowable; it is the imagination of a phenomenon supposed to be known, and is therefore not what Mr. Spencer conceives to be essentially religion at all. On the other hand, there are a few passages here and there to be found through his work (and a larger number in that of his disciple and expositor, Mr. Fiske), in which we find a remembrance of the persistence which he originally assigned to religion, and the description which he gave of its real nature. Yet in these passages it will be found, as might have been expected, that the attempt to connect a

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power purely unknowable with human things in any effective way is impossible; to make his religion a reality Mr. Spencer has to apply phrases to it which imply the very points, the maintenance of which he condemns in the Theist.

Instance the present work. We have certainly a right to expect in such a book some serious treatment of the religious question. The important influence of religion on morals in all past history is conceded by Mr. Spencer himself. It is impossible upon his own principles that this past influence of religion should be dissolved in a moment; the continuity of the moral history of mankind cannot be so broken, least of all by an evolutionist. And if the Cosmic moral system were what Mr. Fiske, speaking, as he believed, the mind of Mr. Spencer, described, religion or the order of the unknowable would (legitimately or not) play an important part in it. What place then do we find assigned to it by Mr. Spencer himself?

We put aside certain passages referring to the ghost theory; that is to say, the notion that dead fathers and chiefs are imagined to watch over the interests of the family or tribe, and to become objects of superstitious fear to those whose consciences accuse them of offending such interests. It is really wonderful that Mr. Spencer should suppose this conception to have much part in the maintenance of any of the higher forms of supernatural belief; but at all events it has nothing to do with religion in his own chosen sense of that term. We can find but one passage in the whole book which refers to religion in this proper sense: namely, the following sentences from p. 171. 'The theological theory contains a part [of the truth]. If for the Divine will supposed to be supernaturally revealed, we substitute the naturally revealed end towards which the Power manifested throughout Evolution works: then, since Evolution has been, and is still, working towards the highest life, it follows that, conforming to those principles by which the highest life is achieved, is furthering that end.' This passage appears to us hardly reconcilable with one to be found at p. 258, in which the ascription of rightness to the acts of the power manifested in phenomena is condemned; for how can we know that right action in us coincides with the ends of the power unless we ascribe rightness to those ends. But at all events we call upon impartial readers to acknowledge that in the passage above quoted Agnosticism is surrendered. The contest between Agnostics and those who believe that something can be known of God does not turn upon the question whether the method of revelation is natural or supernatural,

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but upon the question whether there can be any revelation at all. And the doctrine here asserted by Mr. Spencer, of final causes or ends towards which the unknowable Power works, is the special object of reprobation to all opponents of revelation. Can a Power which, as Mr. Spencer here says, works towards a certain end, and, as he also says, reveals that end to us, be called the unknowable?

Thus religion claims for two reasons a place in Mr. Spencer's moral system. First, positively; the consciousness of the unknowable which he himself recognizes ought, if it exist at all, to obtain a place in our minds vastly larger than that which he assigns to it. And that he is dimly conscious of this appears from the fact that whenever he speaks of religion proper, he is forced to use expressions inconsistent with Agnosticism. Religion is something which Mr. Spencer and his school emphatically do not know what to do with. It demands a place in the scheme of belief by reason of their classification of the elements of our consciousness, and by reason of its existence in that past mental history of mankind, from which they contend his future mental history must evolve. And yet they lay down a scheme of morality in which it is mockery to say that religion has any place.

And second, negatively; for, as we have before shown, there are fatal deficiencies in Mr. Spencer's ethical theory considered in the light of a working system. These defects religion is exactly fitted to supply. It alone can give to the individual that interest in the due development of the whole which, in Mr. Spencer's scheme, is an absolute moral necessity, but for which he provides no motive; it alone can endow the ideal with reality, and make a bridge from the ideal to the actual, separated as these are by Mr. Spencer to a degree which deprives his moral teaching of any sure application to daily conduct.

The religious believer is thus in possession of a principle which supplies Mr. Spencer's defects, and follows out his germs of thought. And with this key in his hand he finds himself able to appreciate to the utmost the rich stores of ordered observation which this able work contains. No wonder that it should be so. Heathen thinkers, such as Aristotle, have furnished a mass of moral observation with which no Christian moralist can dispense. What wonder then if a philosopher, who has had eighteen centuries of Christian progress to furnish matter for his thought, should be able to provide us with rich suggestions, although the point from which we view them is different from his.

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There is great grandeur in the conception of an evolution of morality; of a connexion of all things among themselves, enabling us to perceive the same advancing principles in the unconscious action which preserves the life of the lowest creatures and in the highest specimens of human conduct. But the grandeur is certainly not diminished when we regard the whole as developed under the guidance of one Almighty Mind, and thus recognize the highest life as the end towards which the Power manifested throughout Evolution works. In religion alone do these expressions of Mr. Spencer receive a meaning. For religion does not attempt to see the highest life in that poor thing which earth, at its best, can furnish, or the Power manifested in evolution in a something which cannot manifest itself at all, and which, not being conceivable as intellect, cannot be said to pursue any end. Mr. Spencer's prophecy of the final resolution of duty into happiness is distant and precarious indeed for men as he conceives their state. It has meaning for those who believe in a God, at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore. The two admirable chapters entitled 'Egoism versus Altruism' and 'Altruism versus Egoism' state the antinomy of moral life, in which self-sacrifice and self-preservation present themselves alternately as the ruling law. But could a man secure the due reconciliation of these two views by deliberately turning in thought to the egoistic or altruistic side as need might seem to require? The Christian, in reading these chapters, cannot fail to remember how the same antinomy is found in sayings of our Lord; who sometimes calls us to save our own souls at all costs, and sometimes to lose our lives and neglect our happiness in care for others. In Him altruism turns out to be the means of self-preservation, and egoism the road to absolute self-sacrifice: and in following His commands we find, without thinking of it, a perfect reconciliation between the two. But we do not believe that on any system which leaves man without an object of belief and obedience beyond himself, these principles can be preserved from practical conflict.

We find ourselves quite prepared to recognize the power displayed in the four chapters in which Mr. Spencer considers successively the Physical, the Biological, the Psychological, and the Sociological view of conduct. It is very interesting to mark the fact that, as in the physical world the conduct of the lower creature is distinguished from that of the higher in having its successive portions feebly connected, so the same difference is to be observed between the immoral and the

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moral among mankind. The one is 'dissolute,' the other self-restrained. At the same time that conduct becomes definite it ought to become varied in its spheres of activity; therein also following out the physical law of progress in which heterogeneity of movement increases with coherence of structure. It were a tempting theme to enlarge upon the same principle in the history of the Church, and show how unity and organization go hand in hand with true liberty and varied activity.

This is what Mr. Spencer terms the physical view. We doubt whether he is justified by his own principles in separating these particular stages of Evolution from those which follow, and confining to them the term physical. His system is consistently from beginning to end a physical system. The principles upon which the developments called biological or metaphysical proceed are, according to him, no less physical than those which guide the structural changes of the bodies of animals and their functions. But suffering the classification to pass for convenience' sake, we feel quite certain that when Mr. Spencer offers these physical changes as the models of moral conduct he is entering a region which does not properly belong to the physical view at all. It is quite true that conduct as experienced consists of changes recognized by touch, sight, and hearing. But this does not constitute it physical, unless the motives and powers which direct it are physical too. Now the power of choice and moral preference are certainly not physical unless everything be so. If Mr. Spencer bids us make our conduct definite but heterogeneous, he is really taking a moral, not a physical, view, even though the result of obedience to his advice may be seen in physical facts.

This illegitimate introduction of moral principles into what professes to be a physical view is curiously exemplified in the following sentences: 'Evolution in conduct is like all other evolution towards equilibrium. I do not mean that it is towards the equilibrium reached at death, though this is of course the final state which the evolution of the highest man has in common with all lower evolution; but I mean that it is towards a moving equilibrium.' But what right has Mr. Spencer to mean this? What right has he, while professing to take a merely physical view, to make a break in the course of evolution at the arbitrary point of the moving equilibrium, instead of that of death, which is the real physical end? The physical view knows no distinctions between life and death. It holds its relentless way alike through movement and life or rest and death; and in order to aim at, or even to recognize, the

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moving equilibrium instead of that of death, we must call in higher principles than the physical.

But, in truth, what we observe in this chapter is but one striking instance of a great primary difficulty which attends Mr. Spencer's system in its moral aspect, and with which we cannot find him to have ever seriously dealt. His system is, as we have above remarked, essentially physical. He makes it his boast that he recognizes causation. Everything hangs together. Nothing could be otherwise than it is. By what alchemy, then, can this rigid and relentless physical Calvinism be turned into a moral system? What room can be found in it for choice and the power of free will? Who can be anything but what the progress of Evolution has made him, or do anything but that which necessarily follows from the nature of his organism and that of his environment? How can the laws which we find invariably ruling in the physical world become, in regard to our conduct, if not rules which we can reverse, yet, at least, rules over which we have a certain power to set them in operation, and choose whether we shall submit to this one or to that? And how can we hasten or delay by any action of ours the inevitable ends to which Evolution is tending?

If we do possess such a power of will and choice, then the chain of Mr. Spencer's physical causation is broken, and a power has place in the world which he does not recognize. But if, on the other hand, we have no such power, what ethical help does he suppose to be derivable from his book! It cannot endow us with powers which the nature of things forbids to us. It should confess itself to be a physical treatise or natural history of man; calling us to admire in the department of human conduct the imposing development of those same unvarying principles which rule from the first alike in the inanimate and animate world. But a book of this sort plainly claims a merely intellectual interest. It has no practical power and no title to the name Data of Ethics.

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ART. VI.—MISSION AND JURISDICTION; THE PRIMITIVE RULE AND THE ROMAN USURPATION.

1. *Truthfulness and Ritualism.* By ORBY SHIPLEY. First and Second Series. (London, 1880.)
2. *A Specimen of Recent Anglican Controversy with Rome.* A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Pusey, D.D., Canon of Christ Church. By ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Privately printed for the Writer. (London, 1880.)
3. *Anglican Jurisdiction: Is it Valid?* A Letter to a Friend. By J. D. BREEN, O.S.B. (London, 1880.)
4. *Tortura Torti: Sive ad Matthæi Torti librum responsio.* Auctore LANCELOTO ANDREWES, Wintoniensi Episcopo. (Oxonii, M.DCCCLI.)
5. *De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ.* By ISAAC CASAUBON. Appendix 6 to Hickes's *Treatises on the Christian Priesthood.* (Oxford, 1848.)
6. *On the Dignity of the Episcopal Order.* By GEORGE HICKES, D.D., Dean of Worcester. (Sect. VI.: On the Mutual Relations of the Spiritual and Temporal Powers.) (Oxford, 1847.)
7. *The Rule of Conscience.* By JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. (Chapter IV.: Of the Power of the Church, &c. &c. (London, 1828.)
8. *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.* By RICHARD HOOKER. Book VIII. (Oxford, 1850.)
9. *The Royal Supremacy not an Arbitrary Authority, but Limited by the Laws of the Church, of which Kings are Members.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. (Oxford, 1850.)

WE have long noticed that, when an Anglican of any literary faculty is so far misguided as to go over to the Roman Communion, the very first thing he does after his perversion is consummated is to write a book, or at least a pamphlet, against the Anglican Church. Conscious, no doubt, of being looked upon with some degree of suspicion as a neophyte by his new co-religionists, he rushes into print by way of proving to himself, as well as to them, that he is in earnest in his new beliefs. Mr. Orby Shipley affords to us another example of this tendency. Under the title of *Truthfulness and*

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Ritualism he has published a kind of answer to Dr. Littledale's 'Reply' to the Abbé Martin. The excuse which he puts forward for extending to that considerable body of persons, who may be more or less fairly called Ritualists, an accusation of untruthfulness which could, it would seem, apply only to the one person who had written the 'Reply,' is that this latter had been adopted and republished as a pamphlet by the English Church Union. Thereupon Mr. Orby Shipley takes the very odd course of addressing a series of letters, not to Dr. Littledale himself, who was, it might have been thought, the person from whom explanations should have been asked; but to the President of the English Church Union; nor even to him direct, but through the pages of the *Tablet* newspaper; a kind of vicarious pistol fire, which will remind our readers of the triangular duel which they have no doubt laughed over in the pages of *Midshipman Easy*.

The 'Letters' are, as is very natural, more occupied with Mr. Orby Shipley himself than with the ostensible subject on which he is writing. What was his own position when the 'Reply' appeared, and what the effect produced by it upon *him;* what *he* knows of Dr. Littledale, and what were *his* relations to Dr. Littledale in time past, are matters upon which the reader is informed at considerable, and as it seems to us (but really it is no affair of ours) at needless, length.

The second series alone consists of 262 pages, occupied mostly by small and carping arguments in arrest of judgment, urged with much (perhaps excusable) heat and asperity, and with a verbosity of which, having read through the pamphlet from the first page to the last, we can speak feelingly. The writer makes a petty point, of small importance, here and there; but the result, it seems to us, must be to establish the general correctness of the inculpated publication. Having said this, we do not propose to concern ourselves further with Mr. Shipley, with the quarrel he has taken up, or with the several pamphlets of a controversial character which he has issued; for, upon the whole, we think the liberating of Mr. Shipley's mind likely to be the chief result of their publication.

Unfortunately, however, the Anglican Church is considered fair game by every Roman controversialist. We turn, therefore, to another assailant. Mr. J. D. Breen, O.S.B., has recently made an apparently gratuitous attack upon her ministry in a pamphlet entitled *Anglican Jurisdiction: Is it Valid?* We do not think it worth while to complain of this: for if, as will be seen, we think his argument illusory, we do not find it uncivil or ungentlemanlike in tone; and it even

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shows to advantage beside some attacks upon Anglican Orders with which we have dealt of late.

He takes a somewhat novel ground of objection. Abandoning the old 'Nag's Head' cavil, which we suppose is by this time riddled so full of holes that even a Roman disputant is ashamed of it, he finds a new ground of attack in the argument that even if Parker's consecrators were in Episcopal orders, and so able to impart to him the character of a bishop as regards *order*, yet that, as not one of them was actually in possession of a see, they could not have any claim to give *mission* and *jurisdiction;* or, as he words it, 'to any authority to appoint him the Archbishop of Canterbury as regards *jurisdiction.*' But this alleged disability is with him a mere *argumentum ad invidiam*, and not in the least essential to his argument; since, according to his view, the same inability would attach to any bishop whatsoever, except the Pope, to whom alone the power to bestow 'jurisdiction' really belongs.

His thesis is naturally, therefore, that the Anglican priesthood have no 'ecclesiastical jurisdiction,' which he apparently regards as something given apart from Holy Orders and in some different way; and the absence of it, he thinks, renders the spiritual acts of the Anglican priest 'not only *unlawful*, but even *invalid.*' It is true that this assertion is apparently *confined* to the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction. But it is plain that the ministration of each of the Sacraments is in some sense an act of jurisdiction; for they may be granted or denied by the individual priest, and the decision, whether of the two it shall be, must be made by an exercise of judgment, in other words, of *jurisdiction.* Absolution admits to the Eucharist; a refusal to absolve would exclude from communicating. To suppose, then, a priest possessed of the power to perform valid sacraments, and yet unable authoritatively to admit (by 'loosing'), or to exclude (by 'binding,' δήσητε, S. Matt. xviii. 18), any person whatever, because of a want of 'jurisdiction,' is a conception inconsistent with itself.

It is clear, therefore, that the two powers are essential parts of the same sacerdotal commission, and that the proposal to separate them, so as to make 'jurisdiction' the subject of a supplementary commission, the want of which invalidates the previous one, or makes the exercise of it unlawful, is no part of the original and primitive doctrine respecting Holy Orders, but a modification of it, made in far later times, and, as we shall endeavour to show, in the interests of the Roman see.

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It hardly needs the acknowledgment, that *if* there be such a separate power of jurisdiction, distinguishable *in radice* from Holy Order, and *if* no one has the power to confer it but the Pope, then the Anglican clergy are out of court. But these are assumptions, not demonstrated facts. Such, however, is Mr. Breen's contention; and this contention he supports by a quotation from S. Thomas Aquinas, of which we think we have some reason to complain, since, by its omissions, it makes that great theologian apparently express an opinion the exact opposite to his intention. Mr. Breen thus renders him on p. 7:—

'S. Thomas, with his usual lucidity, says—"Spiritual power is twofold; one sacramental, the other jurisdictional. That is sacramental which is bestowed by any consecration; but all consecrations of the Church are permanent as long as the matter remains which is consecrated, and therefore such power continues in its essence in a man who has received it by consecration as long as he lives, whether he fall into schism or heresy. . . . But jurisdictional power is that which is conferred by the concession of man, and therefore such power does not inhere permanently."'

Here Mr. Breen stops; and we are supposed to have obtained S. Thomas' deliberate opinion on the point. But we will supply the sentences which Mr. Breen has adroitly omitted, and it will be seen that S. Thomas' opinion is not fairly represented by the portion he has quoted. The passage is in Pars II. 2, quæst. 39, articul. 3:—

'Respondeo dicendum, quod duplex est spiritualis potestas, una quidem sacramentalis, alia jurisdictionalis. Sacramentalis quidem potestas est quæ per aliquam consecrationem confertur. Omnes autem consecrationes Ecclesiæ sunt immobiles, manente re quæ consecratur; sicut etiam patet in rebus inanimatis: nam altare semel consecratum non consecratur iterum, nisi fuerit dissipatum. Et ideo talis potestas secundum suam essentiam remanet in homine qui per consecrationem eam est adeptus, quamdiu vivit, sive in schisma sive in hæresim labatur.

'Quod patet ex hoc quod rediens ad Ecclesiam non iterum consecratur. Sed quia potestas inferior non debet exire in actum, nisi secundum quod movetur a potestate superiori, ut etiam in rebus naturalibus patet; inde est quod tales usum potestatis amittunt, ita scilicet quod non liceat eis sua potestate uti. *Si tamen usi fuerint, eorum potestas effectum habet in sacramentalibus; quia in his homo non operatur nisi sicut instrumentum Dei; unde effectus sacramentales non excluduntur propter culpam quamcunque conferentis sacramentum.*

'Potestas autem jurisdictionalis est quæ ex simplici injunctione hominis confertur; et talis potestas non immobiliter adhæret.'[1]

[1] Volum. vii. p. 569.

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The restored passages, it will be seen, convey a meaning totally different to that given by Mr. Breen and required by his argument.

Thus, it will be noticed, S. Thomas declares that even those 'in schism or in heresy,' if rightly ordained, have and retain valid sacraments: 'eorum potestas effectum habet in sacramentalibus.' We do not at all admit, but strongly deny and repudiate, the supposition that the English Church has fallen 'sive in schisma sive in hæresim,' as Mr. Breen implies by his quotation; but even were it so, it is evident that the case would be covered by the *dictum* of S. Thomas, which, though not in itself decisive, is properly and justly of much weight. The importance of these suppressed sentences, and the *fairness* of suppressing them, will be at once apparent if we recall that Mr. Breen asserts that 'besides valid orders, ecclesiastical jurisdiction is also necessary, and that its absence renders the administration of the sacrament of penance not only unlawful, but also invalid.'[1] And, in proof of this statement, he has adduced the passage from S. Thomas quoted above.

On reference to the original, we find that in the sentences which Mr. Breen suppressed, and which we have restored, S. Thomas expressly excepts sacraments, 'sacramentales effectus,' from his former statement, and asserts (and that twice over) that valid sacraments follow from due ordination of those who minister them: '*eorum potestas effectum habet in sacramentalibus*;' and again, '*effectus sacramentales non excluduntur propter culpam quamcunque confcrentis sacramentum.*' Could anything be clearer than this statement?

To hinder a possible objection, we will quote again from S. Thomas,[2] 'Convenienter ponuntur septem Ecclesiæ sacramenta: Baptismus, Confirmatio, Eucharistia, *Pœnitentia*, *Ordo*, Matrimonium, Extrema Unctio.'

Or, to put the matter syllogistically:—

S. Thomas excepts from his former statement, sacraments;
S. Thomas reckons Penance to be a sacrament;
Therefore, S. Thomas excepts Penance from his former statement.

That is to say, we find Mr. Breen's witness testifying to exactly the opposite view to that for the support of which he was cited.

No doubt Mr. Breen may have thought that Anglicans knew nothing of the text of S. Thomas. We beg leave to undeceive him.

[1] p. 5.
[2] *Summa Theologica*, pars iii. quæst. LXV. art. 1, *Conclus.*

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But what are we to think of Mr. Breen's way of quoting his author? Can it be possible that he had not read the entire passage, or are we to see here another instance of that 'fides Punica' which Roman controversialists so often think good enough for their opponents; and of the persistent 'bad faith', of which Dr. Littledale makes so caustic a mention?

No doubt his next quotation from 'the great theologian, Suarez,' is more to his purpose: for *he* holds expressly that jurisdiction is 'a certain participation of the Papal power,' and is conferred, *not* by consecration, but by the grant of the Pope alone; so that 'the validity of acts of spiritual authority on the part of a bishop depends rather upon the validity of his jurisdiction than upon the validity of his order, the former being, moreover, independent of the latter, not flowing from it, and having its source elsewhere.' This is in entire harmony with that later theory of Roman writers, which makes the Episcopate to be no distinct order, properly speaking; the Pope being sole and universal Bishop, and the diocesan bishops only his local delegates, clothed by him with a minute portion of his authority, which is revocable at will. Naturally therefore they seek, as here, to depress the power of Order, which is not derived from the Pope, and to elevate the power of jurisdiction which, according to their theory, is so derived.

But it is clear that the quotation from Suarez can in no way strengthen the argument as a matter of authority: since it is a mere *ex-post-facto* assertion, made at a time so late[1] as to be nothing more than a mere *ipse dixit;* and, moreover, like the anti-Anglican work of the same author, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores*, made with a controversial purpose. The endeavour is to erect a supreme jurisdiction for the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church upon the ruins of all lesser authorities. We need hardly recall to the recollection of any amongst our readers that this is the aim ceaselessly pursued by the Ultramontane party in the Roman Church, nor how it has succeeded by degrees in pushing this very dogma of the Papal supremacy into the position of the *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ.* That position once granted, all the other parts of their system of doctrine follow logically, and cannot be successfully rebutted. We propose to challenge both the propositions which Suarez asserted, and upon which Mr. Breen's argument rests. Readers of history hardly need to be told that the Bishop of Rome was never asked

[1] Francis Suarez was one of the early members of the Jesuit order and lived from A.D. 1548 to A.D. 1617.

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to give either mission or jurisdiction to anybody for the first six centuries of the Christian era; that his usurped authority grew up afterwards within definable limits of time, by successive degrees, and as a result of causes which can be named and measured; while throughout the Eastern Church it was never at any time recognized. What the far smaller and weaker patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople did for many ages, and continue to do to this day, that cannot, it would seem, be a breach either of Catholic orthodoxy or Primitive practice, and may safely be followed by the great Patriarchate of Canterbury in the nineteenth century, far surpassing, as it does, either of those mentioned in learning and influence. We shall, then, ask the indulgence of our readers while we go at somewhat greater length into the matter, and inquire whether the assailant has not in fact shown some misapprehension of the subject with which he has volunteered to deal.

Our endeavour will be to show: (1) That Holy Order, and Jurisdiction, so far from being separate and essentially distinct, are intimately connected parts of the same ministerial commission, so that the one cannot be conferred without also imparting a right to the other; and that this was the original view. (2) That the opposite view grew up in later times, in the course of the endeavour to find a doctrinal foothold for the newly fabricated doctrine of the supreme authority of the Pope over all bishops, particularly over metropolitans.

Mission, or vocation, in an ecclesiastical sense, is, we take it, the communication of spiritual authority; and is more exactly defined as the power given to bishops and priests to preach, absolve, and administer the Sacraments. It is thus, *in origine*, inseparable from the sacerdotal character, and is in every case conferred when that is conferred. It constitutes in itself a call to minister, and bestows a χαρακτήρ[1] which cannot be effaced. Though the bishop is the instrument of bestowing it, he cannot recall it. It cannot be *extinguished* by either ecclesiastical or civil authority, though by *degradation* the former may forbid a particular bishop or priest to exercise the sacerdotal χάρισμα; and therefore it is that acts of such degraded clergy have always been held valid, although irregular.

Jurisdiction requires to be separately considered.

[1] See *Sum. Theol.* pars iii. quæst. LXIII. art. vi. where we have: 'Per hæc tria sacramenta character imprimitur, scilicet per baptismum, confirmationem, *et ordinem*.'

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It is defined as being either *habitual* or *actual.* Habitual jurisdiction is the immediate result of ordination or consecration. It, like *Mission,* cannot be separated from the '*ordinis potestas:*' it is in fact practically *the* commission, in which Ordination consists, of exercising the sacerdotal *facultas* and doing all sacerdotal acts (or episcopal, as the case may be) in any part of the world, by virtue of this commission simply. Thus S. Thomas Aquinas seems to identify the two, speaking of 'episcopi potestatem *a quo sacerdos jurisdictionem susciperet* ad ligandum et ad solvendum.'[1]

Such is the theoretical basis of spiritual jurisdiction. When, however, *actual* jurisdiction is considered, the aspect of the matter is otherwise. The supposed case of spiritual functionaries, bishops or priests, free to exercise their ministry wherever it shall please them so to do, without any restraint whatever, is never realized in practice, for the simple reason that the Church Catholic is an organized body. No bishop can properly be consecrated as 'unattached:' every one was originally consecrated to some particular see; and only because that see was at the moment vacant. His 'habitual' jurisdiction, therefore, although theoretically universal, was in practice (*actualiter*) limited to one special spot. With this agree the words of S. Cyprian, when writing to Pope Stephen:—

'Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresim facere et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves dominicas in gregem colligant. . . . *Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit,* colligere et fovere debemus.'[2]

He says much the same thing in a well-known passage of his treatise, 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ:'—'*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*'[3]

And who does not remember S. Jerome's impassioned and rhetorical protestation in his 'Epistle to Evagrius?'—

'Nec altera Romanæ urbis ecclesia, altera totius orbis æstimanda est. . . . Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis: ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii.'[4]

The point we are endeavouring thus to emphasize is this: that in the view of the Primitive Church jurisdiction was con-

[1] *Summa Theologica,* quæst. XL. art. iv.
[2] Ep. lxvii. [3] p. 150, ed. Pamel. [4] Ep. 85.

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veyed simultaneously with consecration; and that the Episcopal commission was held to be such as essentially to convey it. The assignment to the newly consecrated bishop of a particular see was not something superadded to the original commission, but, in fact, a *limitation* of it. The early Church knew nothing of *Monsignori* in episcopal orders or of bishops *in partibus*. Every bishop submitted, in the act of his consecration, to this definite circumscription of his activity, which rendered that local which was originally universal, and under the altered conditions of the Church substituted the command to labour, as a general rule, in one individual παροικία only of a vast and organized system of dioceses and provinces for the originally general and undefined commission to the Apostles, 'go ye *into all the world* and preach the gospel to every creature.'

It is an emphatic evidence of the universality and primitive date of this custom, which gave to bishop, priest, or deacon their post of official duty, by conferring their mission and jurisdiction in the very act of consecration or ordination, and which refused altogether to consecrate or ordain unless such a post was waiting the ministrations of the ordinand, that ordination was known in the Western Church as *localis ordinatio*, and the clergy were termed *locales*. And it was the same in the East: for the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, forbade, in its sixth canon, any to be ordained *absolutely*, ἀπολελυμένως, i.e. without a title. Similar prohibitions were repeated by many Councils: and we find even a Pope going so far as to say that such ordinations were null and void: 'vana est habenda ordinatio, quæ nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita.'[1] The case of the *chorepiscopi* in France in the eighth and ninth centuries tells in the same direction, and it was because this rule had been disregarded in their consecration that the entire class were finally recognized only as presbyters.

It is clear, then, that the early belief was that the giving of both mission and jurisdiction was completed in the act of consecration, and that no further 'mission' or authority of any kind was needed or was given during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era. But during the latter part of that period there was growing up, step by step, from various causes, a power in the See of Rome, which at length altogether subverted the provincial system of government under which the whole Church had up to that time been ruled.

[1] *Leon. Papæ Epist. ad Rustic.* 82, c. 1.

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Originally the ordination even of metropolitans, still more certainly of ordinary diocesan bishops, had taken place without the least reference to the See of Rome or demand for the grant of 'mission' or jurisdiction (*facultas*) from the Pope. In the East and in Africa they were confirmed and consecrated by the Exarch or Patriarch; in the West, by the other bishops of the province.

But when the See of Rome came to assert a general jurisdiction over the whole Church, it interfered with the peaceful working of this system by claiming a veto over the election of any metropolitan, which it exercised by granting or refusing the *pallium* to the metropolitan elect. First of all, we find Pope Siricius (A.D. 385–A.D. 398) asserting authority over the whole province of Illyricum and claiming to control the election of bishops.[1] About the middle of the sixth century, the authority of the Popes was so augmented in Italy itself that they were appealed to to confirm the elections of the Archbishops of Milan: a city which in earlier times had steadfastly maintained its ecclesiastical independence as metropolis of the Italic provinces, in distinction from the Roman or suburbicarian provinces, which were from the first allowed to be (by a curious and typical transfer of ideas from the Empire to the Church; for the *prætor urbanus*, or later, the *præfectus urbi*, had authority over these districts)[2] under the

[1] Hallam (*Middle Ages*, chap. vii. p. 420) apparently puts this Pope ten years, at least, too early.

[2] 'By the constitution of the Church, such at least as it became in the fourth century, its divisions being arranged in conformity to those of the Empire, every province ought to have its metropolitan, and every vicariate its ecclesiastical exarch or primate. The Bishop of Rome presided in the latter capacity over the Roman vicariate, comprehending southern Italy, and the three chief Mediterranean islands. But, as it happened, none of the ten provinces forming this division had any metropolitan, so that the Popes exercised all metropolitical functions within them, such as the consecrations of bishops, the convocation of synods, the ultimate decision of appeals, and many other sorts of authority.

'These provinces are sometimes called the Roman patriarchate; the Bishop of Rome having always been reckoned one, generally indeed the first, of the patriarchs; each of whom was at the head of all the metropolitans within its limits, but without exercising those privileges which by the ecclesiastical constitution appertained to the latter. Though the Roman patriarchate, properly so called, was comparatively very small in extent, it gave its chief, for the reason mentioned, advantages in point of authority which the others did not possess.'—Hallam (*Middle Ages*, chap. vii.).

'The four great Patriarchs,' says so keen a controversialist as the [Roman] Bishop Doyle (*Life*, vol. i. p. 184), 'had afterwards a discretionary power to appoint bishops within their respective jurisdictions,' and 'this power is still retained in the East with some modifications.' It is true that he adds 'subject, however, to the control of the Pope!'

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patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. The Archbishops of Milan, on the contrary, were consecrated up to this time by the Bishop of Aquileia, as the Bishops of Aquileia were in turn consecrated, from time to time, by him of Milan.[1]

But now all this was changed, and a similar change was proceeding in France. It is evident from the fifth and sixth canons of the second Council of Arles (A.D. 451), and the seventh of the second of Orleans (A.D. 533), that up to this time both bishops and metropolitans were confirmed and consecrated by the bishops of the province and not by the Pope. But we find Pelagius II. sending a pallium, about A.D. 580, to the Archbishop of Arles as perpetual vicar of the Roman See in Gaul. Gregory I. had made similar grants to other bishops, not without occasional inconveniences, as may be conjectured from a hint given by this Pope to John, Archbishop of Ravenna, a prelate whom he had thus decorated, and who persisted in wearing this coveted ornament at other times than during Divine service; 'extra Missarum tempus.' The Pope admonishes him in language which is by no means without fitness and beauty:

'Decorari pallio volumus, forsan moribus indecori, *dum nihil in episcopali cervice splendidius fulget quam humilitas.* Oportet igitur fraternitatem tuam, si honores suos sibi quibuslibet argumentis stabili proposuit mente defendere, aut generalitatis usum ex non scripto sequi, aut ex scriptis privilegiis se tueri. Quod si postremo nihil horum est, aliis metropolitanis hujus te præbere nolumus præsumptionis exemplum'—(Ep. 54).

The history of Wilfrid of York (A.D. 664 to A.D. 709) touches us in England more nearly. If it serves to show how the warring passions of men in all parts of Christendom, and the admitted want of a mediator in the disputes about ecclesiastical matters which were constantly occurring, caused the appellate authority of the Roman See to be continually augmented, it shows also how it might be, and was successfully, resisted when the spiritual and temporal rulers of a particular country were united in a steady determination not to give way to it. Canon Bright's words, in summing up this controversy, are as true as they are suggestive:—

'For all the big words about obedience to Papal mandates, the mandates of Agatho, of Benedict, and of Sergius were *not* obeyed; the liberty of decision conceded by John VI. to a Northumbrian Synod was used in such a manner as Wilfrid himself had in some sense foreseen, when he intimated that his full claim might be more

[1] Bingham (book ix. ch. 1).

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than Northumbrian authorities would grant. Bede says, indeed, in one place, that he was "received again to the prelacy of his own church;" but in another he explains that this church was Hexham, and that when Wilfrid, "after his long exile," was restored to this bishopric, John, on the death of Bosa, was placed in the see of York.'

. . . . . .

'From a purely Roman point of view, the settlement was somewhat of an impotent conclusion; an ardent supporter of Roman claims would be disappointed at such a result of reiterated Papal decisions, although he might console himself by the reflection that if Wilfrid had not, in effect, secured all that he had once hoped for, his protracted cause had at least familiarized his fellow-churchmen with the thought of appeals to the Apostolic See. His pertinacity had not led to any immediate and brilliant success; but it had formed a precedent which might under favourable auspices be productive of greater things hereafter'—(p. 414).

The consecration of Archbishop Theodore at Rome, by Pope Vitalian in A.D. 668, however it may be thought to have been brought about indirectly by a combination of circumstances, must necessarily have had great weight as a precedent.[1]

A third Englishman, however, Winfrid, or, as he is better known, S. Boniface, did more than either to extend the Papal prerogative in this direction. At a synod of French and German bishops held at Frankfort[2] in A.D. 742, and presided over by Boniface in his capacity of Legate of the Roman See, it was enacted that all metropolitans should request the pallium from the Pope, and should follow his directions in all things. 'Decrevimus,' says S. Boniface himself, in reporting this great step to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 'in nostro synodali conventu et confessi sumus fidem Catholicam, et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ fine tenus servare, S. Petro et vicario ejus velle subjici, metropolitanos pallia ab illâ sede quærere, et per omnia præcepta S. Petri canonice sequi.' Such a thoroughgoing profession of obedience was of course graciously accepted. The Popes at once

[1] Canon Bright is apparently not quite accurate when he speaks of Theodore's accession to the Episcopate as (*Early English Church History*, p. 221) 'this memorable consecration, which was to furnish a new stock for the transmission of the Episcopate to the English Church through distant generations;' for Archbishop Theodore's line of consecration did, by a singular series of coincidences, die out in almost every instance, in his own lifetime, and the present succession of the English Church appears to descend from Archbishop Brihtwald, his successor (consecrated by Godwine, Archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 693). See Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 4.

[2] It is sometimes said to have been held at Ratisbon or Augsburg.

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construed it to mean a promise of obedience to be given before receiving the pall, which, at first voluntarily offered, was at length extorted as a customary right; and by one of the later Popes (Gregory VII., A.D. 1073–1080) changed into an oath of fealty. We ought not to pass over without notice the fact that Gratian has, with his usual uncritical want of discrimination, inserted in his Decretum a canon purporting to have been promulgated by Pope Pelagius I., who sat A.D. 555–561.[1]

But such a canon is an anachronism in the highest degree, and although republished in the improved and corrected edition of Gregory XIII. in 1580, with no more caution than a *minus evidenter*, may safely be disregarded as spurious. It is, indeed, remarked by historians, in reference to this incident in the career of S. Boniface, that he had anticipated the system of Isidore, and almost rendered the False Decretals, a century later, unnecessary.[2]

It has therefore an important bearing upon our subject. Gfrörer may, indeed, assert more than the facts warrant in his theory that the only, or at least the chief, purpose of the compilation of this vast fraud was to lessen the power of the metropolitans. But undoubtedly the appearance of these large and far-reaching claims to authority for the Popes threw the metropolitans far into the shade. They became the creatures of Rome, dependent on the Papal authority for the bestowal of the pallium, and obliged to take an oath of fealty before that was granted. Without the grant of this decoration, the position of the most powerful Churchman would have been fatally insecure.[3] The pallium, indeed, speedily became

[1] 'Quisquis metropolitanus ultra tres menses consecrationis suæ ad fidem suam exponendam palliumque suscipiendum ad Apostolicam sedem non miserit, commissa sibi careat dignitate, sitque metropolitanis aliis licentia, post secundam et tertiam commonitionem, viduatis ecclesiis cum consilio Romani Pontificis ordinando episcopos subvenire.'—*Decret. Grat.* Pars Prima, Dist. C.

[2] The forgery of Benedict Levita of Mentz (if it were he) would require a volume of itself for its full discussion. To estimate correctly the degree in which the False Decretals assisted the aggrandisement of the Roman See would probably be altogether impossible; but it can hardly be overstated, whilst without great carefulness of thought we shall be sure to *understate* its influence altogether.

[3] Some of the metropolitans, it would seem, accepted these newly discovered decretals somewhat rashly, and without fully understanding the effect which they would have. Even so distinguished a man as Hincmar, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Rheims, appears to have done this. What they really meant was speedily brought home to him by his being forced by their authority to permit an appeal to the Pope by a suffragan bishop of his province, whom he, with a provincial synod, had

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more than an ornament. One of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Stigand, did not succeed in at once obtaining it, because of the irregularity of his appointment, the see not having been canonically vacant. When at length he did succeed in grasping the coveted honour, his success did him as much harm as his previous failure: for he sought and obtained it from an anti-Pope, Benedict X. Mr. Froude [1] well states what the consequences were:—

'Both before and after this irregular investiture men seem to have avoided recourse to him for the performance of any great ecclesiastical rite. Most of the Bishops of his province were, during his incumbency, consecrated by other hands. Even Harold himself, politically his firm friend, preferred the ministry of other Prelates in the two great ecclesiastical ceremonies of his life, the consecration of Waltham, and his own coronation. One of our chroniclers, not indeed the most patriotic of their number, distinctly and significantly denies Stigand's right to be called Archbishop.'

How great was the significance which it came at length to bear, may be seen from Spelman's statement: 'dicitur autem pallium plenitudo pontificalis officii, quoniam in ipso et cum ipso confertur pontificalis officii plenitudo. Nam antequam metropolitanus pallio decoretur, nec debet clericos ordinare, pontifices consecrare, vel ecclesias dedicare, aut archiepiscopus appellari.' [2]

It would have been interesting to trace the further progress of the astute plan which grew to be as completely the traditional policy of the Popes as the acquisition of Constantinople and the provinces of the Turkish Empire are, or were, rightly or wrongly, believed to be that of the Czars. It is certain that the Popes of that day consistently pursued a policy of welding the whole of the clergy of all ranks, from the highest metropolitan to the humblest curate, into a disciplined and strictly subordinate body, of which the Pope was the commander; and if they systematically depressed the hitherto independent metropolitans, and multiplied 'exempt' monastic orders in every diocese, responsible only to the Papal See, these were but parts of the same great scheme, which aimed

deposed. Finally, he had to see his sentence reversed, and Rothrad, the bishop in question, reinstated in his see. Well might he call the decretals, in his bitterness, 'a mousetrap for all metropolitans' (*circumposita omnibus metropolitanis muscipula*).—See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, iii. p. 197.

[1] *Norman Conquest*, ii. p. 341.

[2] *Glossarium Archaiologicum.* Londini, 1687.

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at turning Europe (and in due time the world) into a Theocratic kingdom, with the Pope as its sovereign.[1]

Into this inquiry, however, our limits will not permit us to go, nor can we follow it where it branches out into the general question of the limits of the ecclesiastical and royal authority severally; which questions our readers will find discussed with great skill and minuteness in the several works mentioned at the head of this article.

Our endeavour will have been accomplished if we have shown that the distinction sought to be established between Holy Orders and Jurisdiction is an arbitrary one, unknown to the earlier ages, invented by the schoolmen, and adopted by later theologians as a method of accounting *ex post facto* for accomplished facts, and that therefore the argument sought to be founded upon it is of necessity invalid.

Secondly, that the custom of bishops asking and receiving their 'jurisdiction' from the Pope is an invasion of the rights of bishops, the offspring of a corrupt and ignorant age, upheld by the grossest forgeries, and not scorning the support of the

[1] It may be interesting here to state briefly what is the present system of 'Faculties' by which all bishops in the Roman communion are kept in docile obedience to the Pope.

Causæ majores, i.e., local differences, cases of conscience, dispensations for marrying within the degrees forbidden on account of either consanguinity, affinity, or spiritual affinity, viz., that contracted by sponsorship at Baptism or Confirmation, or other matters of importance, are still referred to Rome; and immense sums (it is said) accrue to the officials of the Curia as fees for granting such dispensations. The mediæval saying 'omnia venalia Romæ' has not, it would seem, ceased altogether, even yet, to be applicable.

But *Quinquennial Faculties* are issued to the bishops, to grant such lesser dispensations as do not pay any tax, or even greater ones to the poor, who are unable to pay anything. These powers are never entrusted to any Prelate however trusted, or however important his see may be, with the office itself of bishop, but by a distinct authority or *faculty*, which is *never* granted for more than five years, and must then be renewed. If the 'Faculties' are *not* then renewed, the Bishop becomes powerless to rule his diocese. He is a mere lay figure, and it is obvious to all his people that he is a man disgraced; while, since the faculties may be withdrawn at any time, every Bishop is perpetually dependent on the favour of the Pope. It was publicly said, after the separation of the Vatican Council, that it was by covert threats of the withdrawal of their Faculties that various learned and distinguished German Bishops of the minority were coerced into finally accepting and publishing the decree on Infallibility in their dioceses.

It is not difficult, therefore, to see why the great mass of bishops in the Roman obedience are such unhesitating and ardent partisans of the Pope, in whose hands they are perfectly helpless. But then, the clergy of their dioceses are just as helpless in *their* hands, if that be thought a compensation!

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pettiest passions of human nature. Such an usurped authority is a subversion of the ancient constitution of the Catholic Church. It is the fruit of a *coup d'état*, and like other tyrannies must have its term. It is not for us to prophesy: yet we cannot but think that the liberties of all the Latin Churches, which were filched from them by the Papacy in the darkness of the middle age, must be some day reclaimed. In political affairs the tendency of the European races in modern times is unquestionably towards democracy, or at least towards constitutionalism. Surely their tendency in ecclesiastical affairs cannot permanently be towards despotism?

ART. VII.—PARLIAMENTARY OATHS AND AFFIRMATIONS.

Hansard's Debates, 1880.

PARLIAMENTARY blunders occur not unfrequently, even when the Legislature are not pressed for time, nor driven by some supposed exigency to rapid and ill-considered decisions; much more, then, are they to be apprehended when the action of the Legislature is required as an immediate escape from an impending difficulty or danger. Parliamentary blunders take the form sometimes of Statute Law, and sometimes of Resolutions, either of which sooner or later are repealed; but whether repealed or not, it is essential that when the excitement of the question has subsided, the course of procedure be carefully and impartially scrutinized. Such a scrutiny seems imperatively required by the Parliamentary Oaths proceedings of last Session.

Before examining the main incident in those proceedings, it may be convenient to sketch briefly the events which led to it.

On May 3, Mr. Bradlaugh, returned as one of the members for the borough of Northampton, 'claimed in writing to be allowed to affirm, as a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn Affirmation or Declaration instead of taking an Oath.' This request was reported to the Speaker, by whose permission Mr. Bradlaugh addressed the House in support of his claim, and then withdrew.

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The House, acquainted by the Speaker with what had passed, referred the consideration of the matter to a Committee, who, on May 20, reported to the House—

'That persons entitled under the Evidence Amendment Acts, 1869 and 1870, to make a solemn Declaration instead of an Oath in Courts of Justice, cannot be admitted to make an Affirmation or Declaration instead of an Oath in the House of Commons, in pursuance of Acts 29 & 30 Vict. c. 19, and 31 & 32 Vict. c. 72.'

On the following day, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House to take the Oath, but was prevented by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who objected thereto, and moved a Resolution to preclude his taking the Oath. The Resolution was, however, superseded by an Amendment appointing a Committee, which, on June 12, presented its Report, asserting 'that Mr. Bradlaugh ought not to be allowed to go through the form of taking the Oath,' but concluding with a recommendation that 'he be not prevented making an Affirmation.'

Upon their discussion of this Report in the House, Mr. Labouchere, on June 21, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be admitted to affirm; but the House adopted, by 275 to 230, an amendment in the negative, moved by Sir H. Giffard—

'That, having regard to the reports and proceedings of two Select Committees appointed by this House, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to take the Oath or make the Affirmation mentioned in Statutes 29 Vict. c. 19, and 31 & 32 Vict. c. 72.'

This brief recital brings us to the proceedings which are the especial subject of this article.

On July 1, upon the motion of the Prime Minister, the House of Commons (reversing its Resolution of June 22) passed, by a majority of fifty-four, the following Resolution:—

'1. That every person returned as a Member of this House, who may claim to be a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn Affirmation or Declaration instead of taking an Oath, shall henceforth (notwithstanding so much of the Resolution adopted by this House on the 22nd day of June last as relates to Affirmation) be permitted, without question, to make and subscribe a solemn Affirmation in the form prescribed by "The Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866," as altered by "The Promissory Oaths Act, 1868," subject to any liability by Statute.

'2. That this Resolution be a standing order of this House.'

The effect of this Resolution is to recognize as 'a person entitled to affirm,' any person who may *claim* to be 'a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn

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Affirmation or Declaration instead of taking an Oath,' whether in truth he be such a person or not.

But can the right to affirm be created by the mere fact of its being claimed, or is it created, defined, and limited by law?

This last inquiry may be answered by tracing to its origin the use of the phrase 'by law permitted to affirm,' &c.

The most recent statutory use of these words is in the 11th section of the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868 (31 & 32 Vict. cap. 72):—

'When an Oath is required to be taken under this Act, *every person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn Affirmation* or Declaration instead of taking an Oath, may, instead of taking such Oath, make a solemn Affirmation in the form of the Oath hereby appointed, substituting the words "solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm" for the word "swear," and omitting the words "So help me God."'

This Act of 1868 amends the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866 (29 Vict. cap. 19), of which the 4th section runs thus:—

'Every person of the persuasion of the people called *Quakers*, and *every other person for the time being by Law permitted to make a solemn Affirmation* or Declaration instead of taking an Oath (in Parliament), may, instead of taking and subscribing the Oath hereby appointed, make and subscribe a solemn Affirmation in the form of the Oath hereby appointed.'

The origination of the phrase '*other persons by law permitted*' is found in 1833. The 3 & 4 Will. IV. cap. 49 is 'An Act to allow Quakers and Moravians to make Affirmation in all cases where an Oath is or shall be required,' and the Act provides this form of affirmation:—

'I, A. B., being one of the people called Quakers (or of the United Brethren, called Moravians, as the case may be), do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' &c. &c.

An Act of the same Session (3 & 4 Will. IV. cap. 82) allows the people called 'Separatists' to make a solemn Affirmation and Declaration instead of an Oath, and it enacts—

'*That every person for the time being* belonging to the said sect called Separatists, may make his solemn Affirmation or Declaration in these words:—

'I, A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly, sincerely, and truly affirm and declare that I am a member of the religious sect called Separatists, and that the taking of any Oath is contrary to my religious belief, as well as essentially opposed to the tenets of that sect; and I do also in the same solemn manner affirm and declare,' &c. &c.

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The 2nd section enacts—

'That if any persons making such solemn Affirmation shall not in fact be one of the people commonly called Separatists, or shall wilfully, falsely, and corruptly affirm or declare any other matter or thing, which, if the same had been sworn in the usual form, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, such person shall incur the penalties provided against persons convicted of wilful perjury.'

The Act 1 & 2 Vict. cap. 77 provides that the privilege of making Affirmation already extended to the persons called Quakers and Moravians, be further allowed 'to any person who has been a Quaker or Moravian, but has ceased to belong to either of such religious denominations, still continuing to entertain conscientious objections to the taking of an oath.'

There is no Statute bearing on the question between 1838 and 1858, and in that year the 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 48, in section 4, provides—

'That every person of the persuasion of the people called Quakers, *and every other person now by law permitted* to make his solemn Affirmation or Declaration instead of taking an Oath, shall make and subscribe a solemn Affirmation in the form of the Oath hereby appointed, substituting the words "solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm" for the word "swear," and omitting the words "and I make this Declaration upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God."'

It appears, then, that in 1858 the persons permitted to make an Affirmation instead of taking an Oath were Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, and that the persons exclusively comprised in the words 'other persons now by law permitted,' whenever they have occurred following the word 'Quakers' in subsequent Statutes, are 'Moravians' and 'Separatists.'

It seems most important to determine the real intent and application of the Resolution passed on July 1.

The Resolution proposed by Mr. Gladstone on July 1 referred solely to the Parliamentary Oaths Acts of 1833, 1838, 1858, 1866, 1868; but as the elect of Northampton had previously based his claim to affirm, not only upon these Acts already cited, but also on the 'Evidence Amendment Acts' of 1869 and 1870, it is desirable to ascertain what bearing, if any, these two 'Evidence Acts' have upon the matter in contention, namely, the conditions under which an Oath or Affirmation may be made by an elect Member as the qualification for taking his seat in the House of Commons.

The preamble of the Act of 1869 declares its object to be the discovery of truth in Courts of Justice by the re-

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restrictions on the admissibility of witnesses, and it enacts, in section 4,

'If any person called to give evidence in any Court of Justice, whether in a civil or criminal proceeding, shall object to take an Oath, such person shall (if the presiding judge is satisfied that the taking of an Oath would have no binding effect on his conscience) make the following promise and declaration :—

'I . . . . . solemnly promise and declare that the evidence given by me to the Court shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

'And any person who, having made such promise and declaration, shall wilfully and corruptly give false evidence, shall be liable to be indicted, tried, and convicted of perjury as if he had taken an Oath.'

The Act of 1870, passed simply to explain the words 'Court of Justice' and 'Presiding Judge,' enacts that the words 'Court of Justice' and 'Presiding Judge' shall be deemed to include any person or persons 'having by law authority to administer an Oath for the *taking of evidence*.'

It will be obvious that the purpose of these Acts is, as stated in the preamble of 1869, to 'amend the law of evidence;' and that they can be brought into operation only before a person or persons having by law authority to administer an Oath for the taking of evidence. The conclusion is inevitable that they have no relevance whatever to the question of an elect Member taking an Oath or making an Affirmation as the passport to his seat in the House of Commons, their operation being distinctly prescribed and defined by the Acts passed between 1833 and 1868, none of which are repealed, amended, or cited even by 'The Evidence Acts' of 1869 and 1870, prepared and passed for a purpose wholly different in object and character.

The elect of Northampton stated, in support of his claim to affirm, 'that such claim had been several times admitted by the judge presiding in a Court of Law.' Whether, in these particular cases, the Affirmation so permitted was made under circumstances contemplated by the law or not, is immaterial to the matter under discussion, inasmuch as the regularity of any number of Affirmations under the Evidence Acts leaves the Parliamentary Oaths Acts unaffected by Statutes subsequently enacted for a different purpose: the attainment, namely, for whatever it may be worth, as evidence, of the bare assertion of a person with no religious belief, in the absence of any more trustworthy testimony given by a witness weighted with the responsibility of speaking in the presence of the Almighty Being whom he invokes: the object being to avoid

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a miscarriage of justice by the suppression of evidence through the refusal of a witness to swear.

By proclaiming that he had several times been admitted to affirm in Courts of Law, and as often, therefore, been held by the judge to be a person on whose conscience an oath would have no binding effect, Mr. Bradlaugh drew from Mr. Gladstone the admission that taking the Oath—in connexion with the declaration that the words were of no value—'was not taking the Oath at all,' an admission amply justifying the Conservative party in resisting Mr. Bradlaugh's reiterated claims to take the Oath: while the extracts already cited from the Statutes as distinctly justify the Conservative resistance to Mr. Bradlaugh's alternative claim, supported by Mr. Gladstone, that he should be allowed to make an affirmation.

More important, if possible, than the acceptance by the House of Commons of Mr. Gladstone's Resolution of July 1, were the discussions of that day and of June 21 and 22.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the speeches in which the Prime Minister (to ensure the immediate suppression of a painful obstruction to the business of the House) challenged its concurrence in a violation of its own traditions.

The speeches he then delivered were most eloquent in language, most ingenious in argument, and most earnest in appeal, but it must mournfully be added that never had that consummate orator employed eloquence, ingenuity and earnestness upon a theme more inimical to the true sense of all religious reality.

More than once appeals for a solution of the question in debate had been addressed by Conservative speakers 'to the religious instincts of the Members of the House.' This question Mr. Gladstone inaccurately represented to mean, 'Whether an Atheist should sit in this House or not.' The real question referred to 'the religious instincts of the House' was a very different one, namely, 'Was Mr. Bradlaugh to be allowed to take the qualifying oath, he having previously challenged attention to his declaration "that the said oath included words of idle and meaningless character, regarded by a large number of his countrymen as an appeal to the Deity; but which it would have been an act of hypocrisy in him to take" if any other form had been open to him.'

To take God's name in vain is prohibited in the Decalogue; to invoke God when you deny His existence, is untruthful and profane in the highest degree. Mr. Bradlaugh has been frank enough to explain that the Oath in his mouth would

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be an act of hypocrisy: but willing to secure admission to the House through the only means open to him, he invited the Members of the House to conspire with him in insulting the Deity to whom in prayer they render homage at the opening of each day's session.

Mr. Gladstone himself denied that 'whether an Atheist might sit in Parliament' was the question before the House: but he imputed this view of the question, held by a few, to the Conservative Opposition generally, and they were taunted with inconsistency in not carrying their principle into operation. Mr. Gladstone told them that they were about to take up the position 'that a man's religious opinions should be the test of his admission into Parliament.' He described how religious disqualifications had been consecutively removed; how the disabilities of the Dissenter, of the Roman Catholic and of the Jew, had vanished; and that it now appeared that a final rally was to be made upon the narrow and illogical ledge of the Theistic ground; and then he added, 'You are declaring your willingness that an Atheist should sit here, provided he has not told you what he was in the course of some of the proceedings of the House. Surely this is a very narrow ground.'

The most effective reply to this argument will be found in a simple statement of the existing law.

With the exception of the Oath provided for Jews, and the Affirmation provided for Quakers, Moravians and Separatists, one uniform Oath is administered to all Members on taking their seats: no one questioning their faith or religious belief. That Atheists have taken this Oath may be quite true. The adjuration of God may be to them unmeaning and unreal, but the responsibility rests with themselves alone, and any attempt to extort a confession of faith on such an occasion would prove in the highest degree futile and mischievous. But if simultaneously with his taking the Oath in the presence of the House the elect Member proclaims his denial of the God whom he invokes, the Members present would be lost to all sense, not of religion merely, but of dignity and truth, who did not recoil from concurrence with such a profanity. Clearly a conviction that Atheistic principles, or a dishonest or dissolute life, are disqualifications for a legislator, does not necessitate challenging the elect member at the table of the House to an exposure of his thoughts or deeds. Neither need an alternative be sought in the abrogation of the religious engagements which, regulated by Statute Law and accepted by the Members of the House, constitute a powerful security

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for social order. The defence of Parliamentary Oaths and Affirmations is a question which we do not enter upon here. Our present purpose is to describe the requirements of the present law, and to show that no justification has been offered for the violence with which its provisions have been infringed.

Mr. Gladstone asserted 'the absolute separation that has been drawn in the spirit of the law of this land, and in the letter of the law of this land, between civil duty and religious belief' (religious *duty* in *The Times* report); and continued, 'I fully accept that principle with entire fearlessness, which I, for one, am conscious of, as to the civil as well as religious consequences.'

More momentous words, seeing who spoke them, have not been uttered in our generation. It must be hoped, it must be believed, that the distinguished speaker can conceive in his marvellous ingenuity some mode of escaping the perils of this startling principle; but he will hardly show a probability of maintaining the prevalence of individual truth, integrity, charity and purity, (virtues essential to the order, strength, and progress of a nation,) should the nation, as a people, withdraw its allegiance from God, and discard, whether in public or in social engagements, the invocation of a Divine Being in support of promises, the neglect of which He would visit with condign punishment here or hereafter.

Man assuredly, in body and in soul, in his private and in his public capacity, is one personality: he cannot divide his responsibility, and for the fulfilment or neglect, whether of his civil or of his religious duties, he must equally be judged by the God who made him.

It seems ludicrous to descend from the consideration of the discussion of 'religious duty' to the undignified dilemma which Mr. Gladstone paraded before the House as a calamity to be escaped through a most serious infraction of its consistency and constitutional procedure.

Mr. Bradlaugh had startled the House by his violent resistance to its orders; his colleague had threatened that a temporary incarceration was to be the prelude to a renewed scene of confusion; and Mr. Gladstone assumed in argument that alternations of lawless violence and restraint could be averted only by the submission, not of the culprit, but of the House.

This mode of procedure has not been habitual in any country where law prevails. An intruder forces himself into your house and prepares to quarter himself there. Your course is not to surrender your property or make terms with

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the intruder, but to send for the police. The duty of the Government, when the business of the House was interrupted and its order and peace disturbed, was to place the offender in confinement, so that he could not renew his interruptions. The confinement might have lasted for a day, a week, a month, or the rest of the Session, according to the necessity of the case.

Still more derogatory to the prerogative of Parliament was the plea used by the Government that at any cost it must avoid a struggle with the constituency of Northampton. A constituency is free to elect whom they choose, but the admission of their elect Member to a seat in the House of Commons must be subject to his being able and willing to fulfil the preliminary conditions prescribed by law. If he fails in those conditions, the responsibility of his exclusion from the House rests, not with the Legislature, but with the constituency, and the man of their choice.

This brief retrospect of the most distressing episode in the first Session of the new Parliament under a new Liberal Administration suffices to provoke an indignant amazement at the contrast between the ignoble Bradlaugh incident as the cause of a paralysis in the business of the House, and its consequences on the action of the Government: in their ignominious surrender of the prerogative of Parliament; their stultification, at the demand of their Secularist supporters, of the previous vote of the House; their forcing upon professedly independent Liberals the affirmation that untruth should be treated as truth at the dictation of an individual; and lastly, in the distress occasioned to all God-fearing people by the disparagement of religious sanctions, and the suggestion that religion should cease to be a national concern.

We have desired to avoid complicating these remarks by any discussion of the suggested abrogation of all Oaths and all Affirmations. Whatever reasons may be alleged in favour of such a course, reasons as forcible, or more forcible, might be adduced for the retention of an institution coëval with the earliest history of man, and hitherto believed to have powerfully strengthened the mutual obligations which constitute the bonds of human society. We have confined ourselves to a recital of facts and arguments sufficient to establish our contention: that the proceedings which attended the Bradlaugh incident were, both in law and policy, blunders which place it among the most painful warnings recorded in our Parliamentary history.

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ART. VIII.—ON THE ANTIQUITY OF OUR HOMER.

1. *'Homerus' Periclis ætate quinam habitus sit, quæritur.* (London, 1877.)
2. *Homeri quæ nunc exstant an reliquis Cycli carminibus antiquiora jure habita sint.* Auctore F. A. Paley, M.A., etc. (London, 1878.)
3. *On Post-Epic or Imitative Words in Homer.* By F. A. Paley, M.A., etc. (London, 1879.)
4. *Quintus Smyrnæus, and the 'Homer' of the Tragic Poets.* By F. A. Paley, M.A., etc. 2nd edition. (London, 1879.)

THAT the 'Tale of Troy' was popular, as no other tale ever was, among the Greeks of the brilliant Athenian period, is manifest from the number of dramas, the plots of which turned upon some of its incidents, composed by the three great tragic poets. The fact that the larger number of these plots are developed from incidents external to the main narrative of the present *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has recently been urged to discredit the early date of these two grand poems, as tending to show a later origin than that of the numerous heroic poems which complete that 'Tale.' We say 'external to the *main* narrative,' because a number of them spring from incidents referred to, briefly incorporated, or touched allusively in our Homeric poems. Such was for instance the Ὅπλων κρίσις, or 'Adjudication of the Weapons' (of Achilles), referred to in the eleventh and the last books of the *Odyssey*;[1] such was the 'Fetching of Philoctetes,' briefly hinted at in the second book of the *Iliad*;[2] such above all was the great Orestean Trilogy, or the kindred tragedies on the same theme, to which we trace repeated references, with considerable fulness of detail, throughout the *Odyssey*.

The argument founded as aforesaid may be thus briefly stated. A large majority of tragic plots are developed from incidents external to the main narrative of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; therefore these poems are of later origin than others (afterwards formulated into the 'Cycle') from which such tragic plots were derived. This is further reinforced by a parallel argument from Pindar, who alludes to numerous 'Troic' incidents not found in our Homer; and therefore our Homer was unknown in his day.

A reader who has any logical grasp of the question will

[1] *Od.* xi. 543 foll., xxiv. 85 foll. [2] *Il.* ii. 721 foll.

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at once be startled by the wide gap here yawning between premiss and conclusion. To say nothing at present of one not improbable view of the source of these Troïco-tragic plots, namely, that it lay rather in the general myth, as floated by tradition, than in any special epic development thereof, we close at once with the *non-sequitur* which lies on the face of the argument. Let us take one of the best known instances, the 'Adjudication of the Weapons,' above named, in order to apply and test that argument more easily. The 'Little Iliad' of Lesches (we assume his authorship, although open to question, for argument's sake) contained the full narrative, perhaps as full in detail as that of Patroclus' Funeral Games in *Il.* xxiii., of what is presented briefly in *Od.* xxiv.

Let us further assume by another purely argumentative assumption, that the 'Little Iliad,' as known to Aristotle, to the Alexandrines, and to Proclus, existed in Æschylus' time and was known to that poet. What possible tendency even can such facts have towards proving the existence or non-existence in Æschylus' time of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it would task the most imaginative of logicians to discover. There is simply no connexion whatever between premiss and conclusion, except on the false or undue assumption that if those poems then existed they must have been as well known and as popular as they subsequently were; and not only so, but as well fitted for the raw material of dramatic plots as their junior rivals of 'Cyclic' celebrity, which last Aristotle expressly tells us they were *not*.[1] The negative of any one of these assumptions neutralizes the argument.

But we have not yet done with the 'Adjudication of the Weapons.' A single verse of it is preserved by a Scholiast on Aristophanes,[2] who also states that Æschylus moulded his plot on lines which wholly departed from two other distinct traditions,[3] in that he referred to the goddess-mother Thetis

[1] Aristot. *Poet.*, 1459 b.

[2] The line is δέσποινα πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων χορού, an exordium of some address to the goddess Thetis, as presiding umpire in the funeral games of Achilles; see Schol. on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 848.

[3] One of these (see Schol. on *Ody.* xi. 547) stated that Agamemnon, to insure impartiality, referred to some Trojan captives then in the Greek camp the question which hero had caused most harm to their city. The Scholiast states that 'the narrative is from the Cyclics.' The other tradition (see Schol. on Aristoph. *Eqq.* 1051) was that the talk of Trojan women, enhancing the merits of Odysseus' exploit in covering the retreat of Ajax with Achilles' corpse, was overheard by Greek eavesdroppers beneath the wall of Troy. This version of the tale was adopted in the 'Little Iliad.' Q. Smyrnæus follows the former. *Posthomerica*, v. 177–9, 318–26.

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the decision of the question, which among the Greek heroes was worthiest of the weapons of Achilles. Whence could Æschylus have derived his point of departure for this? Of course it may possibly have been his own invention. Still we have a probable clue to it in *Od.* xxiv. 85–6, where we read that, '*Thetis*, having obtained of the gods prizes of surpassing beauty, *set them up for competition* among the Achæan chiefs.' Again, in xi. 544 foll., we read that 'the Shade of Ajax stood aloof, cherishing wrath for the victory which I won for the prize of *Achilles' weapons*, which his adorable *mother set to competition*.'[1] The function of *ἀγωνοθέτης*, or umpire in the games, seems here distinctly alluded to in the word used, which is precisely that which the Aristophanic Scholiast claims for the Thetis of Æschylus,[2] as stated above.

Thus we reach the remarkable fact, that, where Æschylus founds a drama on a legend, 'the full narrative' of which 'is from the Cyclics,' and which appears to contain many facts of plot in common with the 'Little Iliad,' he does so with one startling deviation, and that of that deviation the point of departure is found in the existing Homeric poems.

Mr. F. A. Paley, the chief advocate of the modern or relatively late authorship of these poems, is fond of dwelling upon one or two points which he thinks of great force in favour of his theory. He has lately pressed Quintus *Smyrnæus*, or *Calaber*, into the service of the same theory, holding that he, a poet of probably 300–500 A.D., has embodied valuable remnants of the lost Cyclics, representing the 'Tale of Troy' as told (Mr. Paley thinks) in epic ballads older than 'our Homer.' Not the slightest proof exists that the 'Post-Homerica' of this poet were aught else than a farrago of pickings and scrapings from Greek and Latin current authors. They have the vapid tastelessness of scraps served up over and over again, and there is not a glimpse of incident anywhere which cannot be accounted for from existing sources. It is, therefore, quite needless to raise the question whether Quintus had access to any genuine ancient sources now lost. There is one incident repeatedly urged by Mr. Paley, as represented after a different and more archaic fashion in the Tragedians, and, therefore, as proving the later authorship of the Homeric poems. It is the dragging of Hector, who, as Sophocles says, 'was dragged to death,'[3] whereas in Homer he is only dragged *after* death. This, Mr. Paley assures us, is the

[1] The phrase is *ἔθηκε δὲ πότνια μήτηρ, ub. sup.*
[2] See foot-note [2] on p. 422.
[3] *ἐκνάπτετ' αἰὲν ἕς τ' ἀπέψυξεν βίον*—Soph. *Aj.* 1031.

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genuine older form of the legend, from which 'our Homer's' was a younger deviation. This, he urges, is what the 'old Epics' delivered, whom Sophocles followed. But then, says Mr. Paley, Quintus Smyrnæus *also* followed the 'old Epics,' *i.e.* the Cyclics, and has preserved their original features of incident. This is unfortunate, because in this detail he contradicts Sophocles and agrees with 'our Homer'![1] The fact probably was, that Sophocles, under the pressing demands of tragic 'sensation,' altered the incident to suit the exigency of the situation. Ajax was done to death with the sword presented to him by Hector; therefore, to match the fatality, Hector must be done, *i.e.* dragged, to death with the girdle which he received from Ajax. Does Mr. Paley really believe that any dramatist, ancient or modern, in search of a 'thrilling situation,' would for a moment hesitate at such a deviation, merely because no one had made it before him?

The argument, however, so far as founded on what incidents of Troïco-tragic plots we do *not* find in 'our Homer,' is purely negative; and the first canon of negative evidence is that it cannot countervail positive. There are a number of lost dramas of Æschylus in particular, which bear plain tokens of incident and character common to 'our Homer,' and which therefore furnish precisely that recognition of such incidents, the absence of which, in the Æschylean period, Mr. Paley deems so fatal to their genuine antiquity. We will briefly glance at what is known of one of these from fragments or notices surviving.

A piece of evidence, wholly passed over by Mr. Paley, is supplied by the Ὀστολόγοι, or 'Bone-pickers.' The title suggests comedy rather than tragedy, and was in fact that of the Satyric after-piece to a trilogy of Æschylus, one of the tragic members of which is supposed to have been the lost drama of 'Penelope.' If, then, it can probably be traced to a Homeric source, namely, our present *Odyssey*, there results a probability that the 'Penelope' was from the same source, of which the

[1] His phrase is . . . . Ἕκτορά θ' ὡς ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀμφείρυσσε πόλῃ, Q. Smyrn. i. 12; cf. iv. 160, Ἕκτορά θ' ὡς ἐδάμασσε, καὶ ὡς ἕλε Πενθεσίλειαν; ii. 16, οἵην τήνδ' ἐδάμασσεν; which fixes Quintus' use of this verb, as meaning, 'slew in fight'; also ii. 12–14, Ἕκτορος ἀγχεμάχοιο δεδουπότος . . . οὐδ' ὅ γε Κῆρας ἄλυξεν, ἀλλ' ἐδάμη παλάμῃσιν Ἀχιλλέος. For the phrase ἀγχεμ. δεδουπ., cf. iii. 193, δεδουπότα Πηλείωνα. It plainly means, 'having fallen in hand-to-hand fight.' The above sense of ἐδάμασσε is precisely that of Homer, as shown in the *Il.* too frequently to cite. Instances may be taken from the narrative of Hector's death. Πηλείωνι δαμεὶς is said of him, xxii. 40, and ἦέ μιν ἤδη Πηλείδῃ Ἀχιλῆι δαμάσσομεν, *ib.* 175–6. This taken together leaves no doubt as to the view which Quintus adopted.

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very name suggests a presumption. What then do we know of the 'Bone-pickers'? A fragment preserved by Athenæus[1] shows that Eurymachus was a character in it. Mr. Paley can find no mention of the 'Suitors' of Penelope outside the *Odyssey* itself until a much later period; we commend this fact, therefore, incidentally to his notice. The fragment says, 'Eurymachus and no other kept on with incessant pertinacity heaping outrageous insults on me. For my head ever served him for a mark.' Now in our actual *Odyssey*, Odysseus is three times made the victim of precisely such an outrage, being flung at by Antinoüs in xvii. 462 foll., by Eurymachus in xviii. 394-5, and by Ctesippus in xx. 299. In the former cases, the missile is a stool, in the latter an ox-shin. Thus it seems plain that the Satyric drama, being farcical in its treatment, exaggerated these outrages on their comical side, and made Eurymachus, whose character in our *Odyssey* would lend itself more easily to comic treatment than that of Antinoüs, the ringleader in them. Further, we have in the same Athenæus another fragment,[2] which comes presumably from the same scene and perhaps speech, as it continues the subject of missiles flung at the head, including that most unsavoury one ascribed to Xanthippe by Pope, in his imitation of Chaucer's 'Wife of Bath.' This last is described as 'shivering like a potsherd' (*ὀστρακουμένη*)[3] when flung, and this is confirmed by a notice of Tzetzes (*Lycophron*, 778), that 'in Æschylus there appears some one who strikes Odysseus *with a potsherd*.'[4] From Odysseus being the person so struck in a play of Æschylus, there can be hardly a doubt that he is the speaker in the fragments above referred to, and that the 'Bone-pickers' is the play intended. We have thus a play vividly recalling incidents in the latter half of our present *Odyssey*, and those of such a kind that the inference is highly probable that the drama was founded thereupon. All this gives antecedent weight to the probability that the 'Penelope,' which is believed to have been a member of the previous trilogy, is referable to the same source. And the inference rises to moral certainty, when we find its only surviving line[5] closely

[1] *Deipnosoph.* xv. 667 C. [2] *Ibid.* i. 17 C.

[3] The words are, *βέλος γελωτοποιόν· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ πληγεὶσ' ἐνανάγησεν ὀστρακουμένη.*

[4] *παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ φαίνεταί τις τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τύψας ὀστράκῳ*—*Schol. Lycoph.* v. 778.

[5] The line is, *ἐγὼ γένος μέν εἰμι Κρῆς ἀρχέστατον.* For the last word *ἀρχέστρατος* has been suggested as a probable emendation. With this compare *Od.* xiv. 199 (Odys. to Eumæus), *ἐκ μὲν Κρητάων γένος εὔχομαι εὐρειάων*, and xix. 172 foll. (Odys. to Penelope), *Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, κ. τ. λ.*

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reflecting actual statements made by the disguised hero in our present *Odyssey*. It may be added with regard to the Satyric drama, that the name 'Bone-pickers' probably designated the Chorus, which often furnishes the title of the play, *e.g.* in the 'Choëphorœ,' 'Troades,' 'Supplices,' &c. The fact of the fragments of the feast, as they fell from the guests' tables, being appropriated by beggars of the class to which the Irus of *Od.* xviii. belongs, and the complaint of Antinoüs the Suitor, xvii. 376, 'We have enough of beggars here to be scavengers of the banquet (δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρες), without your (Eumæus) bringing in another,' would furnish the dramatist with a suitable hint. Thus we establish the fact of a trilogy with its Satyric drama probably founded upon our present *Odyssey*; and this alone countervails the weight of a thousand negative inferences founded on what we do *not* find. The same might be shown as regards the 'Myrmidons' and the 'Ransom of Hector' (lost plays of Æschylus) in reference to the *Iliad*.

We must dwell more briefly on another topic of Mr. Paley's argument, his favourite sample of which has been touched upon already, as regards the dragging of Hector *before* or *after* death. Such deviations from the strictly Iliadic or Odyssean outline of incident, even in plots which followed on the whole our present Homeric narrative, are merely what the exigencies of the drama often require. For drama cannot merely reproduce Epos, and Aristotle points out that an incident which is effective and even pathetic in the latter, may become comical when transferred to the stage.[1] But no one will waste a second thought on such an argument of discrepancy, even if it had any tendency to prove 'our Homer's' posteriority, who remembers that the great tragedians differ as regards incident and situation, not only from one another, but in the case of Euripides glaringly, and so probably in that of the others, if we had only an equal quantity of dramas to judge from, *each from himself*. Their readers will remember, for instance, how Euripides diverges from Æschylus in his treatment of the double murder of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra. Electra, the sister of Orestes the avenger, is, in Euripides, nominally married to an honest rustic, with whom she lives in retirement, and the vengeance is perpetrated in a rural region remote from Argos and Mycenæ, at one of which the other great dramatists place it. Again, in Æschylus, Clytæmnestra solely is the murderess of Agamemnon, and

[1] See his remarks on the Ἕκτορος δίωξις, *Poet.* 1460 a.

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the weapon used is Agamemnon's sword. In Sophocles, both she and Ægisthus have a hand in it, and, as in Euripides, her weapon is an axe. In Æschylus the scene of the murder is in a bath. In Sophocles it takes place at a banquet, herein following 'our Homer;'[1] and yet this deviation of Æschylus from our Homeric story is precisely one of the examples urged by Mr. Paley as a noteworthy token of discrepancy between our Homeric narrative and the general 'Cyclic' and dramatic form of the legend, to the discredit of the antiquity of the former! It should be added that Pindar, differing from all the foregoing, places Agamemnon's death at Amyclæ.[2]

As regards Euripides' own inconsistencies of plot, in the *Electra* and the *Helen* he adopts the legend which prevented Helen's elopement to Troy by detaining her in Egypt; a view which unhinges the whole Trojan tale, and all his own other dramas on that theme. The 'Electra,' 'Orestes,' and 'Andromache' show glaringly discordant versions of the Orestean legend. In the first of these, all seems arranged to end happily, the Dioscuri appearing *ex machinâ* to effect the settlement; which, thus brought about, should surely have finality. There Orestes is to give Electra in marriage to Pylades, to avoid Argos, and repair to Athens, there to receive plenary absolution from the Areopagus. He is then to found the city Oresteüm in Arcadia, and there apparently to end his days in peace.[3] In the 'Orestes' this is all upset. We find the hero in Argos, which in the 'Electra' he is not to enter, nursed as a fever-stricken lunatic by Electra, while the populace, indignant at the matricide, decree the death of them both. At the close we have Apollo, as the *deus ex machinâ*, proclaiming Helen's apotheosis, who is spoken of in the prologue as 'hated by the gods,' directing Orestes to found the Oresteüm *first* and *then* repair to the Areopagus, thus reversing the order decreed in the 'Electra.' He is to marry Hermione, whom, it is expressly stated, Neoptolemus shall never wed. He is again bidden to bestow Electra on Pylades, which, in compliance with the announcement of the Dioscuri, he should have already done, and which in the 'Electra' he actually does.[4] In the 'Andromache' this is again upset. There Hermione appears as the

[1] See Hom. *Od.* iv. 531, xi. 411; Soph. *El.* 203 foll.; Æschyl. *Choëph.* 998 foll., 1010–11; Eurip. *Electr.* 279.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* xi. 48–50.

[3] The words are, *πεπρωμένην γὰρ αἶσαν ἐκπλήσας φόνου, εὐδαιμονήσεις τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαχθεὶς πόνων*—Eur. *El.* 1290–1. They surely convey a plenary settlement.

[4] *Πυλάδη, χαίρων ἴθι, νυμφεύου δέμας Ἠλέκτρας*—Eur. *El.* 1340; cf. *Or.* 1658–9.

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wife, *not* of Orestes, *but* of Neoptolemus; and in the sequel, 967–977, Orestes explains to her that she had been bestowed on him by Menelaüs, before the latter reached Troy, but that, through his own evil doom, consequent on the death of his mother, the match had been rescinded with his own consent; thus entirely ignoring the divine appointment with which the 'Orestes' closes.

We turn next to the two plays of 'Iphigenia.' The 'Iphigenia in Tauri' reverses the Areopagitic settlement, by which the pursuing Furies were to retire discomfited beneath the earth.[1] The Furies are now at variance; a faction of them rejecting the purgation of Orestes, and continuing his persecution; to rid himself of which he is bidden to a new labour; that of fetching the image of the Tauric Artemis, on which the drama turns. In this play Iphigenia speaks of her father as having held the knife at her throat; but in the 'Iphigenia in Aulis' he hides his head in his robe, and the knife is placed in the hands of the priest.[2] In the 'Iphigenia in Aulis,' 1615 foll., Clytæmnestra *is aware* of her daughter's rescue from this doom; but in the 'Electra' 1021–2, she speaks of it as actually consummated by Agamemnon's own hand, and thereby justifies her own murder of him; whilst in the 'Iphigenia in Tauri,' 783–786, that daughter sends home *as news* to Argos the fact of her own rescue.

From all this it is plain that drama deviated without scruple from itself, and how much more from any form of old epic legend, whether found in 'our Homer' or outside it. Of course it is possible that 'old epics' may have been equally inconsistent; but, as we have them not, it is idle to argue as if we possessed them; and, above all, idle to found, as Mr. Paley repeatedly does, on the non-resemblance to 'our Homer' of tragic plots taken from the Troïca, any argument against the currency of 'our Homer' at any period of the drama's history. The fact that our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* formed less suitable material than the other Troïca for dramatic plots taken directly from the epic has been pointed out long ago by Aristotle. But again probably the dramatist, as hinted above, might accept any form of the myth which tradition wafted to him, whether or not embodied in epos already, and might, as we have seen, remould it at will. Therefore the fact, if fact it be, of eighty or more lost dramas following the

[1] *δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ, τῷδ' ἔχει πεπληγμέναι, πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονός*—Eur. *El.* 1270–1; cf. *Iph. in Taur.* 967–978.

[2] Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 359–360, 853–854; cf. *Iph. in Aul.* 1549–1550, 1578–1579.

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non-Homeric Troïca rather than 'our Homer,' has really no weight on the question, especially as against such positive evidence as is furnished by the 'Bone-pickers,' 'Penelope,' 'Myrmidons,' &c.

Mr. Paley further charges on 'our Homer' a large amount of alteration and remodelling by the rhapsodists of a later period. Let us concede this for argument's sake, although the homogeneousness of Homeric plot and character goes far to rebut the inference which he seeks to found upon it. Does he suppose that the non-Homeric Troïca were exempt from the same influences? Such evidence as exists in the Cyclic fragments goes to show that they freely shared it. It is here useless to appeal to the prose epitome of Proclus, which merely gives the outline of the stories of the 'Cypria,' 'Sack of Troy,' 'Little Iliad,' &c; but tells us nothing about the diction or the epic constituents of those lost poems. About sixty or seventy lines alone survive, which show—what Mr. Paley is fond of urging against the antiquity of 'our Homer'—a violation of the digamma nearly as often indeed as an observance of it. They are moreover full of the odds and ends of 'epic commonplace,' of scraps of rhapsodic tagging, and of the repetition of Homeric phraseology, being in several conspicuous instances little else than a cento of patches from our Homeric text. Our space unfortunately does not admit of our exhibiting the detail of evidence in proof of this. One point, however, is worth notice. Mr. Paley is fond of alleging the 'brief allusions' to legends or epitomes of other lays included in 'our Homer,' and has especially dwelt on the 'Argonautica,' as the supposed source of some such in the *Odyssey*. But, curiously enough, in the scanty handful of 'Cyclic' fragments which survive, a precisely similar example occurs to those which he imputes to 'our Homer' as a special and suspicious feature. In the surviving fragment of the Νόστοι or 'Return Voyages' of the Greek heroes, we find just such a brief epitome of the legend of Æson's youth renewed in Medea's cauldron, belonging plainly to those very 'Argonautica.' Thus the evidence goes to show, that the whole Trojan story in its epic form, alike external to or included in 'our Homer,' floated down the same current of tradition, encountering similar adventures by the way. And if it be true, which can never be proved, that 'our Homer' incurred more of rhapsodists' manipulation than the rest, that was probably due to its greater popularity and more constant recitation.

With one more remark we will conclude. Mr. Paley, amongst other evidence, urges that Virgil also followed the

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'Cyclics' in the portion of the 'Tale of Troy' which he has immortalized. Perhaps Virgil does so; for we need not assume that the 'Cyclic' plots were consistent with one another. But when we find in a fragment from one of them, the 'Little Iliad,' that Neoptolemus had assigned to him Æneas among the prisoners as an 'extraordinary prize,'[1] and *took Æneas on board his ship with him* in that capacity, it would be difficult to find a statement anywhere which so effectually contradicts in three lines the entire tenor of the Æneïd. Nor can it be necessary to point out that Virgil pays to our existing Homer everywhere the amplest and sincerest homage in copious imitation alike of language, incident, and simile. A *third* version of the story of Æneas was dramatised by Sophocles in his *Laocoön*, making Æneas abandon Troy for Mount Ida at the bidding of Anchises, with his own household and a large party of Trojans, just *before* the capture of the city, *not*, as Virgil has it, when the city was sacked. (See Soph. Dind. *Fragm.* 342.) In short, evidence abounds that the divergencies of the post-Homeric narratives of the *Troïca* were endless, and that divergencies from our Homeric narrative, where any plot generally follows it, are naturally to be looked for, and are wholly nugatory as a test of that narrative's date.

Art. IX.—HODGKIN'S 'ITALY AND HER INVADERS.'

Italy and her Invaders, 376–476. By Thomas Hodgkin, B.A., Fellow of University College, London. Two volumes. 8vo. (Oxford, 1880.)

The subject of these two volumes is an almost vacant space in English literature. Our best historians have mostly spent their strength on the classical period or on modern history, and left the age of transition to the research of Continental students. The general reader too often passes at a step from the Cæsars to the time of Charlemagne, or even to the Norman Conquest. He has heard indeed that the Roman Empire

[1] γέρας ἔξοχον ἄλλων; see 57–9 of the Ἀποσπάσματα ἐπῶν, printed in Wolf's edition at the end of the (so-called) Homeric minor poems.

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came to an end in 476, but does not think it worth his while to read about obscure centuries of interminable theological squabbles and confused barbarian fightings. The classical scholar turns away from the uncouth language of their records, and the student of modern history seldom condescends to open them. And who will break a lance with Gibbon on behalf of the degenerate Empire, or venture himself within the range of that matchless satire which has gibbeted its weaknesses for ever? Perhaps too our noisy Church controversies have been another influence, favourable enough to literature of a certain sort, but less so to faithful and impartial study. Thus we have had till lately partisan works in abundance, but little genuine historical research.

Yet the subject is a noble one. Rome in all her glory was doing no such work on earth as in the days men count as her decline. While the influence of Greece, which had once reached India, was dying away even in Egypt and Syria, Rome was consolidating the Greek nation into a barrier which for seven hundred years kept Europe free from the devastating curse of Islam. It was in the age of her decay that she stamped her image on the West. If her language degenerated from its classic purity, it still flourishes in all her western provinces but Africa and Britain, and is not forgotten even in her far-off Dacian outposts. And if her old faith is utterly extinct, she is still the spiritual mother of peoples outside Trajan's wildest schemes of conquest. And many of her greatest men belong to the time when all the nations had become her citizens. The Illyrian emperors from Claudius and Aurelian to the third Constantius are more than equal to the generals of the early Empire from Tiberius to Agricola. Plotinus is at least a match for Seneca; and no man will dispute Augustine's title to a foremost place among the leaders of human thought. In Julian we have a philosopher on the throne, for uprightness and self-denying toil inferior to Marcus only, and as a statesman far excelling him. Even Honorius had a Stilicho, and the last agony of the West produced one more imperial hero in Majorian. And if we look for the old republican self-devotion, we shall find it even in the ignoble reign of Arcadius, when the consular Saturninus gave himself to death for Rome, and after more than fifty years of honourable service bared his neck to the sword of Gaïnas.[1]

[1] Sozomen, viii. 4; Joannes Antiochenus, *Fr.* 190; more shortly by Zosimus, v. 18; Socrates, vi. 6. We can trace Saturninus from 400 at least as far back as 353 (Themistius, *Or.* xvi. p. 200 B). Orelli, *Inscr.* 3161, seems to refer to this Saturninus, though it comes from Rome.

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The great work of Finlay led the way to a juster view of the declining Empire, and Finlay's successors have done away the reproach of the old classical purism which almost seemed to fancy that the ancient worthies ended with Domitian. Gibbon's facts are mostly undisputed, and his narrative is likely to remain unrivalled; but the sooner his opinions cease to be the popular version of the history the better.

Mr. Hodgkin writes with a twofold aim, giving the general reader a clear and simple narrative, and adding notes and critical apparatus for the historical student. His first aim is a complete success. We have before us a vigorous and interesting narrative, showing a careful study of the original authorities, especially of his old favourite Claudian, with a happy skill in letting them speak for themselves, and everywhere pervaded with an almost poetic consciousness of the grandeur of his subject. Nor is it a very common merit in England that he tells his story without fear or favour or trace of ecclesiastical partisanship, neither glossing over the Theodosian persecution nor blindly admiring the morbid growths of Christian life. And if we cannot reduce the dimensions of the Vandal persecution quite so much as he does, we feel that the question between us is simply one of fact.

On the other hand, the work is wanting in unity of treatment, and to some extent in thoroughness. The two volumes before us consist of four rather loosely connected pieces, on the invasions of the Visigoths, the Huns and the Vandals, and the mutiny which closed the series of the western Cæsars. Each of these subjects has an internal unity, but the effect of the four together is rather fragmentary. So far, however, we have no right to complain. Our author has laid down his plan for himself, and we are thankful for what he gives us. But some of his digressions, that for example of more than eighty pages on Sidonius, do seem a little out of proportion. And if interesting digression was to be the order of the day, we should have liked another on the somewhat kindred name of Symmachus. Want of thoroughness is a more serious charge, but Mr. Hodgkin cannot be fully acquitted of it. Even in a narrative for the general reader more attention might have been given to the results of recent study. Our author seldom refers to any of the latest writers but Pallmann and Von Wietersheim, and even of these he scarcely makes all the use he might; while his critical introductions appear to be improvised without regard to standard works like those of Teuffel, Wattenbach or Ebert.

We have one more fault to find. When Mr. Hodgkin

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speaks of ecclesiastical history as 'an alien domain' (ii. 175), he confesses to ignoring half his subject, and by consequence distorting the other half. He is not indeed guilty of anything so bad as this, for he not unfrequently does notice some of the ecclesiastical aspects of the history, as at the elevation of Eugenius or the fall of Stilicho, or where he sets down Christianity as a chief agent in the destruction of the Empire. But from dogmatic controversy he turns away with undisguised impatience. Yet there was a reason for it if 'what was left of literary instinct in the world had concentrated itself on theological controversy.' It was for no empty shadow that kings of men like Athanasius or Leo of Rome could condescend to fight. To take the very lowest view of them, these quarrels often mark the lines of incipient political cleavage. The squabbles of the Weasels, the Fullers, and the Stammerers, may be contemptible enough in themselves, though God forbid that anything should be contemptible which touches Christ our Master's sacred Person; but before the historian presumes to speak of mummy-dust, let him follow the beaten army from the field of Yermouk, and see for himself how these same 'vulgar bickerings' brought the Roman power in Syria to the ground. The Sword of God would have clashed vainly on those iron feet, if the Cyrils and the Weasels had not mingled them with miry clay.

In the year 376, where our author begins his narrative, the Empire still seemed to stand unshaken within the limits of Augustus. If the legions had surrendered the outlying provinces of Dacia and Carduene, they more than held their ground on the great river frontiers of the Euphrates, the Danube and the Rhine. Julian's death seemed to let loose all the enemies of Rome at once upon her, but they had all been repulsed. While the Persian advance was checked by the obstinate patriotism of Armenia, Valens reduced the Goths to submission, and his western colleague drove the Germans out of Gaul and recovered Britain from the Picts. And if there were serious symptoms of decay in the increasing number of barbarian auxiliaries, in the troops of brigands who infested every mountain district, in the alarming decline of population, and above all in the crushing taxation which ruined the provinces, it still seemed inconceivable that danger could really menace Rome's eternal throne.

But while the imperial statesmen were watching the Euphrates, the storm was gathering on the Danube. The Goths in Dacia had been learning husbandry and Christianity since Aurelian's time, and bade fair soon to become a civilized

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people. But when the Huns came up suddenly from the Asiatic steppes, the stately Gothic warriors fled before the hordes of wild dwarfish horsemen, whose mistreated forms seemed sprung from some infernal birth. One section of the Goths became the servants of their conquerors, another maintained a rugged independence in the recesses of the Transylvanian forests; but a whole nation of panic-stricken warriors crowded to the banks of the Danube. There was but one inviolable shelter in the world; and that was under the Roman eagles. Only let them have some of the waste lands in Thrace, and they would be glad to do the Empire faithful service.

The crisis was a statesman's opportunity, and it was not unrecognized as such. Valens decided to receive the fugitives. His flatterers told him that with the addition of two hundred thousand Goths his army would be more invincible than ever; while officials of the school of Sallust or Auxonius hoped by the substitution of barbarian for Roman soldiers to relieve the exhausting taxation of the provinces. Nor was the plan a new one, though it had scarcely been tried before on quite so large a scale. Whether as serfs or as military colonists, the Teutons had been transferred to the Roman soil by whole nations at a time. Even Augustus had planted Sueves in Gaul. Aurelius established Marcomanni in Italy, and in the next century the victory of Claudius at Naissus 'filled the provinces with barbarian slaves and Gothic husbandmen.' And they were a valuable acquisition. Constantine's Vandals flourished in Pannonia, the Basternæ of Probus 'all kept faith,' and the Franks were the bulwark of the Roman power inside the Rhine. There was no reason why the scheme of a Gothic colony in Thrace should be less successful.

The error was in leaving its details to miscreants like Maximus and Lupicinus, whose only idea was to make the famished barbarians a prey to their own rapacity and lust. The Goths shewed unexpected patience, but at last intolerable oppression fairly drove them to revolt. The outlaws of the Balkans joined them, fresh hordes poured in from beyond the Danube, Thrace and Mœsia were utterly ravaged, and after two years of dubious fighting the misfortunes of the Empire were completed in 378 by the defeat and death of Valens and destruction of the eastern army at Hadrianople.

The catastrophe of Hadrianople decided the fate of Rome. Far from being able to keep out the barbarians any longer, she could hardly stand without their help. It was by no feats of war that Theodosius restored peace in Thrace, but by a

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sagacious policy of conciliation which in other hands than those of his unworthy sons might even yet have saved the Empire. It was essentially a return to his predecessor's scheme when the Goths were first received on Roman soil. But while Valens was a financier, Theodosius had a soldier's love of splendour and display. He enrolled the stalwart heathens of Athanaric[1] by thousands in the legions, and deliberately rested the defence of the Empire on them.

Teutons were no strangers in the Roman army. They held high rank as early as Valerian's reign, and their numbers had much increased since fiscal mismanagement had turned the municipalities into a mere engine of oppression. Already in Julian's time we find side by side with provincials like Arbetio, Procopius and Ursicinus a motley crew of barbarian generals: Arinthæus the Gothic Hercules, Agilo and Gumoarius the Frankish traitors, the Sarmatian Victor, Hormisdas the Persian refugee, and a host of others. Even Vadomar the captive Alemannic king soon reappears as a Roman general in the East. But hitherto the barbarians had been kept by themselves in auxiliary cohorts, or at least specially enrolled like the Frankish favourites of Constans or the Alan guards of Gratian. It was a new and daring experiment, to obliterate the distinction of Roman and barbarian by introducing the Goths into the legions themselves.

There was no hope for the Empire but in some policy of this kind; yet the mutual hatred of Roman and barbarian was such that even this was full of danger. The barbarian indeed was always ready for war and plunder, and well aware that he could have no better master than Theodosius. The stately emperor had nobly won the inheritance of the stern old chief whom he had overcome with royal courtesy and buried with more than royal splendour. But they were restless in their hearts and half ashamed to be servants even of a 'god on earth' like Theodosius. Fierce quarrels arose among them, which the emperor's own presence hardly kept

[1] Mr. Hodgkin scarcely notices the important remark of Pallmann, *Völkerwanderung*, i. 187, that Theodosius favoured the heathen Goths of Athanaric in preference to the Arian Goths who had followed Fritigern. The point may be illustrated by a comparison. A rough examination gives 21 Romans and 14 barbarians in high military command during the eight years ending with the death of Julian; and of the barbarians Arinthæus and Victor were certainly Christians; Agilo, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta only probably heathens. But while the barbarian element is much increased in the time of Theodosius, the Christian portion of it is relatively rather diminished. Fravitta, Bauto, Richomer, Saul and Arbogast are heathens; Gaïnas and Stilicho Christians. Even Sievars, *Libanius*, 109, has hardly made this point clear.

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from breaking out in bloody frays. They needed but a leader to rouse them with the cry 'For Rome.'

And if the Goths despised the puny Romans whom they 'were tired of slaughtering like sheep,' the Romans were not behind in hatred of the 'skin-clad' barbarians who engrossed the emperor's favour and drained the treasury with their insatiable demands. Collisions were incessant throughout the reign of Theodosius. The butchery of the Gothic hostages in Asia was a bad beginning, and the fate of Gratian ominous of further trouble. Even the atrocious massacre of Thessalonica was not entirely without excuse, for these outbreaks against the barbarians really endangered the Empire, and needed the severest repression. It was all in vain. The populace of Constantinople never had a gladder day than when they drove Gaïnas from their walls, and returned to slaughter his Goths by thousands in the vain asylum of their burning church.

We may doubt whether Theodosius ever fully understood that the problem before him was vastly wider than the use of Gothic soldiers in his wars, or the settlement of Gothic colonies in Thrace. It was nothing less than the fusion of the northern nations with the Empire. And this was beyond the power of his age or the next. Neither Goth nor Roman could save the dying Empire, and it was long before the Frank was able to clothe with flesh its disembodied spirit. What Theodosius tried from the Roman side, Ataulfus and Theodoric attempted from the Gothic; but no true union of North and South was possible till the feud of centuries was laid aside, and the old heathen superstition with it which held the barbarian unworthy to wear the diadem of Constantine.

Still for the moment all went well. Once more the Goths became the servants and allies of Rome, the clients of Theodosius as they had been of Constantine. And a very little Roman discipline was enough to make them irresistible. They scattered the mutineers of Britain and seized the tyrant Maximus inside the impregnable walls of Aquileia. The battle of the Frigidus was a hard-fought struggle, but in the end even the Franks of Arbogast went down before the Gothic onset; and with them went the rhetorician Eugenius, the last heathen who could call himself a Roman emperor. Now that the wreck of Hadrianople was cleared away, the Empire of the East seemed rising mightier than ever.

But the victories of Theodosius were won with borrowed strength. The men who had conquered Italy twice for him might be expected to conquer it a third time for themselves.

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At his death in 395, it was seen how precarious his success had been. The western regent Stilicho was the greatest statesman Rome had seen since Julian's death; but no barbarian minister could wield the full imperial power. The East was governed by Rufinus; and though we need not take our history from Claudian's invective, it is clear that no love was lost between Rome and Constantinople, or between the Gaulish lawyer and the Vandal hero.

The Goths broke loose at once and lifted Alaric for king. It was time to fight their own battles now. When they came down on Italy in 400, Stilicho was obliged to concentrate the whole power of the West for its defence. Even the Rhine was bared of troops. It was a terrible sacrifice; but there was no alternative, and it was at least successful. After two battles, at Pollentia and Verona, Alaric retired to Noricum, while in 405 the wilder hordes of Radagaisus were destroyed among the Tuscan hills. Twice did Stilicho deliver Rome and Italy.

But Stilicho's position was undermined. Already in 405 Honorius had resumed his father's policy of persecution.[1] Next year the Germans crossed the undefended Rhine and ravaged Gaul. The legions of Britain proclaimed Constantine emperor, and the mutiny gradually spread through the transalpine provinces. Weapon after weapon was struck from Stilicho's hand; and when Alaric made fresh demands of pay in 408, there was nothing for it but submission. Meanwhile the chamberlain Olympius filled the emperor's ear with suspicions of his Vandal minister. He had pusillanimously abandoned Gaul, he was in treasonable correspondence with Alaric, he was indifferent to the faith. The army at Ticinum rose with ungovernable fury against the barbarians and their patrons. Eight of the thirteen great officials of the Empire were slaughtered in a single day; and the massacre was repeated in every city of Italy where defenceless Gothic women lived. Stilicho refused to resist the executioner's mandate at the cost of civil war, but the barbarian auxiliaries passed over thirty thousand strong to the camp of Alaric.

The army glutted its revenge, the court gained freedom to persecute; but the Empire was defenceless. Honorius

[1] Nothing shows better the superiority of Stilicho to even Theodosius as a statesman than the gap in the persecuting laws of the *Codex Theodosianus*. The section xvi. 5, *De Hæreticis*, is nearly a blank as regards the West from 395 to 405: but in the next ten years Honorius issues seventeen rescripts. One of these is dated August 25, 410, when the Goths were actually in Rome.

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cowered behind the walls of Ravenna and with stolid perversity frustrated every overture for peace, while Alaric marched on Rome. For two years negotiations went on, and it was not till August 410 that the Goths broke open the Salarian gate and sacked the city.

From one end of the world to the other was borne the dreadful news: 'The city is smitten.' It reached Augustine in his African cloister, Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem. The gods of Rome had not delivered her: yet only the noblest Christian faith could rise to the height of Augustine's great argument: 'Rome may pass away, the world itself may pass away, but the City of our God shall endure for ever.'

Our limits forbid us to trace the history further. But enough, perhaps, has been said to shew that the fall of Rome was immediately caused by her inability to control the barbarian mercenaries on whose help the Western Empire had come to rest; and that her failure resulted even more from the Roman's contempt of the barbarian than from the barbarian's own impatience of restraint. Yet there is one more point which we cannot leave unnoticed. Mr. Hodgkin seems to overestimate the part taken by Christianity in the destruction of the Empire. He regards the apostolic proclamation of the unity of mankind as an explosive force which constantly threatened and ultimately destroyed the old national faith of Rome.

'There was incurable opposition between teaching such as this and the root-idea of the Roman commonwealth. The rulers of the state felt it, and were forced into persecution, almost against their will. Gladly would they have consigned Christianity to the peaceful Pantheon of the tolerated religions (*religiones licitæ*) in which already the worship of Astarte and Elagabalus, of Isis and Serapis, flourished happily, side by side. But they perceived—the wisest Emperors the most clearly—that this was a religion which would have all or nothing, and they hunted it into the catacomb to bar it from the throne.'

Thus the onset of the northern nations found the Empire in a transition state. The old faith was dead which carried the republic through the fiery trial of the Hannibalic war, the new faith not yet grown up in which the Christian legions drove the King of Kings before them to the gates of Ctesiphon, and flung back Islam from the passes of Mount Taurus.

Meanwhile it was an age of languid half-beliefs and superstitions lightly held and lightly thrown aside. No marvel therefore if the Roman soldier wavered in the day of battle, when the Goths came down 'like a thunderbolt on the moun-

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tain-tops.'[1] The Old Rome of the Scipios which worshipped Jupiter and Quirinus and all the gods differed vastly from the New Rome of Heraclius which worshipped the Virgin and the Cross and all the saints; but neither the one nor the other would have fallen as the Rome of Honorius fell before the hordes of Alaric.

But the Rome of the Scipios was not the Rome of Constantine, or even the Rome of Augustus. The Empire was not less hostile than the Church to the root-idea of the Roman commonwealth. Republican disguises and conservative reactions notwithstanding, its essence was necessarily cosmopolitan, for it had long ceased to be possible that one imperial city should rule all the nations of the earth. The old republican ideals were for ever shattered when Italy won the Roman franchise at the sword's point; and thenceforth it was a mere question of time how soon a Caracalla would extend it to the world. The national faith of Rome had received its mortal wound, before Christianity existed, and the Empire itself was sick to death before it stooped to parley with the Church.

The franchise of heaven was wider than that of Rome; yet the heaviest blow struck at the Empire by Christianity was its revival of the dormant nationalities. The elastic faith of heathen Rome hardly allowed the possibility of a national heresy; but it was otherwise when Christianity made its lofty claim to be the revelation of eternal truth. Fightings had a new object now that there was truth to fight for; but they ceased to be mere rebellions like those of Firmus or Achilleus. It was by no arm of flesh that Athanasius ruled almost like a rival emperor in Egypt; but it was as well that no foreign enemy appeared before the fall of Arianism. And in the next century, when the councils of the Church became the battlefield of nations, the victory of Greek orthodoxy at Chalcedon involved sooner or later the separation of Monophysite Egypt and Nestorian Syria. Even in the West, where Rome had stamped out national feeling so effectually that Christianity itself could hardly galvanize it into life, the Vandals in Africa found their path of conquest smoothed by the chronic disaffection of the persecuted and fanatical Donatists.

But Christianity made the Empire full amends for all it took away. If it fostered a national spirit in Egypt or Armenia, it infused new life into Greece itself from Taurus to the Hadriatic. It nerved the arm of Heraclius, and consolidated the firm power of the Iconoclasts and the conquering Macedonians. Instead of perishing in the Gothic inroads, the

[1] Ammianus, xxxi. 12, 16.

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Christian Empire absorbed the Slav, outlived the Saracen, and only received its mortal wounds from the hand of Michael Palæologus.

Even the city of Rome was no loser by the fall of heathenism. Her imperial state was doomed; but Christianity is not responsible for this. The seat of power had been shifted to the frontiers long before Constantine intrenched it on the Bosphorus, beyond the reach of Goth or Vandal. What the new faith really did for Rome was to give her a new principle of life and launch her on a new career of world-wide conquest. The cathedral of the Lateran became what the Capitol had been, and the Vatican gained more than all the Palatine had lost. Even the imperial pageant was brought back to Rome that Christmas morning when the cry of CAROLUS AUGUSTUS rang through the church of Constantine. But meanwhile it was good that she should lose her corn-largesses and her beast-fights, her worn-out nobles and her pampered lazzaroni. It was good that the Queen of the Nations should come down for awhile and sit in the dust, till she had learned that even in this world the love of Christ is mightier than blood and iron. Not till every stay of worldly power had been taken from her could she begin to lift her head again; and not even then till she had stooped to welcome the fiercest of the northern nations to the Christian fold, when she sent forth from a city of ruins Augustine's mission to the outer world of English barbarism.

ART. X.—THE LAW OF ECCLESIASTICAL DILAPIDATIONS, ITS WRONG AND REMEDY.

1. *An Act for the Amendment of the Law relating to Ecclesiastical Dilapidations* [34 and 35 Victoria, C. 43].
2. *Report from Select Committee of House of Commons on Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act* [June 1, 1876].
3. *Report of the Ecclesiastical Surveyors' Association on proceedings of Select Committee of House of Commons,* 1877.
4. *Second Report of Committee on Dilapidations, Lower House of Convocation, Canterbury,* 1872.
5. *Various Reports of Diocesan Synods, in various years, notably Salisbury Synods,* 1876 *and* 1877; *Winchester Diocesan Conference,* 1880, *&c. &c.*

THERE are few subjects of direct personal interest to the clergy so little studied or understood as that of Ecclesiastical

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Dilapidations. Though it be one which closely concerns every ordained man who holds a living to-day, and every one who may hold one to-morrow, the occasions on which the clergy are compelled to consider the subject generally find them entirely unprepared for the task by any previous useful study. An unbeneficed man, busied with more immediately pressing duties, naturally considers Dilapidation law not worth a thought on his part till he obtain a living, and be in a position either to receive or pay money for the sustentation of his house and chancel. But, when the offer of a living comes, as it so often does, unexpectedly at the last, and he finds himself directly under Dilapidation law, he has often reason to regret his ignorance of its bearings.

We purpose in the following pages to examine the working of the present law, the objections so generally entertained against it, and the various remedies suggested for their obviation.

Up to the passing of the Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act of 1871 the acceptance of a living did not necessarily call upon the new incumbent for any special immediate outlay on the buildings of his benefice. The method (in existence for centuries) worked fairly well which required the sum, named either by one valuer representing both incumbents, or agreed upon by two valuers, each representing one incumbent, to be handed over to the incoming by the outgoing one or his representatives. The receipt of this money passed the responsibility for repairs on from the old to the new incumbent, who, if wise, kept his buildings up from year to year, and entered a regular account of all sums expended for this object.

We have said this system worked fairly well, when the assessed sum was paid; but as a matter of fact, so many clergymen died, leaving either no assets at all, or large and almost destitute families, to whom those assets were almost matter of life and death, that a great number of new incumbents were unable to obtain or unwilling to demand the money, and thus, by accepting their livings, accepted also many responsibilities, often large, sometimes ruinous, for repairs which they had never incurred.

The effect of such a state of things naturally was to deteriorate church property in very many cases of vacancy occurring by death.[1] The Act of 1871 was passed to remedy

[1] Of course, in cases of exchange, or removal from one sphere of duty to another, the amount due for dilapidations was recoverable as a debt,

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a condition of things manifestly most injurious both to Church persons and Church property.

This Act provided that, in every case of vacancy of a living (as well as without vacancy, on request of the Archdeacon, patron, Rural Dean, or of incumbents themselves), the bishop should be empowered to require a survey of the buildings of a benefice to be made by a diocesan official appointed for this purpose, who should estimate the repairs to be made, and their probable cost, and whose decision on these points, though liable to some possible episcopal modification, should be, as we shall presently see, practically final, and without appeal.

The sum named by the surveyor being notified, the incumbent was required by law to pay it in to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, from whom he was empowered to receive back such sum as he proved to have been expended in the carrying out of the required repairs, to the satisfaction of the surveyor.

The law requiring this course to be followed would manifestly, in long course of time, eventually bring every living under official survey on first avoidance; but, it being thought undesirable to leave so important a reform to introduce itself by a course so tardy as waiting for the dying out of all existing incumbents (whom we will refer to throughout this article as 'incumbents of 1871'), two special inducements were offered by the new act likely to bring them voluntarily under survey.

These inducements were, firstly, that the surveyor's certificate of the estimated and specified repairs having been satisfactorily executed should free the incumbent in case of removal, or his representatives in case of his death, from any liability whatever for dilapidations during the five years next following the date of certificate; and secondly, that on receipt of estimate from the surveyor, the incumbent of 1871 might be allowed to charge his living with the repairs, or, in other words, to borrow the necessary money from the Bounty Board, leaving its repayment by instalments an annual charge on the income of the benefice.

Against the first of these arrangements there is not much to be said, except that it is altogether contrary to the only logical ground of legislation on this subject at all; namely, that the incumbent of a living is justly liable *at all times* for

and could (and can) be obtained, if needful, by sequestration of the new living.

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the repair of dilapidations occurring during his incumbency, and that to exempt him, under any conditions, from liability for five years' prospective dilapidations must, under the terms of the Act, impose their cost (the amount of which does not touch the logic of the question) upon any new incumbent who, if entering at the end of the five years, would in the nature of things have personally incurred none. We do not however press this point, as it seems not to be one on which the clergy (who are generally loud in disapproval of the operation of the Act in other respects) are disposed to lay much stress.

But, if the first inducement was illogical, the second has proved illusive, and has doubtless been the source of nine-tenths of the hostility which the operation of the Act of 1871 has evoked.

For the clause of the Act referring to loans from Queen Anne's Bounty for the purpose of effecting the repairs has received an entirely different reading from the different parties concerned. We will quote both its terms and their interpretations.

'Clause 17. It shall be lawful for the incumbent to borrow, and for the Governors (of Queen Anne's Bounty), if they shall think fit, . . . to lend upon the security of the possessions of the benefice . . . the whole or any part of the sum stated in the final report as the cost of the works.'

The incumbents of 1871, having been taught to regard this proviso as an inducement to place themselves under the Act, naturally supposed that, by applying for a survey, they would, almost as a matter of course, be able to charge their livings with the cost incurred. Nor was this an unreasonable expectation, inasmuch as it would have been quite possible, in most cases, to make the loan repayable in a term of years fairly proportioned to the borrower's expectation of life (twenty years, for instance, being the expectation in the case of an incumbent aged fifty).

Such loans would have been no unfair burden upon the living; except, perhaps, where the incumbent wished to exchange his living after borrowing; in which case, we must remember that the charge placed upon it would, *pro tanto*, diminish its exchange value; even if the bishop did not make the personal repayment of the loan a condition of his sanctioning the exchange. Nor would the granting of such loans, repayable in periods of (say) from fifteen to thirty years, according to the incumbent's expectation of life, have been even a compliment on the part of the Bounty Board.

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For it would only have been lending, at high interest, at a profitable business rate of four per cent., and on security better than the ordinary fee simple of land, the property of the clergy to the clergy themselves, for the sustentation and advantage of Church property in general; and this money would all, on the average, be repaid from the annual income of the actual borrower.

It was this supposed power of borrowing which induced most of the incumbents who voluntarily placed themselves under the Act to apply to their bishop for a survey. Beyond the two inducements named, the Act offered *no imaginable advantage* to stationary incumbents: they might have continued under the old practice, kept their buildings in good or bad repair, and left the recovery of dilapidations from their estate, on their own decease, for their successors to take chance of in the old fashion.

But a desire to free their families from all liability on vacancy of the living induced a large number of clergy to make voluntary applications for survey. And they did so in the expectation of being able to charge their living with the cost, repayable, of course, by instalments.

But the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, in whose discretion, it will be noted, the granting of loans was placed by the Act, *took an entirely different view* of the matter. They held that the Act did not intend them to relieve incumbents in any sense from existing liability to dilapidations, and that, practically, they were only justified in lending money to a new incumbent, who on entering a living found himself, by the action of the law, required to lodge the full sum necessary for effecting full repairs, and who was unable to obtain that amount from the estate of his predecessor.

From their point of view the Governors were perfectly right in their interpretation; they exercised a discretion legally theirs to the best of their judgment; but the result has been really to inflict very great hardship on incumbents, and to make re-survey at the end of five years (which it was fondly hoped the Act would render universal) almost a dead letter.

In proof of the truth of this statement we cite the following figures from the official table, appended (with date Sept. 13, 1880) to the report of the Winchester Diocesan Committee on Dilapidations, and summarizing the working of the Act in that diocese during the ten years following its introduction: 'Surveys made on Vacancy, 202; on request, 86; on complaint, 3; on sequestration, 4. *Re-surveys*, 22.' Concerning

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which last we are not told whether a *single one* was on request of incumbent; though, *were they all so*, it would only represent the Act as securing periodical survey in about one case out of every ten!

The failure of the Act, so far as inducing voluntary requests for even a first survey, is also manifest from the fact, that from August 1871 till March 1876 only one survey in every six was made on request of the incumbent, that many of those requests were preferred in entire misapprehension as to borrowing powers, and that all the chief objectors to the Act are to be found in the number of those who have passed through an unexpectedly bitter experience.

To show the reasonableness of the notion held by the clergy that voluntary request for survey conferred (generally speaking) the right to charge the living; and to explain at the same time the reasons which led the Bounty Board to disappoint these expectations; we quote, from the Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee, the following questions, addressed by the chairman to Mr. J. K. Aston, the well-known secretary and treasurer of the Bounty Board, with his replies.

'*Query* 52. When the Act of 1871 was brought forward, do you know that there was a general feeling on the part of the clergy that they would derive a greater benefit in respect of dilapidations from Queen Anne's Bounty?—*A.* No doubt they expected to borrow largely.

'*Q.* 53. That was the general inducement to them to give their adhesion to it, was it not?—*A.* It was one general inducement.

'*Q.* 54. Has that expectation been realized as regards small livings?[1]—*A.* Not as regards many of the livings, I think, taking them collectively; because the Bounty Board felt that it was not right for them, as a Board, having an option whether they should lend or not, to encourage the applications for loans by incumbents where the incumbents were of long standing. If Parliament intended the clergy to have that kind of relief, *the Board could not see it in the Statute*; and . . . . they came to the conclusion, that they were not to relieve the clergy from their dilapidations, but, as a rule, *only to grant loans* where the incumbent in possession was quite unable to recover, from his predecessor or his (predecessor's) estate, the amount which had been put as a charge upon the benefice. *To this the exceptions have been very few.*'[2]

[1] Mr. Aston's reply, it will be observed, refers to *all* livings; the special reasons which unfortunately shut out *all the smallest livings* from *all loans whatever* he details further on.

[2] That the select Parliamentary Committee interpreted the loan clause of the Act of 1871 in the sense entertained by the clergy rather than in that entertained by the Bounty Board is manifest from the 14th section of their Report, which runs thus:—

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We are inclined to think that the main source of objection to the Act of 1871 lies in this wonderful yet perfectly accountable difference between its supposed promise and its actual performance.

And this objection, which, as a matter of fact, would have had its own remedy under common circumstances (by the incumbent's withdrawal from his proposal for survey, on finding the terms of the bargain so different from those assumed to be offered), has been magnified into a grievance of a very serious character indeed by the fact that the unfortunate applicant, who has once unwittingly and rashly asked for a survey, *has no power whatever* to stay proceedings on discovering his error; and instead, as he expected, of being able to borrow the money needed for repairs from his own prospective income, is called upon, in the terms of the Act, to pay over *the entire sum in cash* to the Bounty Board; and, supposing it possible for him to raise the sum, which must often be done by borrowing at high interest, he must leave it in the hands of the Governors *without receiving interest at all*, until the repairs for which it has been levied have been brought to a completion.

No one familiar with the circumstances of the clergy generally will fail to understand that comparatively very few of them are in a condition to be able, unexpectedly, to lay their hands on a sum of money which can seldom be estimated at less than 100*l.*,[1] and may, in some cases, even where the emoluments of the living are small, reach to as much as 500*l.* or 600*l.*

We will point out in passing the extreme hardship upon average incumbents which results from their putting themselves under the Act in ignorance of the rules against general charging of livings laid down by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

The average incumbent may be reasonably taken as one who has no intention whatever of evading the reasonable duty, implied in the very acceptance of his living, either of keeping

'On passing of the Act of 1871, *one of the boons held out to the clergy* was, that the incumbent, with the consent of the Bishop and patron, might borrow from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty the whole or any part of the sum required by the surveyor,' &c.

Of course, if there were to be no borrowing, the Act 'held out no boon,' either in permitting (or, once he had applied, in compelling) the incumbent to do, at his own immediate cost, what he might at any time have done without asking permission, or (still more important) might have withdrawn from doing, on finding the repairs too extensive, or their cost too high, to suit his immediate convenience.

[1] The average cost of dilapidations ordered under the Act of 1871 from commencement till March 1875 was 135*l.* for each living.

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his buildings in proper repair, or of providing funds sufficient for doing so in case of his decease. Whether or no, at his incoming, he has received a sum from his predecessor, he always understands himself to be responsible to his successor. Now, as we have said, cash funds of possibly hundreds of pounds are rarely possessed by clergymen: but very many have been for years keeping up a larger life insurance than they would otherwise make for their families, in order to meet dilapidation claims when they die.

Many a clergyman who had been following this method, attracted by what certainly sounded like an invitation to borrow on the income of his living, felt that, if he could do this, and thus aid the desire evinced by our law makers to bring all livings under early survey, his family, in case of its head dying within five years from the completion of the repairs, might get the benefit of the insurance; and, in this expectation, he made his application for survey.

He applied to the bishop, the bishop directed the surveyor, the surveyor effected the survey and gave his estimate, the incumbent applied to the Bounty Board to lend the necessary funds, and, to his utter surprise, was met with a refusal, with a notification, at the same time, that he must pay in to his dilapidation account with them the very sum which he had depended on their advancing to him as a matter of course, on the security of his living. Expostulation and protest were alike vain; for however doctors might differ, as doctors will, as to the meaning of the borrowing clause, the Act was found to provide no possible means for the incumbent's withdrawal of his petition on discovering the error he had made.

Practically therefore the result to such an incumbent of placing himself under survey was, that he had, unexpectedly, to raise a sum of money, for which he paid interest, (or to sell out money of his own for which he had to forego interest), while keeping up besides, by annual premiums, a larger than necessary amount of insurance on his life.

This, of course, supplied an objection to the Act quite strong enough, we may fairly assume, to account for the almost total unwillingness shown to have buildings re-surveyed at the end of the five years. But this, it may be said, was only an objection on the part of clergy who, without sufficient knowledge of the working of the Act, chose to place themselves under its conditions. What objection can there be to its necessary operation in cases where no option existed, as on vacancy of benefice?

A strong one lies on the very threshold. There is prac-

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tically no appeal whatever against the estimate of a single surveyor, no matter how autocratic or self-opionated he may be. For though an incumbent may, *at his own expense,* appeal so far as to have an independent survey made by a different surveyor, the fact of the second estimate being less than the first does not *necessarily* prevent the bishop requiring the first one to be carried out. Even this might have been got over, in safe dependence on every bishop's natural desire to do justice to all parties at all times, but that the amount to be assessed was made to depend more or less, not on any clear definition of what repairs do and what do not constitute dilapidations, but on the individual opinion of the irresponsible surveyor, whoever he might be. And that this should cause infinite distrust is a matter we cannot wonder at in the least, when we find the Ecclesiastical Surveyors' Association, in the paper they have put forth (cited at the commencement of this article), while stating the law of the matter to be sufficiently precise, yet denying the practicability of laying down any clear definition of dilapidations.

For one surveyor, it is perfectly plain, may have entirely different notions as to the manner in which repairs should be effected from those entertained by another; one might be æsthetical in taste where another was utilitarian; one might require decayed deal to be replaced with heart of oak, while another might consider sound deal sufficient to replace decayed oak; so that, as a matter of fact, the greatest possible uncertainty was entertained as to what, and what cost of, dilapidations might have to be undertaken. We do not say that the amount was generally too high. But a timid and impecunious class of men like the general run of our incumbents (impecunious, of course we mean, in the sense of not generally possessing an unincumbered bank balance of from two to six hundred pounds) could only look with fear to the irreducible estimate of an entirely irresponsible surveyor, and, regarding '*omne ignotum pro malefico,*' dread and avoid having to come under the system at all.

Another general cause of complaint has been the amount of fees payable on surveys. On this point we hold it quite needless to dwell. No one will deny that men of eminence in their profession must charge fair fees for their labour, and cannot be expected to work for nothing; and, naturally, the higher the character of the surveyor employed, the better is the guarantee for his impartiality, and the more is his fee worth paying. Another strong objection, belonging to the question of definition of dilapidations, was that arising from the hard-

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ship of an incumbent being obliged to pay, out of his own pocket, a large sum for the execution of what are commonly termed 'progressive repairs.' His liability to make good ordinary wear and tear has not, we believe, been ever disputed; but it does seem reasonable that for the reparation of decay caused by antiquity there should exist a power of charging the living. The Surveyors Association in an Appendix to their Report suggest this as a reasonable thing, and the Parliamentary Report also seems to desire such power to be given. Persons who theoretically object to any real distinction in this direction being made between what are called roughly 'tenants'' and 'landlords'' repairs (on the ground that the incumbent, as being both a freeholder for life and a life-tenant of the church, is during his incumbency both landlord and tenant, and therefore should be personally chargeable with repairs of both classes), must bear in mind that, inasmuch as the large majority of parsonages in England were built in the present century, *the clergy themselves personally, not the Church by its funds*, have paid for the houses of residence, and that the older the incumbent, the more likely he is to have contributed largely towards the building of parsonage houses.

For though it be a common thing to say the incumbent borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty to build his house, which is generally true; yet he owes Queen Anne's Bounty nothing. The money was *given* for such use, the Board only *lent* it on good, sound business terms, got back every penny of the principal with a large and secure interest, and has literally made money on every transaction of the kind and lost money on none.

And, in most cases of parsonage building, besides the sum borrowed from the Bounty Board, a large, sometimes the largest, part of the capital expended was contributed directly from the incumbent's pocket, or indirectly by the assistance of his personal friends; so that, as a general rule, to allow the living to be charged with a loan to repair decay, the heaviest part of which, be it remembered, would be charged on the incumbent's own income, is really an act of general justice to the average actual incumbent, and no real injustice whatever to a prospective one, who has probably never laid out a shilling on an ecclesiastical residence at all.

Thus far we have been treating the history of the Act since its introduction, and giving at some length the more prominent and obvious reasons for the general dislike with which its operations are regarded by the clergy, which is

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shown, far more strongly than in any words, by their general abstinence from availing themselves for a second time of its provisions.

We will now turn to the recommendations of the Select Committee, contained in the 22nd and succeeding sections of their Report:—

'22. Your Committee are of opinion that the operation of the Act of 1871 has, in many respects, failed to accomplish the objects for which it was enacted. That it has provided no remedy for the most important complaint under the old law, namely, the inability of the representatives of deceased incumbents to meet the amount assessed for dilapidations, but has cast upon new incumbents an obligation to pay over the amount, and attached also to them a liability for fees previously unknown to the law, and has deprived the clergy of all power of acting in their own matters, of choosing their own advisers, *and of all practical appeal* against the official surveyor appointed under the Act. Your Committee are of opinion that *some legislative alteration is needed to remove the well-grounded complaints of a large body of the clergy.*

'23. Your Committee are of opinion that the machinery of the Act is cumbersome and expensive, and that the requirements of the surveyors under it have in many cases exceeded the legal definition of ecclesiastical dilapidations. If the principle of the Act be maintained, an increased number of approved surveyors should be appointed, from whom the clergy may select, and that there should be a right of appeal, on any question of law, to such local tribunal as Parliament may direct, and that provision should be made for extending the granting (*i.e.* lending) powers of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty and the arrangements for repayment, to meet the case of small livings.'

We think these clauses of the Report, made by a Select Committee (of course consisting entirely of laymen), give the fullest possible justification of the disfavour with which (*pace* the arguments put forward by the Surveyors' Association in their Report to prove the contrary) we cannot but conclude the great mass of the clergy regard the Act of 1871.

The Committee's Report, as we see, contains its own suggestions for the remedy of some parts of the Act which cause the discontent. But it goes on in its next section to advocate a measure, far more sweeping and comprehensive, of meeting the difficulties of the dilapidation question brought under their notice by the inquiry, and gives in its adhesion to the principle of a Compulsory Repairs Insurance, to be effected between the clergy on the one part and the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty on the other, which has been for some time before the public mind, and is generally known as 'The Bishop of Peterborough's Scheme.'

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We insert, as regards this forcible recommendation, the concluding paragraphs of the Report :—

'24. Your Committee, however, are of opinion that it would be much more desirable and advantageous to carry out, if possible, the view of meeting the whole question by a system of annual contribution from each benefice, proportioned to the state of repair and value of the buildings, by a periodical survey, which may be conducted by a surveyor at a salary, and that the management should be remitted to Queen Anne's Bounty Board, which at present has an account opened with nearly every benefice in the kingdom, and which may be authorized to relieve small livings in whole or in part from the cost of dilapidations, as a legitimate application of their funds.

'26. . . . . they consider . . . . that . . . . such a plan could be effectively . . . . brought into operation, and that it would relieve the clergy from *great hardships and grievances*, and would at the same time ensure the due and permanent repair and sustentation of parsonages, and all other ecclesiastical property vested in incumbents, at a comparatively moderate cost.

'27. Your Committee are strongly of opinion that such amendment of the law should take place *with the least possible delay*.'

From these extracts we see that the question of dilapidations has passed at all events into a hopeful stage. The Act of 1871 is convicted of ineffectiveness; the principle of lending from Queen Anne's Bounty for 'landlords'' repairs and those rendered necessary by progressive decay is affirmed; a strong recommendation in favour of an universal compulsory insurance is laid down as the plan most desirable for securing the objects aimed at in the Act of 1871; and the Committee declare early legislation on the subject to be a matter of pressing necessity.

Accepting these conclusions as reasonable, let us now proceed to examine the remedy suggested by the Bishop of Peterborough and supported by the Committee, and to inquire whether this suggestion, good in itself, may or may not be modified to the great advantage of all parties concerned.

We may not unreasonably lay down, as the right principle of any effective law of dilapidations, the bases adopted by the Winchester Diocesan Committee; namely: 1. That the proper maintenance of the Ecclesiastical buildings of a benefice is a just charge upon the incumbent who has accepted the benefice; and 2. That the buildings should be kept in a state of substantial repair during his lifetime.

It is admitted that a 'Repairs Insurance' would, to a great extent, secure these objects; nor is there anything whatever to be said against the principle of compulsory insurance, in itself the most reasonable, just, and calculable method of

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meeting the necessary uncertainties of life. This principle of compulsory insurance already exists under the Act of 1871, and is indeed the only part of the enactment, so far as we know, against which no one has ever formulated a single objection. But the Act of 1871 only compels insurance of buildings against one contingency of destruction, that of fire. The great value and universal acceptance of that part of the Act is a strong argument in favour of extending the principle of compulsory insurance of buildings against fire, to many, or even to all, other contingencies of decay.

We may assume, from the acceptance which the Bishop of Peterborough's suggestion has met,[1] that some such measure, if enacted, would be cordially and generally accepted by the clergy.

But the Winchester Committee, in their Report, presented in November last[2] a very strong recommendation of an entirely different and undiscussed sort of compulsory insurance, namely, one in the form of a Life Insurance, as preferable in many ways to the proposed Insurance for Repairs.[3]

On a careful consideration of these two proposals, we are very strongly inclined to agree with the conclusions in favour of the former come to by the Winchester Diocesan Committee. It seems to us free from a good many objections be-

[1] The Salisbury and Exeter Synodical Committees have suggested a number of modifications in the details, as the Winchester Committee has in the character, of the compulsory insurance; but no opposition whatever has been made to the insurance principle itself, as a solution of the dilapidation question.

[2] The Report was presented to the Annual Conference, but, from want of time for discussion, the debate upon its recommendations was adjourned till next year. It was stated, however, by the mover of its adoption, to embody the *unanimous* opinion of the members of Committee.

[3] It may be noted in passing that neither the proposition of Repairs Insurance nor of Life Insurance, as a solvent of the dilapidation difficulty, seems to be *absolutely* new. We find in Mr. Aston's evidence before the Select Committee (answer 45) the following statement: 'There are two classes of (proposed) insurance that I remember. One I put out myself, and another was put out by the Rev. John Hodgson. He connected his with a plan of insurance upon the life of the incumbent for the time being; that was special life insurance. Then there was my own, which was put in the form of a paper in the year 1869 or 1870, the principle of which was' practically that at present known as the Bishop of Peterborough's plan. We have to thank Mr. Aston for his courtesy in kindly allowing us to peruse a copy of his paper. We have been unable to discover any details of Mr. Hodgson's proposal. The Life Insurance plan follows the suggestion put forward by the *Guardian* for Nov. 25, 1879, in a letter from the Rev. W. Lewery Blackley, Rector of North Waltham, who has since served on the Dilapidations Committee of the Winchester Diocesan Conference.

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setting the proposed Repairs Insurance. We purpose setting forth these first in order, and then showing their comparatively small force as urged against the Life Insurance plan.

Firstly. A Repairs Insurance would tend to weaken the incumbent's motive for keeping his buildings at all times in repair; because, having once made his contract with the Bounty Board, on whom all responsibility for the sustentation of the buildings would thenceforth lie, he would no longer have the personal interest which he has now in deciding on, and pressing, the execution of timely and continual small repairs. The 'stitch in time,' which would now save him nine, would really save him nothing at all under a contract; and as he would not care very much to save the Bounty Board, which, in his view, will be quite able to take care of itself, the incumbent would have no strong incentive, for the repairer's sake, to have the repairs made or made at once. This may be an unflattering view to take of clerical conduct in general, but it is nevertheless a common-sense consideration which we have no business to ignore.

Secondly. We cannot but think that the depending on a Repairs Insurance contract would greatly tend towards producing a gradual deterioration of style in all our ecclesiastical buildings; for if, under this method, the incumbent had less interest than at present in preserving his buildings, it is plain that he would have no motive whatever for spending money, as so many do, on their improvement and embellishment. And if, for his own purposes, he still felt willing to expend money in improvements, he would always be liable to the trouble and cost of new survey, and the making of fresh insurance contract, on every improvement made.

Nor would the matter of improvement or embellishment fare any better at the hands of the Bounty Board. For that Board, contracting to keep a certain set of buildings in repair, would have neither motive, liability, nor warrant, for expending one farthing of its fund on repairs of anything not strictly included in the letter of its insurance bond.

The result of which state of things would be gradually, but surely, to reduce the character and style of ecclesiastical buildings to the very lowest and plainest utilitarian type.

Thirdly. The Repairs Insurance would give rise to endless disagreements and heart-burnings; for it is not in the nature of things to suppose the Bounty Board always willing to execute immediately any and every repair which the incumbent, on the strength of his contract, might be desirous of having promptly done. Its plain interest, both for saving of

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cost in surveys and travelling, and for self-security as well, would frequently lie in either patching or postponing work till several matters needed attention at once. It is self-evident that the party who had paid his contract-sum, and the party obliged to defray expenses, would be likely to take very different views as to the necessity and the immediate urgency of repairing. The incumbent, strong in his contract-right, might wish a work undertaken at once, which the Bounty Board, rightly jealous of its funds, might very justly consider fit to wait for ten or twenty years. It would be impossible to do without some appeal on either side, and in this way continual disputes, vexation, and litigation would be certain to arise. Our readers may make this conclusion clear by considering how they would be likely to get on themselves, not with a building firm in London, say fifty miles off, but even with an ordinary builder within half a mile of their houses, under any conceivable contract for keeping their buildings in perfect repair.

Fourthly. Beyond this difficulty as to the execution of contract repairs, their insurance would be likely to cause a great deal of personal and family inconvenience. It would be impossible for the Board, called on for operations by its functionaries in all directions, to consult at every turn the days and hours most convenient to every incumbent. Once it decided upon executing a work, great or small, upon a vicarage house, the dwelling might be invaded any day by hod and hammer, at a time when family circumstances and domestic arrangements of every sort and kind might be most seriously interfered with. And great inconvenience might also be occasioned by possibly unavoidable delay on the part of the Board in surveying and executing not merely periodical, but exceptional and urgent, repairs. On the other hand, immense correspondence, cost, and trouble would be occasioned to the Board from the necessity for surveying such exceptional and urgent repairs, and arranging for their execution at other times than those they might fix for periodical reparations.

Fifthly. Unless the Bounty Board made itself responsible for every sort of repair whatever, the contract would not entirely free the incumbent from all liability; there would still be some repairs which he might entirely neglect, and even if he did not, the execution of them would, *pro tanto,* diminish the advantage claimed for this plan as giving supposed fixity of insurance cost and accuracy of calculation of liability.

Sixthly. The repairs would not be so well done as even under the old or present method; because the Bounty Board,

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having made its contract and received its money, would have no motive to expend a farthing more than was actually necessary. Though the contract-sum might have been estimated by an æsthetic surveyor upon an æsthetical scale, it does not at all follow that the Board would prefer to repair on æsthetical principles or at an æsthetical cost. Under the Act of 1871, if the estimate be too high, the whole sum raised must be either expended on the work, or carried on to the incumbent's account; but it will not be necessarily so in the contract case, which deals with the average cost of repairs from year to year, not with the definite specification of each successive separate survey. In fact it could not be. At present, the diocesan surveyor can practically compel individual incumbents to expend any sum he thinks proper to name; but can it be conceived that the Bounty Board (or any other insurance office) would lend itself to any such expenditure at the dictation of any diocesan surveyor? or, if at all, would lend itself without securing a very wide margin of safety in the annual premium to be charged on the incumbent? No, it would certainly appoint its own surveyors to assess its own expenditure on other people's property; the self-evidence of this fact being a strong incidental proof of the practical defencelessness of incumbents, under the Act of 1871, against the possibly over-costly requirements of an official surveyor.

Seventhly. The annual cost of the Repairs Insurance must necessarily be far higher than the cost of the repairs.

This is self-evident to any one who considers that the Bounty Board will not be making a contract to spend eventually all the premiums it receives on the buildings of the living it receives them from, but to keep those buildings in repair, whether the cost be large or small.

For such a liability must be estimated with not only a margin, but *a very wide margin.* Since, unless the funds be really abundant for the purpose, the Bounty Board might either come into circumstances of heavy loss, or might break its contracts: in either of which cases the object of the proposed arrangement would be utterly defeated.

It may be said that if the estimate of annual premium were made a high one, very large profits would accumulate, as, it is estimated, must also be the case if the Bounty Board undertook even the present compulsory insurance of ecclesiastical buildings against fire, and that such a fund might be available to assist poor livings. But the answer to this is very obvious. If the collection of such a fund be (as indeed it is) desirable in itself, it should be undertaken on its own

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merits; but to compel incumbents to insure their successors against dilapidation costs is one thing, and a just one; while to compel them, in doing this, to provide endowments for poor livings, in addition to insuring for dilapidations, is another thing, and an unjust one.

Admitting then that, under a system of Repairs Insurance, the Bounty Board must either make large profits, and in doing so charge more than the actual cost of repairs, or else must run unwarrantable risks, it will be evident that, in either case, eventual justice could not be done to contributors excessively rated, or to the Bounty Board unduly burdened.

For it would be most unsatisfactory that a Repairs Insurance should be based, either on any average of the cost of repairing all livings, as some suggest; or on the principle of a percentage on the value of every living, as others propose; or even on the ingenious proposal of Mr. Armfield (set forth in a letter to the *Guardian*, of November 24th, 1880), on a classification of the amount of cubic space occupied by the buildings of a benefice.

For any one of these methods would be unfair and intolerable for this reason: that it would compel all incumbents who have conscientiously kept up their repairs to contribute more money than necessary for repairing their own buildings, in order to pay for the deficiencies of those who have neglected their duty in this very important respect.

It seems to us therefore that no system of Repairs Insurance would be either just or acceptable, the introduction of which did not provide that a special survey, a special estimate and a special contract, renewable at certain periods, should be made for the buildings of every separate benefice, and that a special debtor and creditor account should be kept with its incumbents.

And were this done, what would be the result? At the end of the proposed period say of twenty-five years, were the Bounty Board to strike a balance, it might appear that an incumbent, dead fifteen years before, had either been required during ten years to pay too much; and how could that surplus be returned to his representatives? or to have paid too little; and how then could the loss be recouped by the Bounty Board?

Eighthly. The proposed Repairs Insurance would really inflict a hardship on all incumbents who have been executing what we may call 'current repairs' out of their own pockets, and keeping up, some of them for many years, an insurance on their lives for the very purpose of meeting dilapidation

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costs on their demise; for it would practically require them to keep up a double insurance, or sacrifice, by taking a surrender value, the prospect of bonus additions to their Life Assurance Fund.

Important as these eight objections are, we should not have formulated them here against a plan which gives some promise of settling this complicated question, did it not appear to us that the Winchester Life Insurance plan would accomplish the object in view as well, and even better, without being open to the same difficulties.

Let us see, then, how this proposal would act. Every incumbent should be required by law, firstly, to have his buildings surveyed, and the cost of full repairs estimated. This would have to be done, of necessity, under any plan adopted. (But such survey should not be required of clergy now enjoying a five years' exemption until that term has elapsed.) We will, for illustration's sake, suppose the estimated cost for a living of 300*l.* a year to be 120*l.* The incumbent, unwilling to pay down and expend that sum, might instead be allowed by law to insure his life, in the joint names of himself and the Bounty Board (as he has now to do for fire insurance) for say 150*l.*, his payment of the annual premium on that insurance being made a first charge on the income of his benefice. The payment of premiums being thus secured, he would be able, if necessary, to borrow on his policy, the advance of course being only made against the surveyor's certificate of the satisfactory execution of repairs, while he would be liable to increase the amount insured if at any time the fund were reduced below what a reasonable official estimate might require to be kept available for securing a successor from liability.

Let us see next how free this system would be from the objections stated against a Repairs Insurance.

1. There would be no weakening of the motive for keeping buildings in good repair on the part either of the incumbent or the contractor for repairs. There would be no contractor, and the incumbent would see his own interest in always applying the 'stitch in time' at small cost, and generally out of his own pocket, rather than at the cost of borrowing on his insurance fund, paying interest for the loan, and rendering himself liable to additional survey and possibly additional insurance, the effecting of which would become more costly with every year he advanced in age.

2. The tendency of the buildings to cheapen and deteriorate in style would not operate, in the case of a compulsory Life

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Insurance, and incumbents would have just as much encouragement to embellish and improve as they have to-day.

3. The continual disputes and dissatisfaction unavoidable under a contract system, from one party having to claim, and the other having to supply, repairs, would not arise at all under the Life Assurance plan. Since so long as a sufficient sum was always insured to secure the right of a successor, the incumbent would be entirely free to decide, whether, when, how, and at what expense, to execute such repairs as he might desire for his own tenancy.

4. Nor would the objection of inconvenience lie; for in all work undertaken he could consult entirely his own convenience and freedom of arrangement, and would have no one else to consider.

5. The provision of a sum fixed by periodical survey to secure his successor's rights would always enable the incumbent to know the highest limit of his own liability, which, as we have seen, would be far less easy and distinct under the contract plan, failing an authoritative definition of dilapidations.

6. The sixth objection to Repairs Insurance was that the repairs would not be so well done as at present. From this objection the Life Insurance plan would be entirely free; since it would be the interest of the incumbent, who himself executed the repairs, to do them at the earliest moment, and in the best way, in order to avoid being called upon to increase his life insurance at a continually rising rate; and also to free as much of his insurance as possible for his children.

7. We saw that the Repairs Insurance contract must necessarily require from every incumbent a contribution considerably larger than will have to be expended; in fact, it would compel the clergy to pay more money than the repairs would cost; and that not a farthing of that money could ever come back to their estates. Under the Life Assurance system, the surveyor would also have to leave some margin of excess, but with this important difference, that every penny of that money, not actually required for repairs on vacancy, would return to the incumbent's estate, so that he would really have no heavier burden to bear than lies upon him in common honesty to-day.

8. Our eighth objection was that, to have to make the Repairs Insurance would be a hardship on those incumbents (and their name is legion) who keep up a life policy (as many have been doing for many years past) to meet their fair liabilities for dilapidations when they die. For these the Life Insurance plan is of the simplest. They will have only

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to transfer from their own sole names, to their own names and that of the Bounty Board jointly, so much of their present Life Insurance premiums as will insure the sum estimated by the surveyor. It will not increase their expense a farthing. And it will, besides, give them a great advantage. They will be able to borrow on the policy, the premiums of which will be thus secured, money which they may not have at hand to execute some important and timely repair, likely eventually to save the fund from larger deductions.

It is not to be expected that a plan free from so many objections as we have shown to lie against the best proposal previously before the public should not be liable to a few objections of its own; but, so far as we have heard them urged, they are not hard to meet.

One of these is drawn from the case of a clergyman accepting another living. What, it will be said, is to become of his policy? He will have to put the buildings of the benefice he vacates into repair; but that he would have to do in any case whatever. He may take the surrender value of his policy towards effecting the repairs, and, undoubtedly, as under such a scheme as this he will enter on any new living with security that *its* repairs shall be complete at his entrance, he will have a very small life assurance indeed to keep up for its repairs. Or, if he choose (and he probably will, going as he presumably does, to a better living), he will put his old one in repair out of his own funds, and, reducing the pledged part of his policy to the smaller limit required for the new living, which he takes over in complete repair, he may keep up his old insurance for his family. This will be much cheaper for him than to surrender the policy and then insure afresh, as he will be an older man than when he first effected the insurance.

And then comes the question of the uninsurable life. How make a man insure whom no office will accept? Now, it will not be asserted that, because a man's life may be uninsurable, he can be warranted in accepting the emoluments of a benefice without accepting its responsibilities. The life insurance plan would be *an option* for all willing and able to undertake its conditions, and would be of vast advantage to most persons; but, as no one will contend that incumbents with uninsurable lives should be exempt from due liability to repair, they ought reasonably to be required always to keep lodged at interest, with the Bounty Board, the estimated sum for repairs which incumbents with sound lives might secure by insurance.

The present incumbent with uninsurable life, then, in

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moving to a new living will be, as he has always been, liable to put the buildings of his old one in repair; and, as he will go to a new one in perfect repair, he may be required to give security, cash or otherwise (if he cannot effect insurance), for the *very small* sum required to keep up the buildings of his new benefice. And the incumbent with uninsurable life at the present moment, if not thinking of moving from his living, may possess a policy, made on his life before it became uninsurable, sufficient of which, to secure the repairs being made, he can transfer to the Bounty Board and himself jointly. Finally, if he have no other way of securing his successor from loss, it is not unreasonable that he should be required to do his duty by executing the repairs.

One more objection lies against the life insurance, namely, that in the case of a black sheep deprived of his living his successor would be defrauded. We do not believe that one actual deprivation occurs among any thousand incumbents; it certainly hardly ever does unless the living have been for a long time under sequestration, in which case necessary repairs would have been officially made; and if, once or twice in a century, a case of real hardship upon a new incumbent arising from this most exceptional cause could be made out, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty might have a discretion to effect the repairs desired.

It may, finally, be objected that this insurance arrangement secures one, but not both the purposes laid down by the Winchester Committee as desirable; it will directly secure that money shall be available on vacancy, but not that the buildings shall be constantly in full repair.

Yet, though not directly, it will effect the latter purpose indirectly, as we have shown. It will plainly be the incumbent's interest to anticipate and prevent both dilapidations and the diminution of his insurance fund, on pain of having to increase its amount at higher premiums than before; and this method, while practically as effectual, will be far less inquisitorial and tyrannical than any other. For the less the law interferes with any man's rights while making him do his duty, the better; and we must remember that an incumbent is, during his incumbency, the owner, the landlord, the freeholder, of his house and buildings. If he choose to live in discomfort, rather than go to expense in repairing his dwelling, that is his own concern. The laws, or the persons desirous of making laws, have no more business to meddle with the incumbent's fancies as to the state of his residence than they have to do with the state of his wardrobe. And the

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outer world has no more right to dictate to a clergyman the condition in which he must keep his house, than they have to dictate to him the furniture he should have in it, or the upholsterer whom he should employ.

To meddle with a clergyman in these matters is an infringement of his liberty which would not be tolerated for a moment if attempted with regard to other freeholders. If a man choose to live in a house with broken windows, draughty doors, smoky chimneys, and leaking roof, why should his preference be interfered with? It is his own affair. The right of every man to do what he will with his own in respect of his vicarage house (so long as that right is prevented from infringing in one tittle on the rights of others) is one that should be very carefully guarded; and the safeguarding of this right is a principle likely to recommend the life insurance solution of the dilapidation question to the preference of the clergy concerned.

We have thought it right to enter at considerable length upon an examination of this very important question. The whole subject deserves far more general attention than it receives. We have endeavoured to put before our readers the various proposals made for the redress of what is widely felt to be a grievance; and shall be glad if we shall be found to have given wider publicity to the outlines of a measure which would do no injustice, would impose no burden, would, to most men now doing their duty as incumbents, simply sanction and secure their present method, would transfer all necessary loans to the incumbent's account instead of to the charge of the living, and would, as it appears to us, secure in the simplest way at once the freedom of every present incumbent, and the rights of every future one.

SHORT NOTICES.

Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas Pauli Commentarii. The Latin Version, with the Greek Fragments, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. SWETE, B.D., Rector of Ashdon, Essex; late Senior Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. In two Volumes. Vol. I. (Introduction, *Galatians—Colossians.*) Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. (Cambridge: University Press, 1880.)

'GERMANY is great, but for precise and delicate criticism Cambridge is greater!' Such was the courteous ejaculation which an Oxford

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theologian, now occupying a teacher's chair at Durham,[1] recently uttered in admiration of the work of a Professor in the sister University. It is a hopeful sign, amid forebodings which arise about the theological learning of the Universities, that we have before us the first instalment of a thoroughly scientific and painstaking work, commenced at Cambridge, and completed at a country rectory, by a divine who, at the time when the volume appeared, stood upon the lower step of the theological faculty.

Mr. Swete, who is already known to us as the writer, *inter alia*, of three treatises relating to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit,[2] has, in this volume of the Latin version of Theodore's commentary on some Pauline Epistles, set an example to the divinity students of Cambridge, his juniors, to continue the works of patient industry, which it must be a special function of their University to perform. We gather that it was about five years before the completion of this first volume when his friend Mr. Bensly (one of the Old Testament Revisors) suggested to Mr. Swete his undertaking the edition which he has so well begun. We hope that he will have strength to bring to a conclusion—in addition to the second volume of Theodore, and any smaller works which may suit his genius,—some continuous treatise which shall perpetuate his name in the roll of those distinguished Doctors of Cambridge who have dedicated to the use of the Church their theological work projected in early youth, and brought to light after the labour of a quarter of a century.

Among theologians Theodore of Antioch, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (A.D. 392–429), was in comparatively recent times known by name as a heretic, but almost unknown as a commentator. We were not much surprised to find on reference that his name does not occur near Theodoret's among the titles of English works catalogued by Watt in 1824; nor yet that Saxius in his *Onomasticon* in 1775 gives only four references under Theodore's name, Cave being the one English authority among them. On the other hand, on account of the question of his orthodoxy, his relationship to Nestorianism and Pelagianism, and the artful device whereby his name was dragged in the dust by his namesake the Origenist, to hide the retreat of his own party at Constantinople, A.D. 553, Theodore has held an important place in Church history. In the apparatus to Labbe's *Concilia* (ed. Paris, 1672) a whole folio column in small print is assigned to him, and a considerable space likewise in the general index to the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima* (Lugd. 1677).

A few years after the last date, the Benedictine editors of the supplement to S. Ambrose (1686–90) drew attention to a MS. at Amiens, formerly at Corbie, containing a Latin commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul. The part relating to the Romans and Corinthians was already known as the work of the Ambrosian Hilary:[3] the re-

[1] W. Sanday, D.D. in *The Expositor* for March 1880. No. lxii. p. 171 *n.*

[2] One of these was noticed in the *Church Quarterly Review* (No. 6) in the article on the *Filioque* controversy.

[3] See Dr. Lightfoot's account of Patristic Commentaries which is

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mainder is what Mr. Swete is now editing. Great parts of it were found in the *Catena* of Rabanus Maurus, though no part of the two former Epistles which this first volume contains, and the connection with Theodore seems not to have been suspected until the second half of this present century.

In 1788 the Greek fragments of Theodore's commentary on S. Luke preserved in the *Catena* were collected and published by Münter, but the first considerable attempt to print his exegetical works seems to have been A. F. Wegnern's first instalment of Theodore's commentary on the Minor Prophets from the Vienna MS. (Berlin 1834).

Cardinal Angelo Mai proposed to collect the fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and he took up the Minor Prophets, &c., in the first and seventh volumes of *Bibl. Patrum SS. Nova* (Rome, 1854).[1] For the New Testament he had, in 1840, got so far as to edit the Fragments on the *Romans* which he had extracted from a Greek MS. *catena* in the Vatican. Soon after this an Oxford man, Dr. J. A. Cramer, Principal of New Inn Hall and Public Orator, brought out[2] (*Oxon. Typis Acad.* 1842) his Greek *Catena* on the smaller Epistles of S. Paul (*Galat.—Thess.*), in which (to judge from the index, which, however, recent investigation slightly modifies) the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia are put under contribution more often than Origen's, and only less frequently than his own friend S. Chrysostom's.

Dr. O. T. Fritzsche (who had manifested his interest in Theodore by a monograph as early as 1836) brought out at Zürich in 1847 so much of Theodore's Greek Commentary on the New Testament as he could recover in fragments. Fritzsche's work has been perpetuated in the Abbé Migne's *Patrologia Græca.*

Thus about thirty years ago the remains of Theodore on S. Paul became pretty well known in England and Germany; so that after Dom (now Cardinal) J. B. Pitra[3] had brought out the Latin Commentary to which we have referred already, in 1852, and contended in a learned and brilliant essay that it was the work of S. Hilary of Poictiers, a German, Dr J. L. Jacobi, and a Cambridge man, Mr. (now Prof.) Hort, were able, independently of each other, to identify passage by passage as a translation of that Greek original Commentary of Theodore of which fragments only are known. Mr. Swete is of opinion that the Latin version was made between the edict of Justinian and his death (544–565), and that the work was smuggled

prefixed to his 'Dissertations' on the *Galatians.* The Bishop of Durham gives a history of Theodore's Commentary also.

[1] Dr. Lightfoot points out that the extracts ascribed to Theodore by Mai in vol. vii. are not his, but Theodoret's.

[2] From a Paris MS. *Cod. Coislin.* 204, olim 143.

[3] In the *Spicilegium Solesmense* 1. Dom Pitra's was in part an edition, in part a collation of Rabanus. Thus the Philippians and Colossians, in Mr. Swete's first volume, and all but Philemon in his second, will be substantially a fresh production, apart from his critical labours on the whole work.

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under an orthodox name. The Benedictines first pointed out its existence in a tenth-century MS.; a Roman theologian partially edited it, but believed it to be S. Hilary's. Germany and Cambridge arrived independently at the conclusion that Theodore of Mopsuestia was the author; and now the Cambridge University Press is bringing it out. Mr. Swete's work has been to exhibit the sixth-century Latin version of Theodore's commentary in a text derived from a comparison of this Corbie MS. with the less careful, but independent, and somewhat earlier, Harleian MS. 3063, and the full extracts collected by Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century. He shows by distinction and arrangement of type how much is S. Paul's text, and how much is Theodore's argument to each Epistle, and his commentary on each passage, marking with a dagger and star the beginning and end of each Latin passage, which is so fortunate as to have its Greek original preserved. And the Greek fragments themselves (forming perhaps but one-ninth of what the original must have been) have been disintegrated from the *catena* and verified, and so are printed below the Latin page. Then follows a line or two of collation of the Latin text with MSS. *C.* and *H.* (the Corbie or Amiens or Ambrosian and the Harley), and occasionally the result of a fresh comparison of Cramer's Greek MS. authority, with his or Fritzsche's printed edition. And beneath the rest, Mr. Swete's own notes in English make up the page.

Soon after the publication of Cramer's *catena* several English commentators must have chosen what use, if any, they should make of the then known fragments of Theodore in their elucidations of Holy Scripture. Dean Alford naturally admitted Theodore of Mopsuestia into the textual concrete which occupies the centre of his pages. Bishop (then Mr.) Ellicott, who had set before himself the ideal of a grammatical and literalist commentary, awarding the palm to Chrysostom and Theodoret among ancient commentators, quoted from Theodore, the friend of the one, and the master of the other, his interpretation of ἀλληγορούμενα in *Gal.* iv. 24 (cf Swete, pp. 74, 79). Dr. Wordsworth, on the other hand, with no less consistency, looking to the Catholic Church as the interpreter of Scripture, while occasionally quoting Theodore in his commentary on the Greek Testament,[1] seems never to have cited his Old Testament commentaries without a warning against those errors of his which the Church had condemned (*e.g.* his opinion that *Amos* ix. 14, 15 would have no further fulfilment, condemned at Constantinople II.). In his introduction to the Song of Songs, the Bishop of Lincoln shows that Theodore stood alone in insisting on a solely literal interpretation of that book. He cites Theodoret, Diodore of Tarsus, and S. Chrysostom, as well

[1] *e.g.* in the *Introduction to the Four Gospels*, as an authority on a matter of historical tradition. Also on 1 *Cor.* vi. 14, 15, 18, and *Gal.* iv. 25. On this last-mentioned passage Dr. Wordsworth, in addition to his citation from Theodore in the *catena*, referred to Cardinal Pitra's then very recent publication (as he does also under *Gal.* ii. 11), but without pronouncing any opinion on the authorship or origin of the Latin commentary.

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as the school which finds its foremost champion in Origen, in favour of the spiritual interpretation. In another place Dr. Wordsworth remarks: 'We must indeed hold fast the *literal* sense; but *if* we *limit* ourselves to it, and forego the *spiritual*, we may be in danger of falling into the error of some in ancient times, as *Theodore of Mopsuestia* . . . who recklessly reject this portion of the Book of Job' (on *Job* xl. 15).

It is right to explain that, among the seventy-one passages cited at Constantinople from the writings of Theodore and condemned after his death, not one appears to have come from the commentaries on the Epistles in this volume (the original of which he is supposed to have written late in life, and presumably after the one or more occasions on which he retracted his errors). However, in the heretical creed (which he put forth under *anathema*), and which was read as the culminating specimen of his heterodoxy, he refers to S. Paul in the Galatians and Ephesians, as supporting his exegesis.

The reading of the works of heretics is attended with some peril; for it requires a strong head and a pure heart to shun the evil at its beginning. The true theological instinct is as great a jewel as the true woman's tact and modesty, and the Catholic divine is as distinct from the omnivorous reader and from the bigot, as purity itself is from effrontery and from prudery. For the degenerate student and for the novice we cannot but be somewhat anxious when we hear of the edition of some extreme writer of more than suspected orthodoxy, such as Origen or Theodore, especially when we see that it may not improbably be a book marked for academical study. However, as the work before us formerly passed muster [1] as S. Ambrose's, and as Cardinal Pitra believed (if he does not still believe) it to be S. Hilary's, it would seem rather absurd in us to complain of its unorthodoxy. Still we do not rank as the least interesting, or least valuable, pages of Mr. Swete's work, those (viz. pp. lxxxvi., lxxxvii.) on which he supplements his elaborate analysis of Theodore's doctrinal system by pointing out the source of his errors, and his apparently unconscious (though not on that account the less seductive) departure from the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

After what has been written in the opening number of the *Church Quarterly* five years ago, by an Oxford scholar, who has been called early to an important administration in the Church, it would be impertinent to dwell upon the great *interest* which *Theodore of Mopsuestia* brings to the divinity student in relation to *Modern Thought*. It would also be superfluous to dwell on his originality as a commentator, after Dr. Lightfoot has drawn attention to it. We must defer what we have to say on the importance of Theodore's testimony on the Church Doctrine of the Sacraments, &c. until we have vol. ii. of the Commentary before us.

Having begun this notice with a somewhat left-handed com-

[1] Before the middle of the ninth century in Germany, and, not improbably, at the beginning of the eighth in Spain.

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pliment to Germany, we should like (but space does not allow) to show the truer flattery by imitating her critics in one point at least in which they are great; namely, by giving a more thorough and systematic description of the contents of our author's introduction. We observe that in a recent number (23 Oct.) of the fortnightly *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, which appears to be conducted on the same lines as our *Academy*, only it is engaged in the department of Divinity alone, Mr. Swete's work has been so noticed in an appreciative manner; his *Theodore*, and Dr. Guillemard's *Hebraisms* (the only foreign books reviewed in that number) having been honoured by the pen of the learned editor, Dr. E. Schürer of Giessen.

De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo. Ein Polemischer Tractat Johann Wiclif's, aus den Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, und der Universitätsbibliothek zu Prag zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Dr. RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG, Dresden. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1880.)

WANDERING scholars, so Mr. Green tells us, in his *History of the English People*, took copies of Wiclif's polemical tracts as far as Prague. One of these tracts, *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, has just been published, for the first time, by Dr. Buddensieg, of Dresden, from two MSS., one in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and the other in the University Library at Prague.

Any one in the least acquainted with Wiclif's historical and theological position would be able to make a tolerably correct guess at the Person whom Wiclif considered to be the Antichrist. It was none other than his great adversary the Pope.

The tract starts with the subject of the unity of the Church. The Church, according to Catholic theology, is '*predestinatorum universitas*,' and consists of the three divisions of the Church Triumphant in heaven, quiescent in purgatory, and militant on earth. The Church Militant further consists of three portions, *ecclesia clericorum, militum, et wulgarium;* but it is not to be supposed that these subdivisions are opposed to unity: rather, like the Persons of the Divine Trinity, they are in unity.

Through the malice of the Evil One, sects and divisions of another kind have been introduced into the Church, and the Church is now, says Wiclif, torn asunder by four sects, the sects being (1) *clerus Cæsareus, i.e.* the wealthy clergy, who united temporal with spiritual authority; (2) *monachi, i.e.* the Benedictines; (3) *canonici, i.e.* the Augustinians; (4) *fratres*, the mendicant friars. These, he contends, are sects and divisions in the Church, and are a real bar to the progress and growth of the Church. If the Church is a body, and every body is '*unum continuum*,' that is, a whole consisting of connected units, then these independent bodies of secular and regular clerics, being so many *imperia in imperio*, must be subversive of Church unity.

Nor, he continues, can it be said that the visible Head of the Church, by governing and controlling these independent orders, preserves the unity of the Church. For, in the first place, they exist '*sine*

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auctoritate Christi vel ejus licencia,' and, in the second place, there is no visible Head of the Church, but only an invisible one, Christ.

The rest of the tractate is devoted to proving the 'successor of S. Peter to be the Antichrist.'

The very names of the Apostle disprove the notion of his being head of the Church. *Petrus* means '*agnoscens sive discalcians*,' the ignorant one, taking off his shoes; *Simon*, the obedient one; *Cephas*, firmness or power; and none of these names are at all consonant with the idea of headship. And yet S. Peter is Prince of the Apostles inasmuch as he received a prerogative of humility, poverty, and voluntary service. He was distinguished among his colleagues by being *humilior, pauperior, et servitivior*, but not by being made *caput ecclesiæ*. And in a sense, too, Wiclif allows the Pope to be the Vicar of Christ upon earth; for to S. Peter was intrusted the power of binding and loosing, and upon the rock signified by his name Christ promised to build His Church. But S. Peter was no more the Vicar of Christ than were the other Apostles; for to all of them was committed the same power of binding and loosing, and in their several provinces we find that the Apostles were perfectly independent of S. Peter's authority. Indeed, we have S. Paul's testimony that the Apostles residing in Jerusalem at the time of his visit (and Cephas was among the number) 'added nothing to him.' Hence, if all the Apostles equally with S. Peter were Vicars of Christ, it would follow that every Bishop has as good a title to that designation as the Bishop of Rome.

The Papal supremacy, continues Wiclif, dates from the time of the *dotatio ecclesiæ* by Constantine, and was consequently *a potestate Cæsarea derivata*. If Constantine, in his ignorant zeal, wished to confer such dubious benefits on the See of Rome, Pope Silvester ought to have known better than to have accepted a gift so contrary to the spirit of his Master. It is clear, therefore, that the Pope must have been influenced by the devil in his choice; and to support this view he mentions the popular opinion, that none but the devil would have fixed upon Rome (*locus prophanissimus in quo effusus fuit sanguis multorum martirum*) as the capital of the Christian community.

To this unfaithfulness is due the divided state of the Church. The shepherds have been turned into robbers, and have torn and harassed the flock; and the consequence has been that the Church has been diminished by the Saracenic apostasy and lacerated by the Greek schism.

Wiclif now turns to the abuses of the Papacy. The Papal elections are all wrong. Christ chose His Apostles, but they did not choose Him. But the Pope chooses the Cardinals, and the Cardinals in their turn choose the Pope. If the Pope stands in the place of Christ, and the Cardinals of the Apostles, the Pope should be appointed by Divine interposition, and not by a human College.

If the Pope is to be considered the Head of the Church, he must of necessity be treated as infallible. Papal infallibility is a doctrine which can only become possible when faith is dormant (*ubi fides Catholica est sopita et fides dyabolica introducta*). If the nominee

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of the Cardinals is of necessity accepted by God as the Head of the Church and endowed with infallibility, then God is an 'accepter of person' of necessity and not of choice, and this is contrary to Scripture. Far from being infallible, the evil lives, presumptuous doctrines, and persecuting spirit of the representatives of the Papacy lead one to suppose that the Pope (*qua* Pope) is no more certain of his salvation than was S. Peter himself when Christ said to him, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'

Christ's poverty is then contrasted with Papal wealth, Christ's mildness with Papal severity. Christ laid down His life for His sheep: the Christian world had just been edified by the spectacle of a crusade of Pope against Antipope, in which many of the sheep laid down their life for the Shepherd. Christ told His followers to go into all the world and make disciples; the Pope never or rarely preaches, and lives in splendid palaces built by robbery from the poor, or wanders about from castle to castle like a robber, and shuts up his adherents in cloisters, so as to prevent them from preaching. Christ refused to meddle with secular affairs, and always gave His support to the established government. The Pope has already taken away half of the Roman Empire (*medietatem Romani imperii abstulit*), and would fain reduce the King of England to the condition of a vassal-king (*subregulus*). Christ limited His jurisdiction to the Holy Land. The Pope would set up a claim to jurisdiction over infinite space if he thought he could make money out of it.

The tract concludes with a wish that the Pope could get rid of his *pseudo-clerici* and *pseudo-discipuli*. Till then he cannot be followed by the faithful; for they cannot follow any Christian except in so far as he is a follower of Christ.

The date of the tract, of which we have given a full analysis, rests upon the following considerations. Wiclif at first had given his adhesion to Pope Urban; but when that Pope, in November 1378, declared war against his rival, Clement VII., he wavered in his allegiance, and declared himself entirely against the Papacy as an institution. In this tract we find the opinion expressed that both elections were invalid (*et idem patet . . . de electione erronea istorum paparum*); the flight of Clement from Rome, which took place at Easter 1379, is mentioned, as is also his residence at Avignon (*Papa fugit latenter ut latro. Quidam Papa residet tamquam alter Cozdre in castro Avinonie et quidam in castro Rome vel alibi*); and, lastly, the crusade of Urban against Clement is spoken of as an accomplished fact, which entailed much loss of life. This brings the date of *De Christo et Antichristo* to after May 1383, when Bishop Spenser of Norwich sailed for Flanders to join the Crusade.

It was, therefore, quite at the end of Wiclif's life that the tract was written. It is important, thinks Dr. Buddensieg, in showing us that even in his old age Wiclif was not the violent and unscrupulous opponent of the Papacy that his enemies make him out to have been. This, indeed, is one of the good results that may be expected to flow from the publication of Wiclif's Latin works, namely, that we shall be able the better to estimate Wiclif's position, both as a theo-

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logian and as an antipapal controversialist. In the Latin works, when writing for the world of letters, Wiclif was far more cautious and guarded in his expressions than he was when writing in English on questions of the day, and for the purpose of rousing popular opinion in England. It is, therefore, to the Latin works rather than to the English that we shall have recourse in forming our estimate of Wiclif as a theologian and as a practical reformer. We are far from agreeing with Wiclif in a great many of his propositions; we are not sure that the multiform subdivisions of Protestant sects which, in a sense, claim to be his descendants are not infinitely worse than the *quatuor secte noviter introducte* of which he complains; we cannot see that the religious orders were necessarily divisions in the Body of Christ, nor yet that the Papal supremacy was of necessity baneful to the Church: still, we can make allowance for Wiclif's indignation at the abuses which caused the Papacy to be identified with Antichrist in the minds of the vulgar.

Of Dr. Buddensieg's work we cannot speak too highly. The Introduction is clear and to the point, the tract is carefully edited, and the book is well printed. We trust that he will continue to employ his leisure time with such good occupations, and that we may soon have to thank him for another of Wiclif's Latin Polemical works.

We have noticed one little point which Dr. Buddensieg has omitted; Wiclif's allusions to himself. As a rule, throughout the tract he speaks in the third person. The tract has been written by 'Quidam fidelis,' who is anxious to clear his conscience. But once his feelings make him forget himself, and he speaks in the first person. He is referring to the penalties which attach to the denial of the Papal supremacy—'I learned by experience that one who denies this will be persecuted as a heretic' (*experimento didici negans istam sentenciam erit tamquam hereticus persecutus*). And once he seems to refer to his friends and allies in England (perhaps the reference is to the labours of his 'poor preachers'): 'Hence some faithful persons declare in the vulgar tongue that, as it would be a good thing to have a Pope who followed Christ and Peter in life and doctrine, so it would be a bad thing to have one who in these two points was opposed to those Pastors.'

The Fathers for English Readers: Leo the Great. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. (London: S.P.C.K., 1880.)

THERE are two chief ways in which help and guidance may be gained from the study of a life such as was S. Leo's; two aspects of his heroic form which may uplift and strengthen lesser men. We may look towards the *Saint*, and mark the severe and noble lines of that steadfast character, watching the forces which assail and those which issue from it, till we own him great for his 'maintenance of universal interests with consistency and power;' or we may turn to the *Doctor*, and receive from him the Faith committed to his stewardship, clear and true in outline as an antique statue, fashioned and finished

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by a hand which could work only at the bidding of a pure heart and by the light of a single eye. Both these aspects are drawn with loyalty and skill in the book which is the subject of this review. To the study of the Saint Mr. Gore has brought an insight into character which is at once discerning, scrupulous, and reverent: the work of the Doctor is sketched with that power which, in its unfaltering yet unconstrained correctness, betrays the rare gift of the theological instinct. Few men can move without stiffness and without disaster among the crowded heresies which beset the Early Church. Many may be able by slow and anxious circumspection to steer their way through those manifold and minute possibilities of error, and to escape at last without harm or blunder, somewhat as a nervous but careful visitor achieves his exit from an over-furnished room: but other gifts than care and deliberation are needed to give life and reality to the representation of those stormy perils through which the divinely-guided wisdom of the saints cherished and defined the faith of Christendom. Of these gifts Mr. Gore seems to show more than the promise: and Churchmen may be glad that the Bishop of Oxford has brought to Cuddesdon one who, as he writes the life of a great teacher, shows himself not unapt to teach.

And both as Doctor and as Saint does Leo the Great alike demand and repay the careful thought of all who are sensitive to the dignity of truth and holiness. The needs, the dangers, the temptation of his age make it impossible to write his life without constant and deep entrance into the greatest questions of theology; and anyone who will read and think over the passages in which Mr. Gore, after a general and vigorous vindication of the duty of doctrinal accuracy (pp. 36–38), describes the bearing of S. Leo towards the Manichæans, and towards Eutyches, may find that he has received no little help in the limitless study of the truth of the Incarnation. Nor is Mr. Gore's book less valuable in its bearing on the Papal Claims: and it would be hard to show more clearly or decisively than he has shown the inherent faults of growth and maintenance, of moral temper and intellectual argument, by which the supremacy of Rome was vitiated from the first and doomed to suffer at last the nemesis of disproportion. Especially helpful and suggestive is the strong distinction drawn between that claim to œcumenical jurisdiction which may trace its origin to the high ambition of S. Leo and the clamorous necessities of his day, and that later arrogation of infallibility, of which 'we shall find nothing in him, however vast his aspiration for the aggrandizement of his see.'

But there is in the life and teaching of S. Leo a special interest which Churchmen of the present day can ill afford to miss. For he is the Saint and Doctor of an age of change; in him we see, writ large, the mental and moral character which can command the reverence of a generation lately freed from long traditions of restraint and order, and exulting, if not boisterous, in the sense that it has broken with the past. The meeting of Leo and Attila is, says Mr. Gore, 'a symbol no less than a fact.' And it is a symbol which subsequent history has more than once renewed and emphasized. Doubtless

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there are wide differences between the perils through which S. Leo by God's grace preserved the heritage and faith of His Church, and those which His servants may in this day be called to meet: it may, in the complexity of modern life, never again be possible for any man to stand out with any adequacy or distinctness as the representative of his age or to impress into the service of Christ all the greatness of a generation; but, without looking far into the future, we may be wise to long that there may be granted to some among us at least a faint reflexion of that clear decision which stood in effective and victorious contrast with the confusion and uncertainty of Eutyches, and which still lives in the pure strength of our Collects: some revival of the courage which feared neither Hun nor heretic, and in the assurance of faith was already more than conqueror; some copy of that single-hearted devotion which dared lay claim to the loyalty of other men because its first and most unsparing claim was ever upon self: some such grasp upon the practical power of Christianity as S. Leo gained by holding fast to the dignity of that material world which through the humanity of Christ is linked with His Eternal Godhead.

Introduction to the Science of Language. By A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. In two volumes. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.)

It was inevitable that the interest in the Science of Language awakened in England by Professor Max Müller's brilliant Lectures should lead in the lapse of time to a demand for a more detailed treatment of the subject, which should not only fill up the outline sketched by him, but should incorporate the latest general results which have been arrived at in an interval of incessant and wide-spread investigation. This demand Professor Sayce has come forward to supply, bringing to his task the qualifications both of the specialist and of the comparative philologist. In the former capacity he is known as a worthy pioneer in ancient Babylonian literature; in regard to the latter, it is no mean recommendation that he is the coadjutor of Professor Max Müller at Oxford. Though there are points on which we cannot follow him, they do not in our judgment rob him of the credit of having ably performed the task. The work named above will be very valuable to the student. It lays down many sound principles, while the refutations it contains of erroneous notions are as effective as they are needed.

The Science of Language is among the latest creations of the human mind: but it has already attained an assured, a definite, and an important rank. It has completely subjugated some portions of its province; it has, that is to say, formulated the relations between some portions of its subject matter. Like some older sciences, it has its border land of territory only half-subdued and even only partially explored; and, like them too, it has its difficult, perhaps insoluble, problems with regard to regions yet more inaccessible. Phonology, that part of the science which ascertains the nature and regular variations of articulate sounds, and which forms the solid foundation

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of modern comparative philology, is already in an advanced state. 'The phonological laws of the Aryan family, for instance,' as Professor Sayce reports, 'are pretty well ascertained; we know what sounds in one member of the family answer to other sounds in another member, and what particular changes of sound are permissible within each of the several members themselves.'[1] We may refer here to an easily accessible and very complete example of the success with which this branch of the study has been prosecuted in regard to what may be called a secondary formation, the French language. Here the laws which are affirmed to have regulated the passing of Latin sounds into French can be and are verified by examples of words in various stages of transition. In many cases, too, the verification is twofold, resting not only upon changes which can be traced through a series of documents in Latin, Merovingian and later Latin, and Old French, but also upon the different forms assumed by the same Latin words in other Romance languages. Thus the derivation of *même*, 'same,' from *ipse* is doubly verified: *metipsissimus* (for *ipsissimusmet*) was contracted to *metipsimus*, and again, by loss, according to rule, of the unaccented vowel, to *metips'mus*, which becomes in Old French *medisme*, a form actually found in a document of the 11th century. *Medisme* regularly passes through the forms *meïsme*, *meesme*, and *mesme* to *même*. This derivation is confirmed by Provençal *metessme* and Italian *medesimo*. There are, however, even in French some irreducible elements. For example, no explanation can be given of the initial *t* in *tante*, which the Old French *ante* (from Latin *amita*) acquired after it had given us *aunt*.

Great progress has been made, too, outside the Aryan family. The Ural-Altaic or Turanian group is the object of particular attention, and Professor Sayce tells us that 'so far as the Finnic group is concerned, Turanian philology is almost as far advanced as Aryan philology itself.'[2] Besides the Semitic, other groups have been examined, the most important being the Malay-Polynesian, the Bâ-ntu of Southern Africa, and the Athapaskan of North America (p. 56). The principle by which languages are primarily classified is, however, not phonological, but grammatical resemblance: identity, *mutatis mutandis*, of roots being indeed *a* test of kinship, though a secondary one; and it is now seen that the Aryan is a highly exceptional group of languages, and that the number of groups or

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 145. The importance of instruments for obtaining accurate knowledge of physical facts is a trite subject. It receives, however, a novel and striking illustration in the analysis of vocal sounds by means of the phonograph (Edison's). This recent invention will, with some exceptions, reproduce spoken words, and sometimes in such a way as to resolve a supposed single sound into separate elements. Thus *bite* is pronounced by the phonograph *bâ-eet*, and, if the instrument be caused to work backwards, *tee-âb*. 'In this way we have learnt that the *ch* of *cheque* is really a double letter, the reversed pronunciation of the word being *kesht*.'—*Ibid.* p. 335.

[2] Vol. i. p. 57.

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families of speech is much larger than was supposed. On the latter point the Professor's own words may be acceptable. 'The test of linguistic kinship is agreement in structure, grammar, and roots. Judged by this test, the languages at present spoken in the world probably fall . . . into about 100 different families, between which science can discover no connection or relationship.'[1]

Yet though grammatical peculiarities are so important for classification, morphology, that part of the Science of Language which examines them is not in so advanced a state as phonology. In the investigation of roots, too, much remains to be done, while 'sematology, or the science of meanings, has hardly been touched.'[2]

On the whole, however, the Science of Language has made good its position by the side of its elder sisters; and, though the idea is not quite new, we gladly repeat, in the interest of classical study, Professor Sayce's remark that 'comparative philology has made it possible for the scientific method to be learnt as well from the study of the classical tongues as from the study of chemistry or geology.'[3]

Our author's historical sketch of Theories of Language leaves little to be desired, and we fully agree with him when, in his admirable chapter on the Nature and Science of Language, he vindicates for his subject the rank of an historical science, though admitting that it has a physical side. His exposition of the three causes of change in language, viz. Imitation, Emphasis, and Laziness, is luminous and interesting. Under the head of Imitation he introduces 'analogy,' which will be sufficiently explained by the following example of it. 'The Latin *amamini* is the plural masculine of the old middle participle, which we find in Sansk. *bharamânas*, the Gk. τυπτόμενοι, and the Lat. *alumnus* (*alomenus* from *alo*), or *Vertumnus*, the 'changing' year. But when it had firmly established itself as a substitute for the second person plural of the present of the middle-passive voice with *estis* understood, its true origin and meaning came to be forgotten, and as *amamini* was conjugated with *amamur* and *amantur*, so the anomalous *amemini* was conjugated with *amemur* and *amentur*, and *amabamini* with *amabamur* and *amabantur*.'[4]

If many of the details of phonology are not so interesting, this is perhaps the fault of the subject. Sematology, which seeks to formulate laws for the changes in meaning that words undergo, is interesting, and might, we think, in spite of its comparatively backward condition, have had a separate chapter with more ample illustration, instead of being tacked on at the end of that on phonology. As our space is limited, we must say summarily that the second volume has a chapter on roots, including a classified list of languages with useful references to the authorities on each subject, chapters on the various kinds of languages, inflectional, agglutinative and others, a chapter on Comparative Mythology, and, finally, one in which 'The Origin

[1] Vol. ii. p. 32. [2] Vol. i. pp. 87, 88. [3] Vol. i. p. 55.
[4] Vol. i. pp. 178, 179. The explanation of *amamini*, &c. has long been known; but it furnishes a good example of analogy.

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of Language' is rather oddly lumped with the Relation of the Science of Language to Ethnology, Logic, and Education.

In an introduction to a Science which like that of Language raises many unsolved questions, it is not surprising to meet with views that are not likely to command at once, if they ever do, a general assent. We must confess that we find it difficult to receive the Professor's doctrine, in which he follows Waitz, with regard to the earliest conditions in which words existed. He regards them as having had no existence apart from sentences. 'They have grown out of sentences,' he says, 'by a process of comparison and determination. Two or more sentence-words' (by which he means sentences, only that the component parts are, so to say, run into one another), 'referring to the same object or idea viewed under different relations to the speaker, might be set over against one another, and the phonetic part in which they agreed taken to denote the object or idea considered by itself.' Examples which he adduces in support of this view appear to us to have the contrary effect. 'In Taic or Siamese *kin* is to "eat," but when *nam*, "water," is added, *kin-nam* means "to drink;" *mi* is "rich," *mi din*, *mi nám* "earthy," and "watery," that is to say, "rich (in) earth" and "water."'[1] Surely, to confine our attention to *nam*, this has already been 'taken to denote the object (water) considered by itself,' before it could be shifted about in the manner described.

There are many other points on which, did space permit, we would gladly dwell, such as the reform of Latin and Greek pronunciation, as to which we agree with the author in regard at least to the former, and spelling reform, in regard to which we shall be better able to judge when the advocates of change are agreed in their recommendations, and practise them more widely than they do at present in their own publications.[2] But we conclude with the remark that while Professor Sayce's name is a guarantee for the general correctness of the philological details[3] of his work, the evidence of careful revision is shown in its unusual freedom from typographical errors.[4]

[1] Vol. i. p. 116.

[2] Since these words were written, the Philological Society has determined to recommend certain changes in spelling, which, however, we cannot now discuss.

[3] Yet we should like to know whether our author's derivation of the French *feu*, late, from the Low Latin *fuitus* (from *fui*) (vol. i. p. 348) is to be preferred to that maintained by Littré and Brachet. The latter gives 'FEU, adj. late, lately dead; formerly *feü* (in fem. *feüde*, in St. Alexis,' 11th century), 'from L. fatutus,* deriv. of fatum. *Feu* means properly one who has fulfilled his fate.'

[4] We call attention, however, to one (vol. i. p. 146). Remembering that the Chinese are said to pronounce *France*, *fulantsus*, we were surprised to read that 'the Chinese change every *l* into *r*,' until the author's illustration, *Ki-li-sse-t(ŭ)*, the Chinese pronunciation of *Christ*, showed that transposition had taken place.

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English Plant Names from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century. By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Rector of Swanswick, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880.)

IN this scholarly little book, which deserves a warm welcome from all who are at once students of language and lovers of plants, the well-known Professor of Anglo-Saxon has given some lists, ten in all, culled from writings of the latter half of the middle ages, of Anglo-Saxon and later English plant-names placed by their compilers alongside the Latin names which these writers, sometimes agreeing with, and sometimes differing from one another, believed to denote the same plants. The introduction contains a summary of the Grammatical Elements of English plant-names, and interesting remarks on various points, such for instance as the neglect and consequent obsolescence (if we may use the word) of good old native names; and the author has also traced in a masterly manner an outline of the development of Botany, of the creation of Method, with the modern precision of description by means of which plants can now be identified, and with its perfected nomenclature, and of the crowning triumph of Natural Classification. We are glad to see due honour paid to Linnæus, whose classification, artificial yet wonderfully corresponding with the natural, will ever be a most useful stepping-stone to the practical knowledge of plants.

We turn now to the Name-lists. The oldest (the only one on which we shall have space to remark) is derived from the Table of Chapters of an Anglo-Saxon version of the *Herbarium* of Apuleius,[1] whose work is founded upon Dioscorides, the father of the science of Botany, and Pliny, and who is thought to have lived in the fourth century. This list then connects our modern Botany with that of the Roman Empire, Dioscorides having flourished in Nero's reign. It is curious, and at the same time shows how highly the list was appreciated as late as the sixteenth century, that, while for some Latin names the Anglo-Saxon glosses are wanting, a fact that well accords with its antiquity, in the margin we have traces of a much later hand in the shape of some Greek names of 'Junius's annotation.' This Junius was, we presume, the famous Dutch scholar who resided some time in England, and whose *Nomenclator* was probably known to and used by Shakspeare. Junius's Greek names are mostly identical, *niutatis mutandis*, with the Latin, *e.g.* δίκταμνος, *Dictamnus*;[2] βούγλωσσον, *Buglossa*; χαμαίμελον, *Camemeleon*. (This

[1] The Professor warns us in his introduction that 'Apuleius, the author of *Herbarium seu de Medicaminibus Herbarum*, is not the same as the rhetorician of Madaura, the author of the *Golden Ass*' (p. xiv). We may add that the latter belongs to the second century. In spite of this caution, our author, speaking apparently *in propriâ personâ*, introduces his first list as 'A Translation of Apuleius Medaurensis De Virtutibus Herbarum,' p. 1. It would have been well to indicate that he is only giving the title as he finds it.

[2] The name is derived from Mount Dicté, on which the plant designated by the Greek name grew abundantly. (Lid. & Scott's *Lexicon.*) Dictamnus is not identical, at any rate *specifically*, with the Dittany or

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last, by the way, ought to be χαμαίμηλον, *i.e.*, 'ground-apple,' the smell of Camomile flowers being supposed to resemble that of an apple.) The Anglo-Saxon writer gives no native equivalent for Dictamnus: for *Buglossa* he gives Hundes tunge, which in its modern form, Hound's tongue, is the vernacular of another plant also in the Borage tribe, viz. Cyno-glossum; and for *Camemeleon* he gives Magethe, which, according to Bosworth, means May-weed.

The correspondence of Magethe with the Old German *Meghede* is pointed to in the introduction as bearing on the question whether our Teutonic kindred over the sea are not indebted to us for their herb-lore as well as their Christianity. That we got it from the Romans seems beyond a doubt. The Professor enumerates many Saxon names, which are, he says, 'nothing but Latin disguised by long familiarity and attrition.' Amongst them he cites the following: Cannabis, Saxon hænep, English hemp;[1] Persica, S. persoc treow (tree), peach;[2] Petroselinum,[3] petersilie, parsley; Prunus, plum treow, plum; Lactuca, lactuce, lettuce.[4]

But we must put restraint upon our pen, and will conclude with the remark, that though *English Plant Names* is not intended for popular use, yet a wider appreciation of it, and a larger demand might have been looked for than, to judge by its price, appears to have been expected.

Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen-âge. Par Ulysse Chevalier. Bio-Bibliographie, 3rd fascicule, I–O. 8vo. (Paris: Librairie de la Société Bibliographique.)

M. l'Abbé Chevalier has just issued the third *livraison* of a work which, when finished, will prove of the greatest possible service to all students whose field of labour is the mediæval epoch. The *Répertoire des Sources historiques* addresses itself alike to laymen and to clergymen; it embraces secular as well as ecclesiastical history, and it is

Fraxinella which, though only introduced in 1596, is, we are told, 'one of the oldest and best border-plants of our cottage-garden.'—*Cottage Gardener's Dictionary.* (Johnson: London, 1857.) For ancient notions of the marvellous power of Dictamnus in expelling the barb of an arrow from the wound, see Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. § 50, and Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 411–424.

[1] In deriving 'hemp' from Cannabis (κάνναβις. Herodotus), Professor Earle is at variance with the philologists who see in it a twofold example of Grimm's law of the permutation of sounds in words which have come down independently from the common Aryan stock.

[2] With diffidence we suggest the question whether 'peach' is not French pêche (or, pesche) anglicized.

[3] The latter half of this compound carries us back to Homer: ἵπποι . . . λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἑλεόβρεπτόν τε σέλινον,' *Il.* ii. 776.

[4] It is worth while noticing the French independence of us as illustrated in the equivalents for all these words, which were, however, selected without reference to any such intention. *Chanvre*, except for the intercalated *r*, of which this is by no means a solitary instance, *pêche*, *persil*, *prune* and *laitue* are all formed *regularly*, that is to say, according to well-known laws, from the Latin words. See under the several words in Brachet's excellent *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language.*

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not too much to say that no compilation of similar merit has ever yet been given to the world. The plan adopted by M. Chevalier is perhaps open to objections; he purposes making of his lexicon three distinct volumes, treating respectively, first of persons, secondly of localities and facts, thirdly of literary productions. This scheme must necessarily, we think, lead to repetitions, and we cannot but believe that much time and labour would have been saved if for each personage introduced all the details had been given at once, the threefold classification alluded to above being, however, still retained. In the second place, the general title which the author has adopted would be somewhat misleading, if we did not find in the prospectus that the two extreme limits contemplated are the origin of the Church and the year 1500. This circumstance accounts for the insertion of a long and, we must add, exhaustive article on our Lord Jesus Christ, where what is called the *literature* of the subject is treated with wonderful accuracy. In a compilation of this nature every line must be turned to account, and therefore the biographical summary given is limited to a few dates; but, on the other hand, all the available sources of information are enumerated, and even the obscurest scholar, theologian, poet, burgomaster, or scribe, has his due mention with the indication of the book, magazine-article, dissertation, where his merits or demerits are to be found. The *livraison* now before us takes the reader as far as the letter *O*, and one more instalment will complete the *Bio-bibliographical* part of M. l'Abbé Chevalier's work. The volume is beautifully printed in two columns, and, thanks to the typographical skill displayed, our author has been able to give in the space of 285 pages, or 570 columns, notices of upwards of 8,550 individuals. The article on our Lord occupies twenty-seven columns of very small print, and contains references to about 2,000 works in all languages. Even newspaper articles and criticisms of biographical productions are given; for instance, Dr. Farrar's *Life of Christ* is duly mentioned, of course, but we have also the indication of two reviews to which it gave rise, one in the *Quarterly*, and another in the *Revue des Questions historiques*.

Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les Traditions des Peuples Orientaux. Par FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, Professeur d'Archéologie près la Bibliothèque nationale. 1. De la Création de l'Homme au Déluge. 8vo. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880.)

M. FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, *patris docti filius doctior*, is certainly one of the most indefatigable of *savants*, and one of those whose grasp of knowledge is most wonderful. His researches on the propagation of the Phœnician alphabet, and on the primitive language of the Chaldæans, had already stamped him as a distinguished philologist, whilst his commentary on Berosus placed him in the foremost rank of writers on mythology, and his numismatic lectures pointed him out as the ablest successor of Eckhel. The handsome octavo we would now briefly notice is a work of still higher importance, for it touches upon questions closely connected with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and it discusses problems with which rationalists have,

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during the last half-century, made exceedingly free. It is therefore necessary to know at the very outset the spirit which M. Lenormant brings to the study of the sacred records, and to ascertain at once whether we are to look upon him as an ally or an adversary.

'I am a Christian, and in the present day, when such an epithet may be a title to insult, I am more than ever anxious to proclaim it aloud. At the same time I am a scholar, and in that quality I do not admit that there is a Christian science as distinct from a free-thinking one. I admit only one science, needing no other epithet besides its very name, which leaves entirely aside all theological questions as not belonging to its province, and of which all sincere inquirers are the servants in the same degree, whatever may be their religious convictions.'

This statement is explicit enough. A little further on M. Lenormant professes his belief in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and declares openly that on all doctrinal points he absolutely submits to the declarations of the Church. We thus see that we have to do here with an author whose views deserve the most serious attention, although on many points we may not perhaps be disposed to endorse the conclusions at which he has arrived.

M. Lenormant's first argument is that the unity of composition of the various books which constitute the Pentateuch can no longer be maintained; he holds to the distinction between two series of documents, namely the *Elohist* and the *Jehovist*: documents which have served as materials to the compiler of the first four books of the Pentateuch; the sacred narrative throughout the portions here referred to gives a kind of concordance of these two *rédactions*, without altering their wording. This is what M. Lenormant designates as the *documentary theory*, which is now accepted by the most orthodox divines. Perfectly consistent with the firmest belief in the doctrinal teaching of the Bible, it is still undecided, however, so far as the chronological problem is concerned; and our author claims here the liberty embodied in S. Jerome's well-known phrase: '*Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esdram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso.*'

With reference to the narrative contained in the first chapters of the book of Genesis, M. Lenormant looks upon it, not as a story dictated by God Himself, and the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people; he sees in it a tradition going back to the remotest epoch in the history of the world, and which, with a few points of discrepancy, belonged to all the nations of anterior Asia. The form it assumes in the Bible is even so closely similar to that which we find at Babylon and in Chaldæa, that it evidently proceeds from the same origin. This similarity, however, in no ways detracts from the inspired character of the Biblical account, where the strictest monotheism has taken the place of an exuberant polytheism, and where the language which expressed naturalist notions of remarkable coarseness is used to clothe moral truths of the highest order and of the most spiritual character. It is in this difference that the inspiration of the Pentateuch is to be found, and between the

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Bible and the sacred books of the Chaldæans there is the interval of one of the greatest revolutions which have occurred in the sphere of human belief.

We have thus endeavoured to explain to our readers the line of argument adopted by M. Lenormant and to define the stand-point at which he has placed himself in dealing with the difficult subject investigated in his book; but it would be quite impossible within the limits of a short article to give the faintest idea of the amount of learning accumulated in illustration of every topic discussed, learning so extensive, and so varied, that it not unfrequently confuses us; but at the same time so accurate, that future commentators will certainly draw largely from it for fresh confirmation of the facts contained in the Pentateuch. We would notice more especially the excellent remarks on the first sin, and on the Biblical scheme of redemption as compared with the theories by which the Hindus, the Greeks, and many of the other nations of antiquity, endeavoured to explain the mystery of human nature. In this particular, as well as in numberless others, the recent discoveries made in the field of Assyrian and Chaldæan literature prove distinctly that Nineveh and Babylon had preserved, however faintly, reminiscences of the true solution of the difficulty; and the paragraphs on the sacred tree, which forms so prominent a feature in the slabs brought to light by Sir A. Layard and Messrs. Oppert, Smith and Botta, are well worth the closest study. We had better perhaps give a list of the different subjects examined by M. Lenormant. They are as follows: 1. the creation of man; 2. the first sin; 3. the Cherubim and the fiery sword which guarded the entrance to Paradise; 4. the murder of Abel, and the building of the first city; 5. the Sethites and the Cainites; 6. the ten antediluvian patriarchs; 7. the Children of God and the daughters of men; 8. the Flood. The volume is terminated by five appendices devoted to extracts and illustrations of various kinds taken from Eastern sources. The account of the Flood (the text printed in European characters, together with an interlinear translation), the cosmogonies of the Phœnicians, the Chaldæans, and the Assyrians, the calendars and astronomical systems adopted by them, are the principal topics of interest considered in these supplementary chapters; and, finally a very complete analytical table of contents enables the student to find his way through a mass of details which represent the date of the latest discoveries.

Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. By the late Dr. Georg Heinrich August von Ewald, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Göttingen. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. Vol. IV., Hezeqiel, Yesaya, xl.–lxvi. (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1880.)

The previous volume of this work comprised the Prophets who flourished during the earlier period of the Captivity. The present one contains the prophecies of Ezekiel, 'Hezeqiel,' whom our author reckons as belonging to the later period of the Captivity; and secondly, as belonging to the period of the Return, two fragments out of the

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Book of Isaiah (xxi. 1–10, xiii. 2, xiv. 23), which Dr. Ewald believed himself able to remove as interpolations; and lastly, the entire latter portion of the book (chap. xl.–lxvi.), which, as is well known, he assigns on critical grounds to a 'great anonymous prophet,' other than Isaiah himself.

This is not a new assumption; and though we do not accept it, we have no intention of discussing it now. We content ourselves with here pointing out that there has been more than one indication of late that the tide of critical opinion upon this question has turned; so that it is represented far more by such comparatively moderate opinions as that of Nägelsbach, which finds a sufficient explanation of whatever differences in point of style there may appear to be between the two portions, in the consideration that the Prophet no doubt wrote these latter chapters in the latest period of his life; that therefore a period of forty years or more, perhaps, separates his earliest and latest productions; and that a subject-matter in many respects new required or caused a corresponding difference in style. And it is certain that this (as it would have seemed to Ewald) reactionary view is the only one which sufficiently takes into account all the elements of the case, instead of determining it by the result of a single and somewhat precarious line of inference from language.

Of this discussion, however, we have, as we have noticed, nothing in this volume. The 'Deutero-Isaiah' is taken for granted, and the earlier and later prophecies assigned to different authors on account of differences of style, which are really about as decisive as if some modern critic should determine that Milton's *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso* and *Paradise Lost* could not be assigned to the same author, because the two former are rhymed and the latter is not!

Much, however, of the comment in this volume is not perceptibly affected by this fundamental postulate; and in this Dr. von Ewald's profound knowledge of the Hebrew language could not fail to provide much that is attractive, much that is useful, to the student. The reader feels at once that it is a vigorous, if somewhat wilful and imperious, intellect that is laying its grasp upon the subject. Particularly is this the case in the writer's introduction to the Prophet Ezekiel, which is full of striking suggestions as to the special characteristics of this Prophet, although here, also, it is needful to interpose the *caveat* that the writer's conception of prophecy is that it was wholly subjective, a definition therefore quite inadequate. It does not cover the whole ground. We may learn from this introduction, however, much as to the *human element* in prophecy, as to the *modus operandi* of the spiritual force which issued in prophetic utterance, and of the outward circumstances which may be held to have conditioned or to have shaped it. But the present author seeks to penetrate no further, because he regards that as being the whole truth; and for a distinct recognition of the truth, that 'God, in sundry times and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophet,' in any exceptional or supernatural sense, the reader will, we fear, look altogether in vain.

So that here, also, he must to a great extent supplement his

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author's view. But, if he is careful to do this, he will find a good deal that is helpful to him; much clear and discriminating criticism (though sometimes it seems to us fanciful and arbitrary) of the prophet's character and method. We must differ wholly from him when he regards the angelic forms in the Prophet's vision (or, as he calls them, 'the Kerûbs'), or the images of the Mosaic religion, as being by no means objective, but merely 'the most fruitful material for the play of the imagination of the poets' (p. 10). And he goes much too far in resolving the prophetic narratives into 'the simple creations of his (the prophet's) thought and the experiences of his fancy and not of his life' (p. 13). We are not denying that there is, or may be, an imaginative element in the visions, or some of them; but the canon quoted above would entirely obliterate any distinction between the prophetic utterance and that of the simple *poetic* impulse. Because a prophecy is in the form of a poem, it does not therefore follow that it is nothing but a poem: a distinction which Dr. von Ewald and others of his school have too often forgotten.

If, however, the reader will regard these introductions as *studies of the outward form* merely of prophecy, he will get all the good out of them that they are capable of yielding.

We will conclude with a brief specimen of the (often too trenchant) criticisms:—

'Considered simply as a writer, this Prophet shows great excellencies, particularly when his unhappy time is considered. It is true, his style, like that of most writers of this later period, has a certain amount of prolixity, often very involved sentences, a rhetorical copiousness and diffuseness. Still, it rarely (ch. xx.) carries these defects to the same extent as Yéremyá in his later years, but generally collects itself with ease, and assumes a finished form. Hézeqiél's language exhibits here and there numerous traces of the Aramaic dialect and other foreign peculiarities, evident signs of the powerful influence of the exile; but, in general, he successfully follows in this respect the older models. Moreover, his style is enriched with uncommon comparisons, is often at the same moment both charming and telling, full of new turns and surprises, and often very beautifully elaborated. We have only to turn to the lyrics on Egypt (ch. xxxii.), which are really excellently planned and executed, for a proof of this.'

The Pulpit Commentary. First Book of Samuel. Exposition by the Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Homiletics by Rev. Professor C. Chapman, M.A. Homilies by various Authors. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.)

Another volume of this Commentary has appeared with commendable promptitude; and we opened it with some curiosity to witness the application of this novel method to the historical books of Scripture. Such narratives as the Books of Samuel lend themselves, it is evident, with the greatest ease to the conditions of the homiletic method. Everyone knows how comparatively easy it is to preach on a history or a parable which contains in itself the element of personal interest; whereas this has to be supplied by means of illustrative metaphors or stories to teaching given in a more abstract form. Hence we ought to

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see the method at its best in this volume; and though we cannot tell what future volumes may prove of its advantages, yet assuredly the preachers for whose use this Commentary is intended may be thankful if the same high standard of ability is maintained throughout. We do not know that we have any objection to offer, save on mere matters of opinion here and there. On the whole the Commentary seems to us even better than the Notes for Sermons; but both are generally very good. For example, the account of the exile of the ark takes what we cannot doubt is the correct view, and the critical difficulty with regard to vi. 19, as to the 'fifty thousand' which A.V., following the Hebrew text as it stands, gives as the number of men slain at Bethshemesh, is explained (after Kennicott) as 'seventy persons.' The commentator might also have referred to Josephus as an authority for this solution of the difficulty (*Antiq.* vi. ch. 1, 4). Here, however, though the homilies have very suitable headings on 'Irreverent Curiosity' and 'Profanity,' *à propos* of the chastisement of the men of Bethshemesh, they do not, as unquestionably a purely Church Commentary would have done, go on to draw thence a warning against irreverent Communions, unauthorized intrusion into priestly offices, and such like. Yet there is much in this Pulpit Commentary which is good and helpful, as, *e.g.*, on pp. 367–8, on the need which the Church of Christ has to 'form and sustain schools of the prophets' in order to meet the needs of the age, and to counteract its selfish and violent spirit.

We cannot, however, regard the view taken of the apparition at Endor, namely, that the whole of the circumstances were due to imposture on the part of the woman, as critically or even as psychologically satisfactory. There are crises in some men's lives when they come very near the limits of the supernatural, so near that they can peer in some degree behind the veil. Nor does a mere charge of vulgar fraud seem suitable to the accumulated horror of the occasion.

A Popular Commentary on the Gospel of S. John, and on the Acts of the Apostles. With Illustrations and Maps. *The Gospel of S. John*, by Prof. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., and Prof. WILLIAM F. MOULTON, D.D. *The Acts of the Apostles*, by the Very Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester, and the Rev. CANON SPENCE, Rector of S. Pancras, London. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

It is a pleasant and praiseworthy thing to see the Holy Scriptures set forth with such sedulous and loving care even for their external presentment as is displayed in this volume.

We do not know when we have seen an edition of the Holy Scriptures more satisfactorily cared for in every material respect. Excellent paper and type, and lavish illustration by means of steel and wood engravings, make the volume in every respect well mounted and satisfactory. Nor do we know that we need say any less, upon the whole, of that far more important matter, the character of the comment upon the words of Holy Writ therein contained. The general character of the Commentary is distinctly 'liberal'; and we

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see cause not seldom to differ from the writers. The comment, for example, on S. John xx. 23 is far from satisfactory; and in rendering 'they have been retained,' the commentators appear to have adopted the far more unlikely reading ἀφέωνται for the usual ἀφίενται, which is followed in A.V. and in a multitude of other versions and codices. The perfect here has probably been introduced to render the phrase symmetrical with the κεκράτηνται of the following clause. Nor do we see the object of relegating vii. 53–viii. 11 to an appendix, especially since it is allowed to have been 'in circulation from the very earliest times.'

A Guide to the Study of the Authenticity, Canon, and Text of the Greek New Testament. By EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D.D. Illustrated by Tables and Facsimiles; with a Map. (London: Religious Tract Society.)

THE title of a book should be as accurate and formal as possible; and we do not quite like the somewhat colloquial expression of 'the Greek New Testament,' when what is intended is 'the New Testament in Greek.' But passing over this, we find this volume to be a brief but excellent elementary manual of such critical facts and reasonings as are necessary to enable the layman, or even the fairly advanced student, to give 'a reason for the hope that is in him' with regard to the Holy Scriptures. Dr. Mitchell does not narrate the events themselves of the primitive times of the history of the Church; those he may fairly suppose to have been otherwise taught; but he adduces the corroborative *data* from heathen and secular writings; the names and writings of the Apologists; and of Christian, and of heretical, authors, whose works illustrate the subject.

Part II. contains the early catalogues of the canonical books with other information; while Part III., the longest and most important in the book, gives a remarkably clear and succinct history of the *Text* of the New Testament; names, and describes, the chief codices, uncial and cursive; and, in short, contains a good deal of exceedingly useful knowledge compiled and arranged in a very workmanlike manner. The laborious compiler does not appear to be in every case acquainted with the latest publications of note upon this or that part of his subject: thus he passes over without notice Mr. W. Cunningham's critical edition of the *Epistle of S. Barnabas* (Macmillan, 1877), the Dissertation prefixed to which is of importance; nor does he discuss the authorship at all. Similarly, he is apparently unacquainted with Bishop Lightfoot's edition of the *Epistles of S. Clement.* The reference to the *Acts of Pilate* (p. 48, note) is uncritical in character. On the other hand, the account given of the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons is clear and even interesting. There are omissions; but we repeat that the work is useful and valuable.

Notes on Genesis; or Christ and His Church among the Patriarchs. By the REV. NATHANAEL KEYMER, M.A., Vicar of Headon, Notts. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1880.)

WE cannot speak too highly in commendation of this excellent but unpretending little volume. It is not merely a compilation, but is

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full of fresh and original matter, in the mystical exposition of the First Book of the Pentateuch. The motto from S. Augustine gives the clue to its design :—'In the Old Testament the New is concealed; in the New Testament the Old is revealed.' The Bishop of Lincoln says, with admirable truth and point, in a short preliminary notice :—'The signs of the times show that the Old Testament will be the battle-field of the Evil One against Christianity. In order that they who hold the Faith may gain the victory by a successful defence of God's Holy Word, they must learn, and teach others, to see Christ, the Eternal Word, speaking in the Old Testament concerning Himself, as afterwards fully revealed in the New Testament.' For sermons, and for Sunday-School teachings, this book is invaluable. We hope Mr. Keymer will pursue the subject.

Counsels of the Wise King; or Proverbs of Solomon applied to Daily Life. By C. R. PEARSON, M.A., Vicar of S. James's, Tunbridge Wells. Vol. I. (London : Skeffington, 1880.)

AN excellent thought excellently carried out. Each page is devoted to a day. A text from the Proverbs is first interpreted, then illustrated, and then applied; and then comes an ejaculation of prayer, summing up the whole. Mr. Pearson brings both learning and piety to his task. Above all he sees the Uncreated Incarnate Wisdom in every utterance of the Wise King, and makes the Proverbs speak throughout of Christ. The book is meant for private reading, family prayers, or Bible classes. A second volume, promised in June, will complete the work.

Future Punishment. By CLEMENT CLEMANCE, B.A., D.D. Second Edition, Revised, pp. 88. (London: John Snow and Co., 1880.)

THIS little work, calm, thoughtful, scholar-like, and suggestive, was originally delivered in the form of Lectures at 'a Conference of Pastors, Missionaries, and Students' (of what Denomination is not stated) held at Nottingham in June 1877. It advances a view, as to the teaching of Holy Scripture on this solemn subject, which will be new to most; but which has at least the great advantage of being clearly and dispassionately stated; while its treatment of other theories, those, for example, of Universal Restoration, and of the ultimate Annihilation of the wicked, and of the 'orthodox' belief in the 'absolute endlessness of suffering and sin' (we should rather have said 'of sin and suffering') for the finally impenitent, is, though brief, very valuable, from its fairness and impartiality, and its well-arranged and logical compactness. The summary of the Scriptural arguments against the untenable theory of Universal Restoration, now so popular with superficial thinkers and teachers, and more especially against that of Annihilation, will be valuable to serious students of the questions involved.

This work was published before Dr. Farrar's Westminster Abbey Sermons on *Eternal Hope*, and is alluded to with approval in that volume. Yet its author, we are glad to find, substantially agrees with the general estimate of Dr. Farrar's work which we felt bound to express in an article in our last number on the replies recently published by Dr. Pusey and Dean Goulburn.

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Dr. Farrar has complained (in a letter to the *Guardian*) of a want of 'charity,' and almost of 'courtesy,' on the part of the reviewer, in having remarked that the 'worst and most dangerous feature' of his book was 'the calling in question' of the 'restriction of probation to the present life,' and even speaks of our reviewer's having 'invented' this charge. Yet in the same letter Dr. Farrar acknowledges that Dr. Pusey, in the very work with which we were dealing, had previously come to the same conclusion, which must, we think, be that of all ordinary readers, sympathetic or unsympathetic. We regretted to have to characterize *Eternal Hope*, itself a title (as Dr. Clemance remarks, p. 25) 'well nigh unintelligible,' as a 'shallow, excited, and self-contradictory book.' We are quite guiltless of any feeling of 'discourtesy' towards Dr. Farrar, who does not, we imagine, profess to be a theologian; but we could not conscientiously characterize this particular work of his in any other terms. In its treatment of the whole question, and especially of the Scripture argument, and in the absence of any sufficient consideration of the light thrown on the subject from other sources than Revelation, *e.g.*, from the experience and observation of human life and from natural morality, it strikes us as superficial and hasty. Of its style we feel, with Dr. Clemance (p. 24), that it is 'too rhetorical and feverish where calmness and steadiness are required.' And by its 'self-contradictory' character we mean (what must strike every reader) the difficulty, after a balance of passages, some of which seem to look one way and some quite another, of arriving at any certain view of what the writer's own deliberate opinion is. We know what he wants to attack and destroy, and in much of this aim he has our agreement and sympathy; but we are uncertain as to what is left of positive teaching after this preliminary process of clearing the ground. Dr. Clemance, in his last two pages, leaves us in no such doubt; but gives a useful summary (with most points of which we should entirely agree) of the 'large amount of substantial unity there is on this subject among the diverse schools of opinion.'

His longest chapter is devoted to the 'Theory of Annihilation,' with its ambitious pretence of 'the reconstruction of Christian anthropology and theology from one end to the other.' Of this he disposes very completely, beginning with the annihilation of the annihilationists' 'psychology;' and then pointing out their gross misuse of Scripture and of Scriptural terms. In this part of his argument we should indeed wish at one point (pp. 31, 32) to so revise the language employed as to make it quite clear that it is not intended (as would seem at first sight to be the case) to assert that man is born *naturally*, and without the intervention of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, into the state of grace and of supernatural life in and through the Second Adam, nor to deny that the New Testament and its promises are addressed to them 'that believe and are baptized.' Speaking of the annihilation theory regarded as a refuge from the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishment he says well (p. 44): 'When we *know* that if eternal punishment is not right it will not be, we confess that this annihilation theory does not clear up, to us at least, any difficulties

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in the divine government; it does but exchange one difficulty for another. 'We are so much in ignorance in regard to the *whole* scope and *ultimate* intention of the divine government, we are so unable to estimate aright the true guilt of sin, we are so much at a loss if we attempt to weigh the guilt of but one individual, we are such imperfect judges even of our own, we are so conscious of the affront offered to a holy God when fallible men pretend to sit in judgment on His ways, we are so guilty before Him, and we are withal so profoundly satisfied that the Judge of all the earth will do right, that we refuse altogether to entertain the question, which issue is most worthy of God?'

Speaking of the 'orthodox doctrine,' Dr. Clemance admits, perhaps we should rather say affirms, that 'there is incomparably more of Scripture in this direction than in that of Universal Restoration or in that of Annihilation.' He blames impartially those among its advocates who have 'indulged in harrowing descriptions,' or have dwelt too exclusively on 'the physical side of suffering,' and those among its opponents, 'who, for the sake of prejudicing the minds of men against it, will cull the most fiery passages from declamatory writers or preachers, and represent these as "the doctrine of eternal punishment,"' a mode of treatment with which, as he justly remarks, 'Canon Farrar has disfigured his book.' He points out too, very pertinently, that the question of the relative numbers of the saved or the lost is quite apart from that of the duration of the punishment of those who are lost. His view of the word *αἰώνιος* is that it means 'lasting for the age,' but not necessarily more, unless there is something in the context, or in the subject of which it is predicated, which carries it on further; *i.e.* that its *necessary* meaning is equivalent to *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* and no more. We think this inadequate; especially in view of the New Testament usage of the adjective and its cognate phrases. But, further, the Scripture assertion of the endlessness of future punishment by no means depends only on the word *αἰώνιος*. Dr. Clemance himself (p. 81), alluding to the Saviour's awful saying concerning Judas, says, 'Expositors seem to be severely right when they comment thus on these words, "that if our Lord had foreseen a time when Judas would come out to the light and abide in it for ever, it is inconceivable that he should have used any such words."'

The writer's own theory is based on the view that the Scripture Revelation does not cover the whole of the future eternity any more than it does of the past, that it is '*of necessity*' (the italics are the author's) 'bounded both ways, back and front . . . limited to a number of dispensations as regards time;' and that 'as regards duration, Revelation is relative, not absolute.' Consequently, that while 'God does not reveal a limit to future punishment,' it is yet 'unspeakably rash to affirm, "there never, never, never will be an end to it."' Or again (p. 62): 'In Scripture, the duration of future punishment is left indefinite. No limit is shown to us. If there be a limit to it, it is still a secret in the mind of God, and He will do what is right. God has not revealed an end; that is to us perfectly clear. But because God has not revealed an end, do not let us take it upon our-

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selves to say there never, never will be an end to it . . . We contend that they go beyond Scripture who affirm that punishment will last through the ages. Scripture nowhere affirms this.' In a baldly literal sense it may be true that we do not find the expression εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας used of the punishment of the lost or of anything else. But we must press the view that the εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, used of it in Rev. xiv. 11, xix. 3, and xx. 10, is really an equivalent expression.

And, further, against this whole view we must urge two considerations: first, that it does not remove the difficulties that must occur to any mind that thinks deeply on the subject. The punishment of finally impenitent sinners *may* have (it is said) a limit. But how? Only conceivably in two ways: by annihilation or extinction of the sinner, which our author rejects; or by forgiveness and restoration, with or without repentance and inward moral change. We think Dr. Clemance would agree with us that God cannot forgive the impenitent. Does he then think that the punishment, after the final judgment, of impenitent sinners has any tendency to produce repentance? He does not say so. Yet it is the only conceivable alternative. And it is an untenable one; for the very essence of that final sentence is alienation and separation from God; a placing of the soul, really by its own choice, out of the reach of all influences of good which might bring it back to God. Speaking of the sin against the Holy Ghost, our author says himself (p. 83): 'When the moral sense is so perverted, and assimilated to evil, that men attribute to an impure spirit a work which is manifestly divine, what more can be done with them? Is it by arbitrary arrangements that there is no forgiveness for such? He who can confound black and white, who can call evil good and good evil, has so far trifled with himself that the very power in his nature, on which God would lay hold, reverses its normal action. The man is practically unreachable, so far as any means or agencies known to us are concerned. He has fixed his own state in an immovable obstinacy of resistance to the divine. He is in danger of "eternal sin." It is not that God's springs of mercy are dry, but he has sinned so long and so grossly, that no appeals from God can call forth any penitential tears! So long as men resist the claims of God they are sinning themselves into a worse state than before, and hardening their spirits into fixed impenitence; yea, sinning away their possibility of repentance!'

And this brings us to the second consideration, which (we think) weighs so heavily, and so awfully, on the side of the possible incorrigibleness of wilful and willing sinners who pass through their period of probation without repentance; and that is, the observed facts of human nature, and of the operation of moral choice and will on the moral perceptive sense, and the working, this way or that, of the Law of Habit. All these lie outside the field of written Revelation; but they are none the less true: indeed Revelation takes them for granted and appeals to them. And they are as strictly relevant as they are true. And to their felt weight and bearing on the subject must be largely ascribed the uniform conviction, true in the main, of even

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heathen races of the eternal ill-desert of wilful and defiant sin, which, with the equally uniformly prevalent conviction of the spiritual immortality of man, gives us at once the solemn truth of the endlessness of future punishment.

The Doctrines of Predestination, Reprobation, and Election. By ROBERT WALLACE. (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1880.)

WE have always heard that Scottish Presbyterians enjoy the sternest and most technical problems of controversial theology; and truly this little volume seems to show, *tanto quanto*, that such is the case. For we have here a series of discussions in the broadest vernacular, and without any of the graces of style, in which nevertheless very hard questions are treated with surprising clearness and vigour of mental grasp, and no little skill in dialectic. The author argues fiercely against the Calvinistic view; and his arguments are generally tenable, though there are weak places in them. He hardly seems sensible, however, that when he is speaking (on p. 132) of the nature of sin, he has reached the very centre of the difficulty involved in the predestinarian scheme; and it seems to us that when he says, 'Why do men sin? Can any one give a reason for it which will stand scrutiny? No one, not even God' (p. 133), he is only saved from being irreverent by being unintelligible.

The Ordinance of Confirmation, its History and Significance. By the Rev. JAMES FIELD SPALDING, Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. 2nd Edition. (Boston: U.S.A., 1881.)

WE are glad to welcome this pamphlet as showing that in America there is growing a deeper feeling about the importance of the true teaching about Confirmation. It is written for those who hitherto have neglected or thought slightly of this sacred ordinance, and it is likely to gain their attention from the plain and straightforward manner in which the historic facts are narrated. However, it is just as well perhaps that 'proof is not cited from the writings of such men as Calvin, Luther and Melanchthon of the high esteem in which they held' Confirmation: for these reformers had strange notions about the rite, and the citation of them would have hindered the object of the essay. Where there is a real deepening of religious life there cannot be low views about Confirmation; and it is to be hoped that a heightening of the estimation in which Confirmation is held implies a deepening of religious life. Such pamphlets as this, while they help to higher views, testify to increased sense of spiritual needs, and readiness for spiritual help.

The Manifold Witness for Christ. Part I. 'Christianity and Natural Theology.' Part II. 'The Positive Evidences of Christianity.' Being the Boyle Lectures for 1877 and 1878. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Principal of King's College, London; Canon of Worcester. (London: John Murray, 1880.)

DR. BARRY has, it will be remembered, delivered the Boyle Lectures for three years, 1876–1878. In the first of these courses he examined the various elements of Natural Theology. In the

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present volume, which comprises the Lectures of 1877 and 1878, he has naturally taken for granted the argument of the former course, and has set himself to exhibit the links of connexion between Natural Theology and Revealed Religion, and to show how 'Christianity accords at all points with the main principles of Natural Religion; but at the same time confirms in the calmness of absolute certitude the modest inductions of Natural Theology, and supplements them, when they are silent or speak with stammering tongue, by declarations of mystery, avowedly undiscoverable by the mere reason of man.' This is the subject of the first course. The second endeavours to present a sketch in outline of the evidences for the Christian religion itself, 'considered as at once a philosophy, a moral force, and a spiritual life;' and secondly by the consideration of 'the life and Person of Christ as a whole, in the combined manifestations of power, wisdom, and love, standing out unique and unapproachable, and rightly challenging for Him an absolute faith.' He offers an apology for 'entering once more on a well-worn track, in which originality is impossible.' But we think he does this quite needlessly; for every age is to a great extent original in the way in which it contemplates the great problems of thought, and needs Apologies freshly rewritten from its own point of view. It is certain also that a competent apologist would, inasmuch as he belonged to his own generation and not to any other, be sufficiently differentiated from those who have gone before him; and that Dr. Barry need not have feared or apologized for a want of originality. He has to-day to deal with a phase of anti-Christian thought which has never appeared before in *exactly* the same form; and therefore cannot be met in the exact words of previous apologists, or in all respects by their methods. If not original therefore in its *terminus ad quem*, for we suppose all apologists have substantially the same purpose, of vindicating and maintaining the Religion of Christ, his argument will at all events be original in its *ratio per quam*, i.e. in the manner and outline of his reasonings. Following upon this exordium we have a carefully constructed argument which proceeds through the several stages of Revelation, formulating each as it passes, and working it into harmony with the intellectual consciousness of our time, until it reaches the climax of Revelation and the perfecting of the Providential plan for the redemption of Humanity in the Incarnation of Christ.

Chapter VI., on 'The Messianic Idea in the Old Testament,' has a unity of its own, and may be read by itself for its remarkable suggestiveness. It is rather a commentary on the nature of the Messianic idea than a narrative (as we are at first led to expect) of the steps of its development in time. But there is much in parts of the chapter that is worth careful perusal. It is a happy thought, for instance, that it is precisely this Messianic conception 'which makes the Old Testament something more than the sublimest revelation of Monotheism.' Nor is it, as we conceive, less profoundly true, that it is 'the elimination of this conception which has condemned *the bastard Judaism of Islam* to spiritual barrenness.' This entire

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section of the argument is eminently fruitful and valuable on its own account, without reference to its place in the series. We think, indeed, that Dr. Barry is more happy in dealing with the Old Testament than with the New. The far greater complexity of the moral problems which wait upon Christianity, whether as enemies or as friends, causes of necessity any worthy treatment of them (and Dr. Barry's is eminently worthy) to comprise so many details and to enter into so many different fields, that the force of its impact is in some degree broken, for the sufficient reason that the average mind is unable to grasp it all at once, and is reduced to take it part by part. Nevertheless by the reader who will go leisurely from point to point, it will be found a noble and persuasive exhibition of many of the great elements of that attractive charm by force of which the religion of Christ has, ever since it has existed upon the earth, drawn souls unto itself. Nor is it less meritorious in the demonstration it gives, as occasion calls for, of the inadequacy of those petty modern substitutes for the religion of Christ, whose wont it is to pose as its rivals. Here, for example:—

'It is curious to see that, whereas, before Christ, the inclination of human morality was always to the cultivation of the individual or of the narrower unities of life, now the reaction is in the other direction. We are told that Christian morality is "selfish," inasmuch as it teaches us to work out our own salvation, and seek a personal immortality. We are bidden to sacrifice the individual utterly on the altar of "the religion of humanity," to live entirely in our fellowmen, and to be content with the "immortality of the race." A nobler extreme is this than the other, perhaps because it has learned something from the very system which it condemns. But it is equally one-sided and equally unnatural.

'What men call "Altruism" has about it a certain simplicity, in its fundamental doctrine that virtue is merely self-sacrifice, and in its practical depreciation of that individuality for which philosophic systems of law can find no room. But it is always easy on all subjects, whether scientific, social, political, moral, or spiritual, to gain simplicity by the sacrifice of unmanageable truth. Life and human nature being what they are, we have generally to choose between a simple formula that will not cover the fact, and a complex formula that will' (p. 253).

The single criticism we have to make of this most admirable book is that the tone is somewhat too calm and philosophic. There is little enthusiasm about it; and we would have the Christian apologist *in earnest* in his polemic. We do not in the least doubt that this is really the case in heart with Dr. Barry; but if it were the quadrature of the circle he were discussing, he could hardly seem more unconcerned.

Hints to Preachers, with Sermons and Addresses. By S. Reynolds Hole, Canon of Lincoln. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1880.)

We suppose few persons would gainsay the statement that no modern literature is so rich in sermons, and that no sermons are so full of literary excellence as the literature and the sermons of our own country. But alongside of this profusion of material yielded by what

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we may call the *Ecclesia docens*, there is a singular poverty of material at the disposal of the *Ecclesia discens*. By which we mean that just as English Divinity, generally, is absolutely wanting in any *Corpus* (worthy of the name) of scientific Theology, so the special department of Paræenesis and Homiletics is singularly deficient in any adequate guide or manual for the ministrations of the pulpit. Not with any view, we presume, to supply such a want, but only to throw out what he modestly terms a few 'Hints,' Canon Hole has prefixed to upwards of four hundred pages of 'Sermons and Addresses' less than a dozen pages of suggestions to preachers, which might, we think, with advantage have been developed at greater length. The history of the genesis of the book is told very simply by the writer in the following words :—

'Some ten years ago, at the going down of the sun on a night to be much observed by me thenceforth with thanksgiving, I went from prayer-desk to pulpit after Evensong to read a sermon. The service was late, the evening was cloudy, the light seemed to fail suddenly, and when I opened my manuscript I could not see a word of it.

'If any one had said to me, as I entered the church, "You must preach to-night without a note to help you," I should have answered, "It is a chief desire of my heart to do so, but it is impossible."

'I had often wondered what would happen in such a crisis and dilemma. I had dreamed dreams and seen visions of utter confusion and dismay; the reality was upon me, what was to be done? I closed my sermon case with a very anxious sigh, as one who, embarking for unknown seas, takes leave of his oldest and dearest friend; I asked silently for the help which never fails; gracious words of promise came to my remembrance—"It shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak"—and I began, for the first time in my life, to preach, instead of reading to my people' (p. 1).

Canon Hole was convinced, he says, that three-fourths of the English clergy would, under the same circumstances, have done as he did: and it is to encourage them, 'by his experiences,' to make the attempt, that he relates this incident and publishes this book.

And here we are tempted to ask ourselves what it was Canon Hole really did on that particular evening? Did he endeavour, *tant bien que mal*, to recall the general drift and purport, and, if so it might be, a phrase or two here and there, of the manuscript which lay invisible before him; or did he break new ground altogether, and 'speak' as it 'was given unto him,' speak as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, speak, as S. Peter so daringly puts it, 'as the oracle of God?' That the latter was what he attempted to do on that particular occasion, we infer both from the general tone of the passage quoted, and from his incidental remark on page 3 about extempore preaching, namely, that 'it is a power given, *as many of us know*, when the need is inevitable.' He spoke, *then*, on the spur of the moment; a kind of 'speaking' of which the success is largely dependent on the sort of animal into whose flank the spur is dug. It is not, however, to recommend extempore preaching—a term, he says, 'which in its general application must be regarded as a misnomer'—that he writes these 'Hints:' on the contrary, sermons,

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which are to be *preached* and not *read*, require, in his judgment, even more careful preparation and arrangement of materials than the sermons of which the clergyman takes the manuscript with him into the pulpit. The main difference between the sermons Canon Hole preached before that memorable evening, and the sermons he preaches now, consists in the fact that he no longer takes the manuscript with him into the pulpit. A manuscript, however, there still is: 'I advise the preacher,' he says, 'to *write* the whole of his sermon. The time may come when a brief analysis, or even the original notes, may be all that he requires to help him before he goes to the pulpit; but his sermons at first should be written *in extenso*, and then committed to memory.' He quotes Massillon and Dr. Newman in favour of the practice. Indeed, one has only to read the sermons in this volume which follow the 'Hints,' to be convinced that they are not the words, taken down by stenography, of one who has spoken 'on the spur of the moment.' They contain none of those sudden leaps and starts and bounds which betray the action and impulse of a spur, and which are so helpful to arouse and arrest the attention of the hearer. We have heard sermons, for example, from Mr. Knox Little—notably one on the 'God of all Comfort'—which it is difficult to believe he had committed to memory from a written manuscript. As you heard him you could fancy you saw his thoughts 'in the making,' and when you read the sermon afterwards, as printed from a shorthand writer's notes, you were tempted to complain of sundry repetitions which jarred on your critical taste; but you felt they were no 'vain repetitions' in the pulpit, where the hearer, unlike the reader, has no opportunity of running his eye up and down the page, and of 'harking' back to some thought imperfectly apprehended, or to some passage obscurely expressed. Even by his own account—and his very transparent modesty has doubtless led him to understate the fact—Canon Hole is a preacher very much run after: he receives almost daily invitations to preach or to speak, and since he altered his method he has preached in more than seventy churches in the Diocese of Lincoln, in London, and elsewhere. It has never been our good fortune to hear him, but we hope he will forgive us for saying that if we may judge from the sermons before us, we question whether he would greatly move us. And if a hearer be not moved, whereunto serveth the Pulpit? Its *teaching* power has long since been to a considerable extent superseded by the printing press, and ought always to be superseded by public Catechizing, in which the clergy are so shamefully remiss: a remissness which the Canon law visited with condign punishment. But as a *moving* power, the Pulpit ought surely to exercise a supremacy without a rival, and without appeal. Think, only think, of the subjects on which a preacher has to speak! the sharpness of death, the terrors of judgment, the anguish of hell, the beatitudes of heaven, the mysteries of the Incarnate Word, the Love of God, and the Sin of man. Think, too, of the audience he sees before him! Yonder is one yearning to be released from the bonds of those sins which by his frailty he has committed; there another

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minished and brought low through oppression, through any plague or trouble; there a third entangled in the meshes of doubt; there a fourth wedded to worldliness, wedded to carnal appetites, wedded to anything and everything but the woman who bears his name; there a fifth—but we cannot attempt to run through the whole gamut of life—suffice it to say, that having to address all sorts and conditions of men on themes of transcendent grandeur, and of unrivalled interest to each and all, it seems incomprehensible that the Pulpit, which ought to be a power upon earth to 'shape the whispers from the throne' of God, should be so often filled by some drawling drone, the unmoved utterer of unmoving words, that one feels tempted to exclaim with a modern Deist, 'Homme! retire-toi, et ne laisse rien entre moi et Dieu!'

To return from this digression to the volume before us, we cannot but fear Canon Hole's example, as exhibited in the Sermons, may tend to detract from the value of his precepts as contained in the Hints. That it may be necessary, or even advisable, in the first instance to write out the whole sermon and commit it to memory we do not deny; but the sooner the preacher can reduce his manuscript to smaller dimensions and confine himself to a few notes and headings, the better for him and for his work. Of study and meditation and, above all, of prayer, there must be an unstinted supply: how to set out the design of his sermon, how to marshal his thoughts and arrange his materials—for all this Canon Hole will give some rather useful 'hints:' but armed with these, and fired with an earnest love for souls, and with an abiding consciousness of the Presence of Him in Whose Name he speaks, we feel persuaded that Words will seldom be wanting to the call. No doubt it may be urged by some that a power such as this is a peculiar gift beyond the reach of everyone: and it is certainly conceivable that constitutional nervousness of temperament, or an undue, but not unbecoming, mistrust of his own powers, or an apprehension lest words should escape the lips more conducive to rhetoric than conformable to the 'proportion of Faith,' may deter the preacher from embarking on these ventures of the tongue; but even with a manuscript before him, he surely might bring himself to read as if reading not. Dr. Liddon is an example of the perfection to which this art may be brought. But whether with or without a manuscript, every time he mounts the pulpit the preacher should make it his aim and object, as Mr. Gladstone has somewhere expressed it, to get a good 'grip' of his hearer. Preaching ought to be a wrestling match, and the language of the preacher ought, *mutatis mutandis*, to be that of Jacob—'I will not let thee go unless thou wilt do this, or believe that.' As it is, clergymen too often tell a congregation they are in danger of losing their immortal souls with about as much energy and as little earnestness as you put into your voice when you stop to tell a man in the street that, if he doesn't take care, he will lose his pocket-handkerchief!

If we might give a 'hint' in return to Canon Hole, we should advise him to expand, and print in a separate form, his 'Hints to Preachers.

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Some Elements of Religion. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., Canon Residentiary of S. Paul's. (London: Rivingtons, 1881.)

WE welcome a third, and cheaper, edition of Dr. Liddon's admirable Lent Lectures, first preached in 1870 at S. James's, Piccadilly. The preface of the second edition, containing a reply to the *Spectator's* criticism on the Sermon on Prayer, is not omitted.

The Disestablishment of Religion in Oxford the Betrayal of a Sacred Trust. A Sermon by JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, B.D., Dean of Chichester. (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1880.)

THESE are emphatic and timely 'words of warning to the University.' We wish we could hope that they were not too late. The colleges of our ancient Universities, as may be seen by their statutes, are essentially religious foundations. Who can assert that they have not fulfilled the trust committed to them? To secularize these institutions is to rob God, to insult their pious founders, and to do a high-handed act of injustice to our own contemporaries and to future generations. Dean Burgon adds some valuable appendices to his sermon.

Simple Prayers for Daily Use. Edited by the Rev. GEORGE H. WILKINSON, M.A., Vicar of S. Peter's, Eaton Square. (London: W. Wells Gardiner.)

THE Church of Africa in the fourth century passed a canon that none should presume to offer prayers which had not been revised by one competent for the purpose, from knowledge as well as piety. If any proof were needed of the advantage and necessity of the canon, this little book would unfortunately afford all that is required. For though it would seem to have come out under the auspices of a respected name, it is impossible to suppose that it could have been passed in review by any theologian. If the *lex orandi* be the *lex credendi*, the writer of these pages was right in omitting, as he does, the Creed from his composition; for no one could intelligently say any Christian Creed and use these prayers at the same time. Any one who could intelligently say these prayers must be in utter confusion as to his belief. But the omission of a creed is only the first grave mistake of the production: the result is soon seen. 'It is of the goodness of GOD that I now see another day. May I spend it rightly, remembering that I am *His child*, His servant, the *soldier of His Cross*.' This passage savours of that confusion which was called in ancient days the Patripassian heresy. Soon there follow prayers for preservation, addressed to each Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity. It is, perhaps, characteristic of the particular school of divines, of which Mr. Wilkinson is an eminent type, that the longest of these prayers is addressed to the Holy Spirit: but the termination of this prayer is expressive of a heresy too gross to find a place or a name in Church History. The prayer commencing, 'O Holy Spirit,' ends with 'Hear my prayer for the sake of *Thy Son* Jesus Christ.'

There are only two prayers free from confusion in thought or expression, namely the Church Collect for purity, and the Lord's

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Prayer: but even in the latter the writer is not content with the words of the Prayer Book, but alters 'in earth' to the affected 'on earth.' For perplexed mixture of address the last prayer in the book cannot be too strongly condemned. If the printer and writer are the same person it may account for the general jumble, for the mixture of type is as perplexing as the confusion of thought; otherwise it would be hard to say who is in error. For example, when in the midday prayer we find 'Bid the *temper* depart,' we might suppose this to be a printer's error for 'Bid the *tempter* depart,' if the writer could be held blameless in other places. As it is, there is only one way of correcting the press, and that is to withdraw this book of private prayers from circulation.

S. Augustine's Manual; or Little Book of the Contemplations of Christ. (London: Pickering, 1881.)

A CHARMING fac-simile reprint of the edition of this devout book that was 'printed by John Daye, dwellyng over Aldersgate,' in 1577. The original borders are reproduced; the tetragrammaton at the head of each page; rhyming distichs at the foot, and on each side kneeling figures of Scripture characters. It is a very successful specimen of typography.

Spare Minutes; or Resolved Meditations and Premeditated Resolutions. By ARTHUR WARWICK. (London: Pickering, 1881.)

THIS is an even more beautiful specimen of printing than the book last mentioned. It is a product of Whittingham & Co.'s Chiswick Press. Mr. Loftie contributes an Introductory Notice of the book and its author, one Arthur Warwick, a priest in Holy Orders, who must have died young, about 1633. The Meditations are quaint, striking, and well worth reprinting. The language is racy and vigorous: a good specimen of English at its best. The book will be a very acceptable little Christmas present. An unfortunate misprint of 'aquaintance' for 'acquaintance' in the Introductory Notice is a fly in the pot of ointment, in so daintily-printed a book as this.

Spiritual Readings for every day: Christmas. By the Rev. R. M. BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church. (London: Hayes, 1880.)

THIS is a book, appearing very opportunely, which will be welcome for much of its thoughtful matter to all admirers of Mr. Benson's religious writings. But what can possibly have induced this respected writer to intersperse with his meditations a number of rhymed, and rhythmic, we dare not say, poetical compositions? *Poeta non fit.*

Sister Augustine, Superior of the Sisters of Charity at the Johannis Hospital at Bonn. Authorized translation from the German Memorial of Amalie von Lasaulx. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.)

ON January 30, 1872, a lonely funeral was held with maimed rites upon the banks of the Rhine. Early in the morning a boat, which

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carried the body, put out from Vallendar, and, arriving at Weissenthurm, was moored in the neighbourhood of the village. There it was left deserted, and children at play by the bank climbed on board and peeped into the cabin, where the coffin lay. Presently a few friends arrived with garlands, and the remains were carried to the village inn, whence they were removed and deposited in their final resting-place. But the sole religious service consisted in a threefold recitation of the *Pater Noster* by an Old Catholic priest, suspended as such by the Bishop of the diocese. It was the funeral of a sister of S. Charles, for twenty-two years the devoted Superioress of the Hospital of S. John at Bonn, who, having refused to accept the Vatican Decrees, had been in her last illness deprived of her office and excommunicated, and solemnly stripped of her habit after death.

This was her fate on earth. But of her eternal destiny a prophecy had been spoken five years before which, in our hearts, we believe to have been more truly the inspiration of God than were the anathemas of a Church which claims infallibility. It was uttered in the Castle of Hradek, a few leagues from Sadowa, where Sister Augustine nursed, to the final ruin of her own health, eighty mangled men, Austrian and Prussian alike. An Italian soldier, whom she had long and tenderly cared, sent for her one day in great anxiety. It was to say to her, with his dying breath, a sentence in his broken patois—'When sister dies, straight to Jesus.' He fixed his eyes upon her to see if she had understood, tried to clasp his hands for joy, and expired

We recommend those who delight in parallel biographies after the manner of Plutarch to read the *Life of Amalie von Lasaulx* in connection of that of our own Sister Dora. There are many points of wonderful similarity: the same overpowering call to help the suffering; the same tender power of communion with human hearts which wound itself into the affections of men as she sat at her work by their bedsides, and chatted about their affairs; the same, or nearly the same, physical strength and sense of humour and buoyant pleasure in work. But we must confess that the German sister appears to us to display some qualities which are wanting in the English. Not that she is perfect: her keen wit and independence of mind may sometimes draw out a sarcastic word, which a sister might have spared. But we observe no tinge of that jealousy which confined Sister Dora's usefulness to the immediate sphere of her own activity. And affection for her family is never lost in Amalie's love for human kind. The work of military hospitals in great historic wars may perhaps offer nothing which is more full of human interest than that of a manufacturing district at home. But at least we can discern in the relations, spiritual and intellectual, of the German to the ecclesiastical movements of her time an element which the English biography does not contain.

We do not see how the strictest Romanist can avoid feeling that the expulsion of such a servant of Christ from his Church gives *primâ facie* ground for believing that the system which proved too

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narrow for her is narrower than true Catholicity. It has always been considered just ground of indictment against our Church that a Wesley and a Newman have been driven from her pale; and even Roman adversaries have been as ready as others to use the taunt against us. But how much more powerful would the objection be if the cause of offence lay, not in the administration of the Church by particular officers for the time being, but in the enactment of new terms of communion by the highest powers in the Church; if the severance were not a mere careless omission to retain, but a deliberate and solemn expulsion in the name of the Church and of God!

We can, perhaps, imagine the reply which a good Romanist would make. He would surely do justice to the magnificent charity of the Sister's devoted life. But he would urge that, from the beginning, there were circumstances and dispositions to be discerned in her which were inconsistent with ecclesiastical obedience. Her father was a skilful church architect, and from him she inherited her exquisite taste in art; but until his final illness he was careless of personal religion. Her brother's books were placed upon the Index. She was early brought in contact with a form of teaching in which Catholicity was infected with Rationalism. Her friends through life, her confessor, the chaplain of her hospital, belonged to the party which now forms the Old Catholic Communion. Her vocation was, in her early years, wholly unexpected; it followed upon a disappointment in love: and, when it came, it was rather a call to devote herself to charity than to religion. She assumed the vows of a sister as the easiest and most effectual method open to her of giving herself to the relief of human distress. And very early she found herself out of harmony with the authorities and with the spirit of her Order. The periodical visits which her rule obliged her to pay to the head-quarters of the community, and the devotional retreat which was the purpose of these visits, were an irksome burden instead of refreshment to her, and her dislike, and even contempt, for what she met on these occasions were expressed with a freedom hardly consistent with religious discipline. No wonder that an alienation of such long standing and so deep led, under the pressure of peculiar calls for obedience and self-surrender, to an open breach.

This might be said with plausibility by the Romanist; and the Protestant might perhaps point to the case in triumph as a proof that no middle way can be found between absolute independence and total subjection of the intellect. To our minds neither view would be right. It is true that desire to do good was the basis of her call. But the character of the Order to which she sought admission was in perfect harmony with such an object, since the rule describes the members of it as sisters whose vocation consists in serving the poor and nursing the sick, and occupying themselves constantly in works of Christian charity, and who cannot consecrate much time to the exercises of devotion. Her vocation to join this Society was so strong and undoubting that, to use her own words, 'it haunted her all day like a sin.' She was well aware, after her profession, of the temptations into which her spirit of independence

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brought her, but she struggled against it with vigour; nor did she ever doubt the reality of her vocation or desire retreat. 'It is God,' she said, 'who has made me a sister of charity, and it is the greatest gift which His grace has conferred on me.' It is true that she was out of harmony with the prevalent spirit of her Order, and that, as she mixed on her holy errands with the great world, and found how far the power and spirit of Christ extended beyond the limits of an ecclesiastical party, this repulsion strengthened. But the cause of it is to be found, not in any original error or reservation in her vow, nor in any recall afterwards made of what she had given, but in the changed spirit of the Order itself, caused by the death of the superiors under whom she had taken service, and by the progress in narrowness against which many a noble Roman Catholic like Montalembert struggled in vain, and which issued at last in the Syllabus and the Vatican Decrees.

Although she was doubtless formed and intended for work rather than for devotion, yet her inner life was deep and true. Nor can we mark, in any record of it, the slightest disloyalty to the highest forms of Christianity as taught, not indeed in the popular superstitions, but by the holiest teachers of her own Church, until in these latter times her Church altered the terms of her allegiance.

'Her religious life,' says her biographer, 'rested wholly upon faith in the person of the Saviour. This faith was the soul of her action, the source of her power, for every task. She took literally the saying, "What ye do unto one of these, ye do it unto Me." Her life was true to the counsel which she gave to a sick nurse, "See always, in every patient, Him whom you desire for your own portion in eternity." "To-day, in the Holy Eucharist," she says, "it is my Saviour who touched with His hands the wounds of my soul, and I returned to work enriched and blest." Salvation by Christ, the foundation of His Church, to which He has entrusted the preservation of His Doctrine and of His Sacraments to the end of time: such were the bases of her belief.'

But for proof that her separation from the visible Church to which she had belonged was due to no taint of secret disloyalty, we turn, above all, to the noble record of her last days on earth. After she had been deprived with rudeness, not to say cruelty, of her office as Superior of her well-loved hospital, and further measures of severity had been only checked by the threat on the part of her relatives of an appeal to the civil power, many invitations came to abandon the ungrateful Order, and take refuge with friends who would have given her, not only tendance, but perfect sympathy. To many minds the temptation would have been great. But she was resolved, for the sake of those whom her example might influence, that no part of the breach should be due to any action of hers. And therefore she asked leave to die in a house of the community, where she bound herself to see no suspended priest, and was subjected to the well-meant but most painful importunity of those who had accepted (or professed to accept) the new dogma for themselves. We regard this persistent loyalty to her vow, even when she was rejected and degraded by her superiors, as one of the fairest features in her example.

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We regard the history of Sister Augustine as a reduction of modern Romanism to a practical impossibility. There may be something imposing in the sight of a garrison gathering itself within narrower walls before threatening hosts of enemies. But the spectacle will present more of panic than of courage, if it should prove that the gates are shut against the best and bravest soldiers of the defence.

But we must not conclude with controversy. We commend the life of Sister Augustine to our readers as the record of a soul truly noble, alike in the spheres of devotion, thought, and love.

Vie de Frédéric Ozanam, Professeur de Littérature étrangère à la Sorbonne. Par C. A. OZANAM. 8vo. (Paris: Poussielgue, 1880.)

WHEN, about half a century ago, the revolution of 1830 had once more imperilled in France the existence of society and the progress of civilization, a noble band of young men, brought together by the strongest sympathies on religious, intellectual and political subjects, endeavoured to hoist the banner of the Cross, and to claim on behalf of the Church that freedom of action which alone could ensure for it both respect and its due share of influence. The future historian of the nineteenth century will have to take into serious account the spirited crusade headed by Messrs. de Montalembert, Lacordaire, Gerbet, &c.; and there is no doubt that one of the most distinguished members of this group was Frédéric Ozanam. Let us begin with the disagreeable part of the reviewer's duty, that of criticizing and fault-finding. We can thoroughly understand the Abbé Ozanam's desire of rescuing from oblivion the smallest vestiges of his brother's literary talents; but such *juvenilia* are of comparatively little interest to the general public, and we are of opinion that the volume now before us would have gained considerably if the first two chapters had been pruned down to half their length. The biography of Ozanam the mathematician is a *hors d'œuvre* which is out of place except in an appendix.

Up to the present time we possessed only a few scanty details of the life of the illustrious man who founded, or helped to found, the *Société de S. Vincent de Paul.* His correspondence, a short biographical sketch from the pen of M. Ampère, an *étude* by M. Legeay, were about the only sources of information at our disposal; and it was universally felt that a detailed history of Frédéric Ozanam should be published as a companion to Count de Falloux's life of Madame Swetchine, Father Chocarne's volume on Lacordaire, and Mrs Oliphant's biography of Count de Montalembert. The desideratum is now filled up, and we are indebted for it to the man who was certainly best qualified to perform the task.

We shall not be expected here to analyse at any length the memoir written *con amore* by the Abbé Ozanam; let us only just say that no one has more completely exemplified than the author of *Les Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre* his own motto: 'A man may be at once a Catholic, and still have his share of common sense.' It was a fortunate circumstance which brought about the acquaintance of

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Frédéric Ozanam with the illustrious philosopher, André Marie Ampère, who exercised upon his young friend the happiest influence. 'His conversation,' says Lacordaire, 'referring to the wonders of nature, called forth from the soul of the *savant* outbursts of admiration for the Author of these wonders; sometimes burying his head in his two hands, he would exclaim, as carried away by his enthusiasm: "How great God is, Ozanam, how great God is!"'

It is not unlikely that Ampère's magnificent treatise on the philosophy of science inspired Ozanam with the desire of attempting a philosophy of religion. Like all young men who afterwards accomplish great results, he undertook more than he could grasp, and we are apt to smile when we read the ambitious programme of a work which was to embrace natural and political history, ethnology, philology, psychology; and which necessitated an acquaintance with Hebrew, Sanskrit, Arabic, in fact with *omni re scibili*. The scheme was never carried out, of course, but traces of it remain in many parts of Frédéric Ozanam's lectures at the Collége de France. In the meanwhile he was at a very early age tempted to try his powers as a controversialist, and he had not yet reached his twentieth year when he entered the lists against the Saint Simonians.

What has chiefly struck us in reading the volume which forms the subject of this notice is the equal energy which Ozanam displayed in his intellectual pursuits, and also as a practical Christian. His lectures were for him the means of attracting young men to religious truth; and when he was appointed to succeed M. Fauriel in the chair of foreign literature, he determined upon effecting to the utmost of his ability, what even now sciolists both in France and elsewhere regard as an impossibility, the alliance between Christian faith and scientific power. It was about that time also that the *Société de S. Vincent de Paul* was established, mainly through his instrumentality. Every one who has followed with any attention the history of France during the empire of Napoleon III. knows how an association organized for charitable purposes alone excited the jealousy of the Government, on account of the extraordinary success it had met with from the very beginning. It was represented as being really a political society got up with the view of disseminating legitimate principles; and although Ozanam did not live long enough to see the virtual dissolution of a scheme which had produced the greatest good in the various localities where it had obtained a footing, yet it was perfectly clear that the Emperor would either force upon it his patronage, or suppress it at once. All the part of the Abbé Ozanam's volume relating to this episode is of the highest interest, and should be consulted when the time comes to write a trustworthy and complete history of the reign of Napoleon III.

Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret. Par le baron ALPHONSE DE RUBLE. 8vo. (Paris: Labitte.)

THERE are few epochs in the political annals of France which are more curious than the early part of the sixteenth century. The rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I. shows us a faint attempt

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made by the old mediæval system to hold its own against the tendencies of modern society; chivalry had lived its day and had done its work so far back even as the reign of Louis XI., and not all the dash and military talent of the *roi chevalier* could prevail when brought face to face with the wisdom and forethought of such a politician as the Emperor of Germany. The struggle between France and Austria, relentlessly carried on from the death of Maximilian to the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, is closely interwoven with the affairs of the Church; and diplomatists in their studies as well as generals on the field of battle had to take into serious account the assistance they were likely to derive from religious enthusiasm on the side either of the Romanists or of the Reformers.

The first source of information on the history of the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. is of course M. Mignet's splendid work; but we have besides a considerable number of monographs on the principal actors in the drama, and one of the most noteworthy is the volume of which we have just transcribed the title. Baron de Ruble, already well known by his edition of Monluc's commentaries, published for the *Société de l'Histoire de France*, had also given us a series of letters exchanged between Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret, and the elegant octavo we are now examining may be regarded as an introduction to the correspondence. Of Antoine de Bourbon himself it is impossible to say anything favourable; a politician in the worst sense of the term, he does not seem to have been under the influence of very strong convictions; interest was his ruling guide, and thus it was that he allowed the Guises and the Spaniards, the Protestants and the Catholics, alternately to boast of his support, and to claim him as their ally. The result of this system of vacillation was that both parties were equally bitter against him, and the Huguenot squibs which history has handed down to us are equalled in violence only by the pamphlets of Catholic memoir-writers and controversialists. With reference to Antoine de Bourbon's wife, the gifted Jeanne d'Albret, the case is totally different, and we wish we could quote here the panegyric given of her by Davila, whose evidence on the merits of a Protestant princess is certainly beyond the suspicions of partiality. It was, therefore, a matter of regret that we should not yet have a really good biography of that distinguished person, and no one was better qualified to supply the desideratum than Baron de Ruble. Let us hope that the volume we are now reviewing will be speedily followed by a second instalment.

'Documents and facts, every thing is new here,' so says our author in his preface; and never was an assertion better justified. The greater part of the *inédits* papers published are taken from the Dusseldorf library, where no one yet had thought of hunting for them; and from the evidence they supply, coupled with information collected in other record-offices and public collections, Baron de Ruble has managed to give us both a striking though melancholy sketch of the Court of Francis I., and a *piquant* account of the intrigues by which the King of France and his German rival attempted to foil one another. Historians have not hitherto sufficiently dwelt upon the

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fact that the two monarchs were as eager to increase their power by matrimonial alliances as by territorial aggrandisement, and on this point Baron de Ruble particularly dwells.

Jeanne d'Albret was, in the first place, sought by Charles V. on behalf of his son Philip; and this arrangement, if it had been brought to a successful issue, would have involved exchange of provinces between the two courts. It failed, however; and then it was that the Duke of Clèves was pressed upon Jeanne d'Albret, much against her inclination, by Francis I. Baron de Ruble has been able to ascertain the precise date of the marriage, which had remained a mystery. Celebrated on the 14th of June, 1541, it never was consummated, and Pope Paul III. on the 14th of October, 1545, pronounced it to be null and void. The Duke of Clèves then broke with France, and joined Germany; and three years after, Jeanne d'Albret married the King of Navarre. The volume ends with this event, which was the turning point in the political career of Jeanne d'Albret; and we feel no doubt that the subsequent part of her history, bearing as it must do upon the progress of the Reformation in France, will be equally interesting. Let us note, in conclusion, nineteen letters of Marguerite d'Angoulême, extremely valuable, both from the literary and from the historical point of view; they complete the collection edited upwards of thirty years ago by the late M. Génin.

Clerical Reminiscences. By SENEX. (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1880.)

A CHATTY, garrulous but agreeable book, containing a good many recollections of various men of note in the Church. It will be understood that any earnest clergyman, like him who is here recording his recollections of a professional career commenced about half a century ago, would in all probability be an Evangelical, for at that time the Evangelical Revival was dominant. And so in fact it is, and a revival from indolence and selfishness was undoubtedly needed in a great many cases, both by clergy and people. He himself was presented to a Wiltshire parish of four thousand inhabitants, in which, he says:—

'There was no service on wet Sundays; when a sick person wanted a visit, the vicar sent a shilling, and said that would do him more good than his prayers; the Holy Communion had not been administered for eighteen months, and every one seemed to do what was right in his own eyes. Among other things, a parishioner had erected a gravestone, and on it these words were carved: "Prepare to meet thy God!" When the old vicar saw it, he said he would have no Methodism in his churchyard; and sending for a mason, he had the words chiselled out! The "aggrieved parishioner" complained to the bishop, and the vicar was required to replace the inscription. He refused, and threw up the living.'

We select for quotation an interesting personal reminiscence of a very eminent scholar and theologian:—

'Standing on the deck of the steamer was Dr. Mill, the Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. He was in the prime of life, rather undersized, full of intelligence, but somewhat shy in manner. He was a High

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Churchman, but not then so extreme as in after years. He was one of the best Sanscrit scholars, if not the very best, in India. His *Christa Sangita* is still upon my bookshelves. It produced a great sensation at the time, but I fear is now nearly forgotten. It is an epic poem, and was originally suggested by the attempt of a learned native, resident for a time at Bishop's College, but still a heathen, to turn the first chapter of S. John's Gospel into Sanscrit verse. The attempt naturally failed, and the pen was laid down. But Dr. Mill took it up again. The work then assumed the form of a dialogue between "teacher and scholar," in which first the Old Testament and then the New were introduced. The scholar is interested, and suggests doubts or makes inquiries, and in answer to these the evidence from prophecy, miracles, and morality are introduced; and the whole is concluded by the conviction and conversion of the scholar, and the choral offering up of praise by both in the *Te Deum.*

'Dr. Mill's Moonshee himself told me that while walking up and down in the late hours of the night and early hours in the morning, pouring out verse after verse of Sanscrit to be copied down he seemed to be inspired; and I remember well that when on visitation, the camp being pitched near to a Brahmin's college full of very learned Pundits, they sent to make inquiries, and a young Christian native, to answer these inquiries, took with him a copy of *Christa Sangita,* they detained him all night long to read it to them. When read, they with one voice pronounced it a divine work.'

A Charge delivered to the Clergy at the Visitation held in the Cathedral Church of S. Luke at Halifax, on the 6th day of July, 1880. By HIBBERT, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia. Published at the request of the Diocesan Synod. (Halifax, N.S.: Baillie and Co., 1880.)

THIS charge is as refreshing to the reader as the sea breezes are to the weary Londoner. It must have been as good as a tonic to the hearers, and we cannot wonder that they requested that it should be published. The *Church Guardian* (newspaper) of New Brunswick suggests that it should be widely circulated by the clergy on all sides, and we echo the wish, and hope that it may be published and circulated in the 'old country,' where its freshening tones will be invigorating. It forms a pleasant contrast to the generality of our home produce of episcopal charges, and is a good example of courage, vigour, sympathy, learning and churchmanship.

At the present time, when at home either 'burning questions' are shirked or an attempt is made to stamp them out, it is profitable to see what the opinion of an able outsider is, and Bishop Binney speaks with no uncertain sound. As he says, he is not bound by decisions in England, so that he does not trouble about the erection of 'a new parliamentary jurisdiction' under the old name of the Arches Court; and being beyond the reach of the angry charge of *ἀνομία,* he criticizes with grave impartiality the arbitrary decisions of a lay court. It is much to be wished that there could be found some amongst our English bishops who could be courageous enough to show the sympathy displayed in this charge, which is so full of valuable matter that we cannot refrain from making some extracts.

After referring feelingly to the changes by death or retirement

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which would appeal to the sympathy of his hearers, Bishop Binney speaks of the second Lambeth Conference, and the reports of its committees; and here occur the weighty words :—

'In dealing with the excesses and shortcomings of the clergy, I thought that we ought first to consider our own ways, that an assembly of bishops was the very place where with the utmost propriety our own obligations should have been considered and formally acknowledged. There are many points in which most, if not all, of the bishops of the Anglican communion habitually violate the laws of the Church when officiating, and I could not conscientiously join in the condemnation of priests for the transgression of laws which the bishops systematically disregard.'

How sad is the contrast here seen between this loving and honest acknowledgment and the harsh and cruel treatment of the poor Brighton priest. Here in England priests are to be dragooned and frightened with heavy fines and imprisonment, while bishops backed by the Curia do as they like and exclude themselves from the operation of their own Public Worship Regulation Act. If at the time of the Purchas question the bishops had shown a like sympathy, and had made as honest an acknowledgment of error in themselves as Bishop Binney does, it would have been a happy thing for the Church of England. But unfortunately they seem to act on the advice given fifty years ago by an old rector to a newly ordained priest: 'Never acknowledge yourself to be wrong before the laity, or they will take advantage of you. I once read a rubric through in church without thinking; and after service the churchwarden came into the vestry and said with a smile, "We don't often hear that in church." I replied calmly, "I daresay not, *we do not often read it.*"' The example of S. Augustine in his volume of *Retractationes* must sometimes add torture to the sick headaches of some bishops.

After urging the better observance of Ascension Day, with a desire for weekly Communion, the charge deals with certain decisions of the English courts, especially the Ridsdale judgment :—

'The court was numerous, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and four bishops as episcopal assessors; but it seems to me, after carefully examining the judgment, more than probable that it was dictated rather by policy than according to the convictions of the learned judges. . . . It would occupy too much time if I were fully to discuss the judgment in the Folkestone case; but having myself expended a good deal of time upon it, I must express my astonishment that such statements and arguments could ever have been uttered by English judges. . . . It is incredible that such distinguished men as took part in that Conference [the Savoy in 1660] would deliberately remodel and republish a rubric which according to the views of the Lords of the Council either had no meaning at all or meant something entirely different from what was expressed. I have treated of this matter, not because I would have the use of vestments revived, but because I think that our brethren are very hardly treated, when condemned and stigmatized as lawless because they act upon the natural interpretation and self-evident meaning of the rubric, believing themselves to be thus conforming to the law, which they admit they are bound to obey. . . . I do not say that these men are right, and I think some of them are acting injudiciously, but I believe that they are persuaded in their own minds; and we cannot be surprised if at length

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they become regardless of law through indignation at being constantly treated as lawless by those who are in authority.'

These are wise and sympathetic words, which would win many who decline to abide by, what seem to them, lawless judgments dictated by policy.

In continuation, Bishop Binney throws some fresh light upon the meaning of North-side, and expresses his opinion that the East-ward position at consecration is 'the only position completely fulfilling the direction' of the rubric. He then goes on to speak of marriage with deceased wife's sister; Sunday schools; the danger of sending girls to convents for education; the Intermediate State; prayers for the dead; and the question of eternal punishment; in a manner which from its truth and love would gladden the heart of Churchmen. The charge is a marvel of condensation without obscurity: there is no word too much, yet none need be uncertain about the meaning. The bishop knows his own mind, and expresses it clearly.

We had lately to commend the charge of the brave Bishop of Fredericton, and we congratulate the two outlying dioceses of the Dominion of Canada on their bishops. Perhaps there is something in the healthiness of the air which gives such tone to their utterances; if so, it would be a good thing if some of our English bishops would spend their holidays in New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia, instead of staying in Geneva, or amongst the Presbyterians in North Britain or Old Scotia.

Shakspeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L., Bishop of S. Andrew's. Third Edition. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1880.)

Two editions of this work, as the advertisement to the present edition informs us, were disposed of within a few months after its first appearance in 1864. To the work as it previously stood have now been added a few more illustrations of the subject, and the sermon preached by the author in April 1864, at Stratford-upon-Avon, on occasion of the 'Tercentenary Festival held in Commemoration of the Birth of Shakspeare.' The result is not quite so satisfactory as it would have been if the additional illustrations had been incorporated with the text, and this carefully revised.

The idea of the book is a good one, and the author brings to its elucidation the necessary qualifications; namely, intimate knowledge of the contents of the Bible, and no less intimate knowledge along with warm appreciation of Shakspeare's works. That these qualities do not always go together, or have not done so in the past, is shown by the fact that 'the notes of critics upon Shakspeare, superfluously full in pointing out his obligations, real or supposed, to secular authors, are singularly meagre in the references which they make to Holy Scripture.' These words, quoted from the author's Preface, would require some modification at the present time; for whether or not it be the result of his own and similar labours, the editions of various plays which now issue from the press abound in references to the parallelism between Biblical and Shakspearean language and ideas.

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That Shakspeare had the contents of the Bible 'at his finger's ends,' and that he is indebted to it for a multitude of words, phrases, sentiments, and illustrations, are facts placed in clear light by Bishop Wordsworth. Beginning with the first chapter of Genesis, he quotes Shakspeare's use of its language in the *Tempest*:—

> 'How
> To name the bigger light, and how the less,
> That burn by day and night.'

Then passing down the stream of Sacred History, he finds abundant references in Shakspeare's plays to Biblical facts and characters.

Succeeding chapters treat in detail of 'Shakspeare's Religious Principles and Sentiments derived from the Bible,' and of the 'Poetry of Shakspeare' drawn from the same source. On the first topic the author's aim may be best expressed in his own words:—

> 'I am to show how Scriptural, and consequently how true and just, are the conceptions which Shakspeare entertained of the being and attributes of God, of His general and particular Providence, of His revelation to man, of our duty towards Him and towards each other, of human life and human death, of time and of eternity—in a word, of every subject which it most concerns us as rational and responsible beings to conceive aright' (p. 100).

And he does clearly show not only that Shakspeare was familiar with the letter of Holy Scripture, but that he had imbibed its spirit; that, in the days when misinterpretation began to be rampant, he was not drawn into any one-sided views of its teaching, like those that

> 'do set THE WORD
> Against THE WORD.'
> (*King Richard II.* act iv. sc. 5.)

It is well argued by our author that the great dramatist had been contented to submit to the sober and Catholic teaching of the Reformed Church of England. We may undoubtedly add that he had used that 'diligent Collation of Scripture with Scripture' which his junior contemporary George Herbert recommends, being convinced, to quote from the same author, that 'all truth being consonant to itself, and all being penned by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be, but that an industrious and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures.'[1]

Leaving this topic, which the Bishop has handled in a most satisfactory and interesting manner, we pass to the chapter in which he treats of Shakspeare's poetical indebtedness to the Bible. Here we find many citations which fairly illustrate the subject. A very good one is the passage, too long to quote *in extenso*, from the Second Part of *King Henry IV.* act i. sc. 3, beginning:—

> 'The question, then, Lord Hastings, standeth thus;
> Whether our present five-and-twenty thousand
> May hold up head without Northumberland.'

[1] *A Priest to The Temple; or, The Country Parson.* Chapter IV.

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And ending:—

> 'Like one, that draws the model of a house
> Beyond his power to build it; who, half-through,
> Gives o'er, and leaves his part-created cost
> A naked subject to the weeping clouds,
> And waste for churlish winter's tyranny.'

Here the simile which forms the main topic of nearly fifty lines has been appropriated and amplified (not too much so, *pace* the Bishop, considering that the larger part of the passage is meant for a set speech in council) from S. Luke xiv. 28, 29.

Some examples have been omitted which would have been more to the point than some which are given. We will mention one that appears so to us. When we bear in mind S. Paul's use of the word ἀρχαί, rendered in Shakspeare's time, as in our own, 'Principalities,' as a denomination of super-human spiritual beings, occupying, it may be, a definite position in the celestial hierarchy, we understand the intended extravagance of Valentine's words in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act ii. sc. 4:—

> 'If not Divine,
> Yet let her be a Principality
> Sovereign to all the creatures on the earth.'[1]

As regards the deeper questions on which the Bishop touches, questions relating to Shakspeare's worth as a moral and religious teacher, and relating to his private character and personal religion, we shall only say that, like Nature, and like the Bible itself, Shakspeare must be looked at as a whole, and that, though we cannot deny the existence in him of human imperfection, the wonder is that there is so little of it, when we remember the reckless and riotous character of the society into which his vocation threw him. This last point deserves more attention than it has received from Bishop Wordsworth.

We resist the temptation to dwell upon our author's well-merited strictures on Mr. Bowdler's mutilation of Shakspeare, and upon a more interesting topic, Shakspeare's Knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer, our remarks having already run to a considerable length. But when shallow views are widely circulated[2] on the subject which Bishop Wordsworth sets in its true light, we have thought it well to invite attention to a work which is the best hitherto published in vindication of the religious character of our great dramatist and his works.

[1] It is a curious question whether Shakspeare was acquainted, as Milton was, with the celestial scheme falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, according to which Principalities occupy the highest rank in the third order of spiritual beings, and have below them Archangels and Angels.

[2] See, for example, Mr. Green's remarks on Shakspeare's religious sentiments in his *History of the English People*.

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Stories of the East from Herodotus. By the Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A., Professor of Latin at University College, London. With Illustrations from Ancient Frescoes and Sculptures. (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1881.)

COMPARATIVELY few people have any idea of how really intensely interesting is the *History* of Herodotus. Lucian may, we may think, have been romancing when he declared that the *History* was recited by its author before the Greeks assembled at Olympia, and was received with such universal applause that the nine books of the *History* were named after the nine Muses. Similarly it was probably with a fanciful idea of connecting the younger historian with the elder that the fable was coined which represents Thucydides as having been present at this recitation, and moved to tears by it. Such stories, however, go to show, at all events, how highly his contemporaries held the narrative, which for the clearness of its style, the lively and ceaseless motion of the incidents, and the seriousness and elevation of the moral tone, wonderful for a Greek in that age, is indeed worthy of a very high rank among story-tellers.

Mr. Church has done well, therefore, to make the great work of the 'Father of History' accessible to all readers, young and old; and we should say that it will have almost as many of the former as of the latter. His striking stories are too poetical in their conception, of course, to be pure history. They are history dramatized, like Shakspeare's historical plays. And this peculiar picturesqueness of the author's method and style is far from having suffered in Mr. Church's hands. He has, on the contrary, fully appreciated this rare charm of his author, and has considerably heightened it by the omission of the prosaic details which add nothing to the story as a story, but which only delay the action of it. He has consequently treated his text with considerable freedom; indeed, he warns the reader in his preface: 'I have kept as close to my original as I could, but I do not profess to have translated it.' We have here, therefore, select *exempla* from Herodotus, very freely treated; and no schoolboy will find it very well adapted to serve him as a 'crib.' We have in these pages first the story of Crœsus and the Fall of Sardis; then the career of Cyrus, of Cambyses, and lastly of Darius, make up this very interesting volume. It displays the accuracy of the scholar combined with the skill of the poet, a union of qualities rarer among authors than one could wish.

Thoughts on Education. By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Vicar of Great Malvern and Prebendary of Hereford. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co.)

IT is a pleasure to direct our readers' attention to these vigorous essays. All who can appreciate the views of a strong and straightforward thinker will enjoy Mr. Gregory Smith's trenchant onslaught upon the fallacies uttered by the assailants of the old-fashioned *classical* system of instruction. The subject is by no means one that is likely to become obsolete, as the recent unsuccessful attempts to abolish the compulsory study of Greek at the Universities have re-

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minded us; and intending disputants could hardly find a better storehouse of arguments on the orthodox side than this review affords.

The Provincial Letters of Pascal. Edited by JOHN DE SOYRES. (Cambridge: Deighton, 1880.)

THIS is a sumptuous critical edition of Pascal's immortal eighteen Letters. The editor gives an accurate text, with all necessary historical notes, besides introductory essays and indexes of persons and subjects. It is surprising that this task has not been executed before. Mr. de Soyres, already known by his essay on *Montanism*, has done his work very well. The Introduction gives a sketch of the state of the Roman Church in the seventeenth century, and describes fully the free-will controversy, and the literature in favour of the Casuists, and against them. Pascal's relations to the Jansenists is also discussed, and the bibliography of the *Provincial Letters* is thoroughly investigated.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations. Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. Southern Palestine and Jerusalem. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., forty-five years a missionary in Syria and Palestine. One Hundred and Forty Illustrations and Maps., (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1881.)

THIS is a new edition of a well-known and deservedly valued work. Dr. Thomson is among the best known of those travellers in the Holy Land who have recorded their impressions for the benefit of others. He writes intelligently and pleasantly, and in a very becoming spirit. We do not know that he is especially happy in the identification of the ancient sites; but he has taken note all through of the explorations of Major Warren and the Palestine Exploration Fund. While accepting the facts adduced by Mr. Fergusson, 'I do not admit,' he says, 'the conclusions based upon them.' The chapters which he has devoted to Jerusalem and its vicinity are well worth reading: and particularly his account on pp. 477–483 of the ceremony of the Holy Fire, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he witnessed. The whole volume contains a mass of facts derived for the most part, as it seems, from personal observation, having reference to the geological structure, geography, flora and fauna of Palestine, which almost any reader would find interesting.

1. *Celebrated Travels and Travellers. The Great Navigators of the Eighteenth Century.* By JULES VERNE. Translated from the French. (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1880.)
2. *Some Heroes of Travel; or, Chapters from the History of Geographical Discovery and Enterprise.* With Map. Compiled and rewritten by W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS. (London: S.P.C.K., 1880.)

TRAVELLERS' stories and stories about travellers furnish a perennial stream of interesting literature. With the aid of the two books

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mentioned above, the reader can transport himself to the most distant and widely separated regions of the earth, and he can assist, in imagination, at the adventures of travellers of the last century or of his own.

A record by Jules Verne of the doings of travellers is sure to promise many attractions. Well informed in matters of science, endowed with a vivid imagination, highly skilled in catering for the general appetite, and with a fluent pen, which has produced nearly two score volumes of varied interest, he was just the man to put together a sufficiently accurate account of *Celebrated Travels and Travellers*. The present volume forms the second of a series of three: the first having related the *Exploration of the World*, and covering the period from B.C. 505 to the close of the seventeenth century.

The book opens with a chapter on 'Astronomers and Cartographers,' in two parts, in the first of which we have a summary account of the corrections introduced by improved scientific method into the delineation of the earth's surface, and of the settlement of the question as to its flatness at the poles. The errors corrected, such as a difference of five hundred miles of distance between Marseilles and Alexandria, seem astonishing. The reduction of the outline of France to truer proportions gave occasion to a *bon mot* of Louis XIV.'s. 'I am sorry to see, gentlemen,' he said to the scientists, 'that your journey has cost me a good part of my kingdom.' In the second part of this chapter we have, besides other matters, the finding of Alexander Selkirk on his lonely island. Strange to say, though our author mentions Saintine's French novel, *Alone*, he omits all reference to *Robinson Crusoe*.

Though a Frenchman, the author pays due honour to Captain Cook. He has, in fact, given the chief place in his volume to the great English navigator. Chapter ii., entitled 'Captain Cook's Predecessors,' gives first some account of the little-known Roggewein, a Dutch sailor, whose claim to distinction on the ground of geographical discovery is more doubtful than the unenviable one on that of the wanton slaughter of savages. Then follows a notice of Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Byron's famous voyage round the world in 1764–1766. This sailor, it may be remembered, was that relation of his poetical namesake to whom the latter alludes in the words—

> 'His hardships were comparative
> To those related in my grand-dad's *Narrative*.'

And it is strange to find so little reference in the volume before us to that 'Narrative by the Hon. J. Byron,' of the loss of the *Wager* (on which he was serving as lieutenant at the age of eighteen), and the sufferings of the crew, between 1740 and 1746. In the whole history of nautical adventure, this story of hardships undergone and of perils escaped by the few survivors, is unparalleled. His strange experience will account both for Byron's desire to revisit, twenty years afterwards, the same latitudes in a voyage of discovery, and for his selection to the post of command.

Of others who preceded Captain Cook, we shall only allude to

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Bougainville. M. Verne tells us 'that he acquired popularity as the first Frenchman who accomplished a voyage round the world.' He omits to say that, in his *Voyage autour du Monde*, Bougainville himself only pretends that his tour of the world is the first which has been made *by the French nation* ('par la nation Française'), and that he admits that in 1714 a Frenchman, La Barbinais le Gentil, having gone to Chili and Peru, found his way thence to China, and eventually returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, 'ayant à la vérité fait, de sa personne, le tour du monde' (Discours préliminaire).

We cannot examine the rest of the book in detail; but what we have further to say shall be almost entirely in the way of commendation. To the intelligent young reader—familiar, as all intelligent English children are, with the veracious narratives of *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Swiss Family Robinson*—it will be a great acquisition. Our knowledge upon this point may be depended upon, for it has been experimentally acquired. For such readers the book is simply delightful, and, indeed, it may be perused with interest and profit by many of their elders.

Some maps are given. It would have been well if the routes of navigators could have been indicated on the several maps. And this reminds us that in one of the copies of Bougainville's *Voyage autour du Monde* possessed by the British Museum, is a map of the world, showing that navigator's route, and also, traced in pencil *by Cook's own hand* in 1772, the route of the latter, running right across what figures as the coast-line of the Australian Continent. A *facsimile* of this map, giving Cook's own delineation, would have been both interesting and instructive.

Of the numerous engravings, some are highly commendable for gradation of tone and other artistic qualities, and some are quaint and interesting reproductions, in *facsimile*, of 'earlier engravings.' There are, however, examples, both new and old, which are disfigured by the blackness of the shadows. We should imagine, too, that if the 'typical native' (p. 164) in the foreground is really a *facsimile* of a work of art of the last century, the ideas then entertained on typical physiognomy required as much correction as those of their immediate predecessors on geography. This gentleman might pass very well for Achilles, or at least for an antique Roman.

Some Heroes of Travel, except in its opening chapter, which presents the reader with some of Marco Polo's adventures and observations, moves entirely among adventurous spirits of quite recent years. Good judgment is shown in the selection of the 'Heroes,' whose adventures may fill a moderate-sized volume, and are for the most part not too well known. And there is variety in the scenery and the ethnic characters to which the reader is introduced. Thus, with Mr. George F. Ruxton, he may visit Mexico, and learn a little (more might have been introduced with advantage) about its inhabitants. With Dr. Barth he may penetrate into Central Africa, and learn that there is something worse than the street noises of London, namely, the silence of the desert to a lonely traveller who has strayed away from his companions, and is unable to discover

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their whereabouts. We remark, by the way, that without grudging his proper mead of honour to this traveller we think that the peculiar distinction implied in what Sydney Smith calls the 'broad *a*' should be reserved for the world's really foremost men in their several vocations. We may rightly speak of 'a Livingstone,' but we demur a little to 'a Barth' (p. 156).

But to resume. With two other travellers, the reader may look again at Africa: with one he may learn something about exploration in West Australia; with Atkinson, MacGahan and Burnaby he may transport himself on the enchanted carpet of imagination to northern and central Asia.

The book is suitable for popular reading, and is not destitute of maps, on which the routes of the travellers are traced. We miss, however, the pictorial illustrations with which the first-mentioned volume abounds. We hope that the author does not intend to compete with the sixteenth century writers in alliteration. Such a jingle as 'the subtle savage summons his utmost craft and cunning to gain an advantage over the wily white woodman' (p. 80) is to be avoided. It is not, however, clear whether this is original or quoted from Mr. Ruxton. We must say, too, that we prefer antelopes, not antelope, for the plural. Our author uses the former apparently as a dual, the latter as the plural.

Hymns and other Poetry of the Latin Church. Translated by D. T. Morgan. Arranged according to the Calendar of the Church of England. (London: Rivingtons, 1880.)

Some of our contemporaries have expressed an unfavourable opinion of a portion of these translations. In cases where Mr. Morgan has been anticipated by the authors of earlier versions, more especially by John Mason Neale, the flowing rhythm of lines now popularly known to many an English (we may add, to many an American and Colonial) congregation has been contrasted with the stiffer, if closer, rendering of our author, to the disadvantage of the latter. We must own we do not find ourselves in the position of pleaders for a reversal of this verdict. There is lacking in many of the versions before us that *lilt* (if we may venture to use the word) which seems requisite to the thorough success of a hymn, when viewed in its relation to the demands of congregational melody.

It does not, however, follow that Mr. Morgan's volume may not have a place of its own, and prove really acceptable to a considerable circle of readers. In the first place, there are numbers whose knowledge of Latin is not such as to enable them to read with any pleasure or satisfaction the originals of the versions before us. And, secondly, if any students desire to extend their researches into Latin hymnology beyond the selection provided for us by Archbishop Trench, they find formidable barriers in their road, both as regards the trouble and the expense of their pursuit. The collections made by Daniel and by Mone are to the majority positively inaccessible, inasmuch as they are out of print, and only stored up in a few libraries. The list of those in Bäszler's small volume (Berlin, 1858) lacks many here given

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by Mr. Morgan, who, within the compass of 300 pages, has laid under contribution, not only Trench, Neale, Mone and Daniel, but also Gautier and Alardi.

Thus, for example, the fine lines at the conclusion of the tenth book of the Cathemerinôn of Prudentius, though well known in Germany, and once popular (either in Latin or in a good translation) even among Protestants there, as a funeral hymn, are all but absolutely unknown in England. Mr. Morgan has rendered the lines with some freedom, but, to our thinking, with much spirit and felicity. Out of his sixteen stanzas, representing thirteen of the necessarily terser Latin, we can only select a few—

'Then take, O earth, this precious dust,
And in thy sheltering bosom bear
This frame of man we here entrust,
These relics of our love and care.

'Here the immortal spirit dwelt
By God's creating fiat made,
Here wisdom's heavenly power was felt,
With Christ for author and for aid.

'And He who shaped this mortal clay,
Author and fashioner of all,
When comes the sure appointed day
These gifts of His to light shall call.

'Then every hope fulfilled by God,
This veilèd image of His face,
Now placed beneath this covering sod,
Again, O earth, thou must replace.

* * * *

'But till these elements, O Lord,
Again with form Thou dost invest,
Say where, obedient to Thy word,
Shall the pure spirit find her rest?

'Safely she comes to that blest place
With faithful Abraham to dwell,
Where Lazarus in blissful case
Dives afar beholds from hell.

'The pardoned thief rejoicing heard
Thy call to Paradise that day:
So we, O Christ, receive the word,
And follow Thee upon the way.' (Pp. 268–271.)

To say that these lines do not possess all the grace and subtlety of the original is only to say that they are a translation. Moreover, they lose something by only being partially given to our readers. Still, some will feel grateful to us for the citation, and be led, we suspect, to look for further specimens in Mr. Morgan's volume. Meanwhile we, at least, sincerely thank him for his pious toil.

Cantica Sanctorum. (London: Masters, 1880.)

We have here a series of hymns referring, not to the great festivals,

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but to the Black Letter Saints' Days of the English and Scottish Kalendars. The hymns are, with a few exceptions, if we are rightly informed, the productions of a single pen.

One real difficulty emerges at the outset of such an undertaking. The Saints of Christ's flock must necessarily have a great deal in common, because their aim is one. Diversities in the possession of gifts may be brought out in histories and biographies, or in a poetic narrative. But to mark these distinctions in the compass of a few stanzas is a hard task, and yet unless it is attempted there must almost inevitably result a cerain measure of sameness; a sameness rendered more difficult to avoid by reason of the real defects in our existing Kalendar, as was shown in the very beautiful and original paper read at Leicester during the recent Church Congress, by Dr. Westcott.

If we had space for a specimen we should choose the hymn for S. Benedict, March 21. If the poet's respect for S. Benedict of Nursia seem to any reader excessive, appeal may certainly be made to the article on Benedict by the Rev. J. Gregory Smith, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, or to the lectures of a large-minded Nonconformist Minister, Mr. J. Baldwin Brown. The tradition that roses sprung out of the briars in which Benedict rolled himself to overcome temptations of his lower nature may be found in many accounts of his career, as for instance that given by Mrs. Jamieson in *Legends of the Monastic Orders*.

If, as seems probable, the words of our Lord respecting the work of His Forerunner and of Himself, as recorded in the Gospel (S. Matt. xi. 16–19), imply that the children of the true wisdom should try to find room in their hearts for a due appreciation of both types of holiness, the ascetic and the domestic, the hymn which we have noticed may help to take many of us out of our common grooves of thought into regions less commonly visited.

Burial Offices according to the English and Roman Uses. Edited by A. HARFORD PEARSON, Esq. (London: Church Printing Office, 1880.)

A VERY valuable and suggestive introduction prefixed to this little work calls attention to the circumstance that Prayers for the Dead formed the chief characteristic of all ancient Christian Burial Offices, Eastern and Western, and that the basis of these, as of the Breviary, was probably Judaic. The author contends that coffins were not in general use till the beginning of the last century, and alleges that we owe our mourning paraphernalia to the corrupt French taste of the times of Louis XIV. But coffins are certainly frequently represented in mediæval illuminations; though, to be sure, the bodies may have been only carried in them to the grave, and interred without them. The Offices translated and printed here are that according to the Use of York, that of the Use of Sarum, one from the Sacramentary of Leofric, not later than the tenth century (from which all the English Uses probably were derived), the modern Roman Use, and the Anglican Office. The first is the author's favourite. Mr. Pearson

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points out the meagreness of the Roman Office for an adult: that for a child is far better. We may here correct an error on p. 437 of volume ix. of the *Church Quarterly Review*. Mr. A. H. Pearson, and not Mr. Walker, as there stated, is the translator of *The Sarum Missal in English*.

Some Drawings of Ancient Embroidery. Thirty Specimens. By Mrs. Mary Barber. (London: Sotheran, 1880).

Under the careful editorship of Mr. Butterfield, the eminent architect, this posthumous work makes its welcome appearance. The specimens are beautifully lithographed to scale and coloured by hand; and each plate has a brief illustrative description in letterpress. The subjects are taken from ancient vestments, herse-cloths, hangings, funeral-palls, and the curious altar frontal preserved at Alveley Church, Shropshire. The specimens are almost entirely of English workmanship, and not of early date. They will be useful to practical embroiderers.

Needlework Designs from Old Examples. By Emily Sophia Hartshorne. (London: Griffith and Farran, 1880.)

Unlike the book last mentioned, these are full-sized working drawings, eighteen in number, with sixty different patterns for embroidery and crewel work. Unfortunately these old examples are not necessarily beautiful.

THE RETROSPECT OF 1880.

A retrospect of the ecclesiastical events of 1880, written while Mr. Dale's appeal was still pending, might at first sight appear doomed to be incomplete; but the issues of general interest are far wider and more important than the technical points involved in the question of the Rector of S. Vedast's release from the shameful imprisonment to which he and his brother priest have been consigned by the stupid bigotry of the Church Association. So the past year can be as well considered before as after the hearing. Painful as the situation must be to all right-thinking Church-folk, it is especially painful to those who have, with their eyes open and their minds enlightened by antiquarian study, accepted the historical Church of England, with all its varied annals of compromise, yet triumphing in its spiritual energy over the elements of secular polity which Tudor masterfulness imported into its organization in exchange for the still more oppressive yoke of the Roman Curia. Ideal perfection and absolute logic are as impossible in the system of the Church of England, which never pretended to them, as they are in the actual Church of Rome, boundlessly arrogant as it is in its theoretic claims, yet ever trafficking with the powers of the earth. A wise regulation of the deference ordered by God to be rendered to Cæsar, in subordi-

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nation to the duty supremely due to God, is the healthy condition of all spiritual judicature, and this is sadly to seek in our existing ecclesiastical commonwealth; while it is impossible to bring the ceremonial directions embodied in the Prayer-Book, and justified by history, into harmony with the dicta of recent decisions. So the jurisdiction discredits the judgments, and the judgments bring suspicion on the jurisdiction.

This double distemperature is that which makes the situation so anxious; for it would be but of little use to recast the Court of Appeal so long as a vestiary judgment loomed imminent in the near distance as the first task with which it would have to occupy itself. Bystanders would be apt to insinuate that the grievance was somewhat fictitious, and the reconstruction of the Court collusive in view of a prearranged decision. On the other hand, the tender of concessions upon the Ornaments Rubric as the price of acquiescence in an unreformed Judicial Committee would be too palpably immoral to be successful.

It would be plainly inopportune on our part to attempt to draw out the details of a compromise. But to a compromise the Archbishop of Canterbury, at all events, has committed himself by his Westbere speech, as in other passages, so most emphatically by declaring Churchmen in general, in contrast to Ritualists, as 'justly indignant' at the imprisonment of Mr. Dale and Mr. Enraght. Such a statement from such a mouth cannot and ought not to be left to rest. Uttered, as the words were, with obvious sympathy for those whom it chiefly concerned, they embody in that sympathy a challenge to those to whom they are really addressed, namely, to the whole Church of England, not to allow them to evaporate in simple rhetoric. It would be no excuse for inaction to plead that the Archbishop of Canterbury had not hitherto been forward in admitting that there was a High Church grievance, and that, accordingly, there were not sufficient grounds to deal with the Westbere declaration as a direct invitation to any negotiation. All men, and especially all able men, such as the Metropolitan is preeminently, are taught by circumstances; and, as it seems, the Church Association has succeeded in impressing that lesson which it least intended or wished on the man whom, above all others, it would have least desired to influence in a direction favourable to High Churchmanship. The Archbishop's letter to Canon Wilkinson is a further and very satisfactory indication of the desire for peace. The result is that steps should be taken, without delay, to bring about an understanding between the Prelacy and justly-indignant Churchmen alike upon the judicature and upon the vesture. The happy decision in the Clewer case has strengthened the hands of the Episcopate in checking malicious prosecutions.

We pass by the conditions on which the Eucharistic dress should be recognized; for it would only embarrass negotiations to dogmatize crudely over the details of a delicate question. The principle of a distinctive dress is that which is of primary importance, and secondly, the recognition of that principle being found in the Ornaments Rubric.

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In approaching the reform of the Court of Appeal, the first head on which to reach an understanding is to define what the particulars are in which the actual tribunal is flagrantly defective. The capital one may be reasonably stated to be its hybrid character. It offends history, taste, and common sense with its obtrusive claims to be a spiritual jurisdiction involved in its professed succession to the delegates, replacing, as those did, the appeals to the Roman Curia, and in the assessorship by rota of Bishops, so ill supported as those claims are by the realities of its temporal constitution, mode of thought, and method of procedure, all of which testify to its purely secular origin. We do not mean an origin accepted by Act of Parliament; for Parliament must intervene somewhere: but one which refers up to mere Act of Parliament acting without consultation with the Church Representative in any form. The choice lies, as Dr. Liddon well pointed out in the *Guardian*, between a professedly spiritual court, the members of which must be sought among the Episcopate, or a professedly temporal one of jurists, dealing exclusively with the legal aspects of questions. The first-named form was embodied in a Bill brought in many years ago by Bishop Blomfield—so early is the date at which the Judicial Committee lost the confidence of Churchmen—and has lately been revived by Dr. Liddon. The other theory, of the temporal court, found in Bishop Wilberforce a conspicuous advocate, and especially towards the close of his life: at a moment, indeed, when the Judicial Committee, for spiritual causes, was defunct, and the question lay between assigning episcopal assessors to or withholding them from the new (and, as it turned out, transitory) general Court of Appeal when dealing with ecclesiastical questions.

Obviously, the last word has not yet been spoken upon either project: so we await the further developments of the discussion, protesting, as we do, against the too general forgetfulness that the Judicial Committee for Church contentions had, during the last ten years, been swept away, and by Lord Selborne. The same practical difficulty confronts either form of appellate jurisdiction, and will confront it till the schools of the prophets bestir themselves: we mean that lamentable ignorance of canon law, equally shared by prelate and by judge.

We trust that there is sufficient candour in the world to make it unnecessary to insist, under any form of Court, upon the abolition of that monstrous and unique phenomenon—the collective judgment: a device apparently created for the special purpose of darkening counsel and stifling freedom of speech and of research. It is almost past comprehension how a jurist of Lord Cairns' perspicacity could have so misread an order issued in the seventeenth century to regulate the proceedings of the Privy Council as a deliberative body, when it was in fact the Cabinet, as to conceive that this contained any directions for the conduct of members of that Council detailed to exercise judicial functions under the usual conditions of a Court of Law.

But no recast of the appellate jurisdiction can be satisfactory

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which leaves the scandal of the Public Worship Act unredressed. The Act, even by the sulky admission of its real promoters, the persecuting Association, is a failure, deep and irremediable; and nothing in the long run can keep it afloat but injudicious struggles prematurely to get rid of it. Churchmen must trust to their friends in Parliament to choose the time and the terms of the measure which is to relieve the Church of so sore an incubus. The Church Discipline Act will, of course, have to be similarly revised. In the meanwhile, as we have already said, we welcome with thankfulness the not obscure indications that the Bishops, fortified by the results of the Bishop of Oxford's case, intend to discourage ritual prosecutions for the future. The singular impolicy of the appointment to S. Paul's, Walworth, cannot be passed over. We had not expected such a blunder from the author of the 'Pastoral by the ninety-ninth Bishop of Rochester.'

We have little to add to the observations which we made upon the miserable Burials Act in our number for July while it was still before Parliament. The clergy deserve great credit for the spirit, staunch and high-spirited yet temperate and dignified, with which they have received the blow, and are carrying out a law at once distasteful and uncalled for. The Liberation Society is not slow in following up its advantage, and has already put forward Disestablishment as a question of present importance, and to be pressed without delay upon Parliament. With their usual political ability the Liberationists attack the fortress at its weak point, and begin the assault by assailing the Scotch Establishment. We trust that no supposed advantage accruing to the true Church of Scotland will induce Churchmen to favour the movement. The greatest happiness of the greatest number is a Christian no less than a Benthamite principle, and a victory in Scotland would open the high road to England. Besides, the Scotch Church owes advantages not to be numbered to its connexion with the English Establishment. Make us also a sect in the eyes of the law and Scotch Episcopalians will feel the difference. If Disestablishment should unhappily come in England, every member of the Church Association will be a voter for whatever Church assemblies may arise, and we much doubt whether Ritualism would fare better at their hands than even at those of the Judicial Committee. It is much to be wished that those who are highly placed in the Church would take this to heart: for a democratical spiritual body is apt to be equally disrespectful to prelacy and to ceremonial, and it would be an evil day for the Church of England if the minority in its Church assemblies were to consist of a knot of 'reactionary' prelates and Ritualists. As it is, the Established Church can be popular while working within the lines of traditionary order.

The Church Congress at Leicester was even more successful than its predecessor at Swansea, and yet the two towns are noted headquarters of pronounced Dissent. Too much value ought, of course, not to be attached to the exchange of friendly courtesies between the Bishop of Peterborough and the Dissenting ministers. Still, the incident has its value, be it only a negative one. These two con-

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gresses are typical examples of the indirect value of the institution in bringing the Church as a wide and highly-organized commonwealth existing for practical work under the ken of communities, which have hitherto had to far too great an extent a distorted and therefore a worthless knowledge of a society which was, in their eyes, little more than a legitimate object of perpetual depreciation.

Bishop Lightfoot's accession to the See of Durham has opened Newcastle to the Church Congress, and we expect much from a meeting under his presidency. In the meanwhile the fund for the new see of Newcastle is rapidly rolling up to the required sum, and Southwell and Wakefield are moving, though with slower steps.

The idea roughly thrown out by the Bishop of Peterborough at Leicester, and more elaborately presented by Archdeacon Emery, of a central lay assembly elected by the Diocesan Conferences in correspondence with Convocation, but not requiring Parliamentary sanction for its creation, is one which we hope will take root. The facilities for its formation and the good which it may effect are too obvious to require any more full recommendation.

The Cathedral Commission has been laboriously working on, and, as we gather from the Archbishop of Canterbury's charge, the recommendations which it will be likely to make will be those of a conservative reform, and such as will be tender of the distinctive peculiarities of the different cathedrals. We are glad to be told that the creation of the greater Chapter for cathedrals of the new foundation finds favour with the Commissioners. A St. Alban's Chapter Bill is on the stocks, following suit to the Truro Act; and in Cornwall the cathedral as a building has lost no time in following the cathedral as an institution.

Ominous indications abound that a vehement struggle will be made in the coming Session to revolutionize our marriage law by legalizing the alliance with a wife's sister. Energy can only be met by energy, and that a very heavy responsibility will rest upon all who value our old Scriptural marriage law is clear, if they do not strain every muscle to avert an innovation alike unscriptural, contrary to the Christian tradition, unjust in the selfish limits of its ostensible scope, and subversive of family life.

India.—No event of unusual significance has befallen the Church in India during the past year. In the city of Calcutta, where the missionary work of the Church has long been a subject of painful self-reproach, the arrival of three clergymen, who were sent out by the University of Oxford late in the autumn, is a welcome addition to a very slender and ill-equipped missionary staff. The Oxford men will, it is hoped, do, in the capital on the Hooghly, work similar to that which has now for several years been done, under more promising conditions, in the ancient capital of the Moguls by the Cambridge men, who are affiliated to the old S.P.G. mission at Delhi. The Oxford mission is a separate organization, and is allied with no society; whereas the Cambridge mission is part and parcel of the Delhi mission of the S.P.G. Another change has taken place in Calcutta. Bishop's College, the princely foundation of the great

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Middleton, associated as it has been with six subsequent episcopates, and graced by the traditions of a series of learned principals, no longer stands on its original site in Howrah. The Government coveted the site and the stately buildings, and paid a handsome price for the possession. The college now stands in Calcutta itself, near to the Cathedral, and more accessible to inquirers and visitors. The principal and students are simply housed, and the grandeur of the former days has passed away. Those who knew those days and shared the aspirations of its early founders and benefactors will look wistfully back; but it must be confessed that the institution was founded a century too soon. In order that it might fulfil its purpose of educating an indigenous priesthood and teaching staff for India, there was required a supply of converts, from which a selection could be made, and to which existing missions are wholly unequal. The noble buildings served but to make the native teacher unfit for the simplicity of the village life to which he had been accustomed and to which he ought to have looked to return; and experience has shown that a central college for the whole of Hindustan, even with the vastly increased facilities of travel which are now available, must ever be a failure.

The Bishop of Lahore is persevering in his efforts for the erection of a suitable cathedral in lieu of the Mahometan tomb now used for the worship of English Churchmen. Bishop French is urgent that, in the failure of the Government high-class college at Delhi, the Church should avail herself of the profound reverence in which a Hindu holds the office and person of a teacher, and should offer to train in secular learning the élite of the youth of India until they enter the University. The Bishop thinks no teaching imparted by a Christian can be merely secular, and that such an effort would set 'ajar' the gates of many hearts for the future entrance of the Gospel. The work, as a subsidiary branch of the work of missions, is about to be undertaken on a small scale by the Delhi missionaries.

While Bishop French is contemplating building, Bishop Caldwell in Tinnevelly has, during the past year, had the satisfaction of consecrating a church, on which he has laboured for thirty-three years with his hands. A Pointed church, with nave 85 feet long, has been built of hewn stone by village masons, who had no experience of any architecture but that of their own rough-hewn houses. Every bit of wood-work, of window-moulding, all the carvings, even the very doors, were modelled by the Bishop himself in blue clay and in full size, and then copied by the labourers. Three thousand persons crowded into the church at the consecration, yet the services were orderly and reverent, and of 648 communicants only very few were English. It was a day worthy to be chronicled in the year which saw the centenary of the introduction of Christianity into Tinnevelly. This was commemorated on January 20, when the Bishop of Madras, his two suffragans, and ninety native clergymen joined in a solemn Eucharist at Palamcottah.

We welcome the information that the 'Ceylon difficulty' has been arranged and that the Bishop of Colombo is able to work with

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the agents of the Church Missionary Society in his diocese without compromising his position and the rights of his successors in the see.

In the further East the see of Labuan, void by the illness and consequent resignation of Bishop Chambers, has been accepted by the Venerable G. F. Hose, Archdeacon of Singapore.

China has now three English bishops. The old see of Victoria (Hong Kong) was founded in 1849: in 1872 Bishop Russell was appointed a missionary bishop in North China, but the district in which he laboured is now to be known as Mid-China, and his successor, Dr. Moule, was consecrated on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude. On the same day the Rev. C. P. Scott, a missionary of the S.P.G. at Chefoo, was consecrated Bishop of North China; that is, of the six northern provinces. The history of this last-named see is peculiarly interesting. After the first day of Intercession (in 1872) an anonymous donor offered 500*l.* per annum to the S.P.G., on condition that it was spent in China. Thus encouraged, the Society sent out in 1874 Mr. Scott and a fellow missionary, the Rev. M. Greenwood. The same donor last year gave 10,000*l.* to endow the missionary bishopric which is now under Dr. Scott. The Bishop of Mid-China is salaried by the Church Missionary Society.

America.—In the dominion of Canada, where persons are wont to think that the Church has been firmly planted, a new tract of country is opened of which, with our insular conceptions of area, it is hard for us to comprehend the extent. The older dioceses ought at no distant day to be left to themselves, but in the dioceses of Rupertsland a population is being gathered with a rapidity which the Church and other religious bodies, with all the aid which they may receive from England, will find it hard to emulate. A virgin soil, hitherto the hunting grounds of the Hudson's Bay Company, is attracting immigrants not only from the old countries of Europe, but from Lower Canada, where the land, originally poor, has become exhausted by unthrifty farming. In 1872 the Government established a land office, through whose agency lots can be purchased with a sure title and without the prospect of the fluctuations in value which unscrupulous speculation has caused in other parts of the world. In the first five years 1,400,000 acres were thus sold, but in 1879 1,000,000 acres were sold and mainly taken up in homesteads and pre-emptions. The war of races, which has in New Zealand, in Africa, and in Australia, been a sure consequence of English appropriation of the soil, has in Rupertsland been guarded against; 2,000,000 acres having been granted to satisfy the claims of half-breeds and old residents. The city of Winnipeg, which in 1871 had a population of 300 souls, has now 10,000 inhabitants, with five daily papers—a pretty good sign of the mental activity of the people. The settlers on the land are of course scattered, each man obtaining a minimum possession of 320 acres; thus the difficulties of following them with the ministrations of religion are far greater than their mere numbers would suggest. The Bishop is fully alive to the opportunity which is now presented and has made noble efforts, not merely for Church organization, but for education of both sexes, and

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for the training of a colonial-born clergy; but such an unwonted if not unparalleled condition of things calls loudly for aid from the whole Church, as well on this side of the Atlantic as the long-ago founded Churches of Canada. Beyond Manitoba, the diocese of Saskatchewan is also receiving a large body of immigrants, still poorer than those who have settled themselves in the Red River Colony. It is clear that for some years to come these regions must be the objects of infinite sympathy to all who care for the spread of the Kingdom of Christ. Still further to the West the province of British Columbia, now having three bishoprics within its limits, seems at last to have come almost within sight of more prosperous times. The Canadian Railway has actually been commenced, and thousands of workmen have found abundant employment at Yale, which will at first be its terminus. Bishop Sillitoe has made himself a navvy's chaplain-general, and his action has won for him much sympathy and enthusiasm.

Not the least of the services whereby the Colonial Churches repay their debt to their parent are the utterances from time to time of those bishops, who, untrammelled by the considerations which weigh heavily with their English brethren, deal with subjects which are burning questions to ourselves. The Bishop of Nova Scotia's charge deals with Ritual matters, and we trust that his Lordship has sent a copy to every English bishop and that those prelates will lay to heart their Colonial brother's words. The Canadian legislature has, like the Imperial Parliament, been tampering with the marriage laws. The Canadian House of Commons passed a Bill for the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The Bishop of Nova Scotia wrote a pastoral letter setting forth substantial reasons for rejecting the proposal. The venerable Metropolitan and six of his suffragans protested against any change in the law, and the mischievous Bill was rejected in the Senate, or Upper House, by a majority of one vote. Bishop Medley dealt with the subject and other matters in his visitation charge with his usual power and learning. We regret that in one diocese of North America the bishop has assumed an attitude with regard to this question wholly at variance with the policy of his brethren. A Newfoundland merchant many years ago married his wife's sister and was formally repelled from Holy Communion by Bishop Feild. He accepted the discipline of the Church and took refuge among the Presbyterians. A division in the Congregational body led him in 1879 to forsake them and he presented himself at the Cathedral altar (the Bishop being himself the Rector of the Church) and with his 'wife' was communicated. The clergy, with very few exceptions, signed a protest to the bishop, who referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Grace, to our surprise and pain, informed the bishop that he should have acted precisely as the bishop had acted, if the case had occurred in the Diocese of Canterbury.

The Triennial Convention of the Church of the United States was held in October, and was attended by Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh and by Bishop Herzog. A not unimportant resolution was

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carried without opposition, which formally added to the authorized Hymnal, and, therefore, to the worship of the Church, the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis* and the *Benedictus*. A committee was also appointed '*to consider and to report to the next General Convention, whether in view of the fact that this Church is about to enter upon the second century of its organized existence in this country, the changed conditions of the national life do not demand alterations in the Book of Common Prayer in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use.*'

The Bishop of Haiti, who, deriving his apostolic commission from America, claims to be the bishop of an autonomous church, has induced his Synod to authorize the use of the Athanasian Creed, although in the American Prayer-Book it finds no place. The bishop with justifiable complacency compares the use which the Haitian Church made of its independence with the action of the Irish Church under similar circumstances. The University of Cambridge has paid a well-deserved compliment to the American Church and to the Bishop of Long Island in particular, by inviting that prelate to preach four sermons in the last October term as select preacher. The magnificent orations, for they were nothing less, of the learned bishop more than justified the selection that had been made.

West Indies.—In the Diocese of Guiana, which groups with the West Indian dioceses, soon to be compacted into an independent province, the venerable Bishop Austin, the Nestor of the Colonial Episcopate, sees a growth of the Church which is worthy to be ranked with the greatest triumphs of Christianity in early days. In the working life of one man, four nations, Acawoios, Caribs, Waraus, and Arawaks, who were wont ever to go armed and to fight whenever they met, have now become Christians, and live in peace and amity; the exigencies of the staple trade of the colony have filled the land with coolies from China and from India, and these, removed from local associations, have been converted literally in thousands. Almost every mail brings news of the Gospel being carried, frequently by the Indians themselves, far into the interior, and the movement is calculated to suggest feelings both of awe and of thankfulness. Amid this Evangelistic activity the Colonists have raised sufficient funds to justify the commencement of a grand Cathedral Church in Georgetown. The Archdeacon of Demerara has been sent to England with the authority to select an architect, to approve of plans, and to sign the necessary contracts. As Demerara is a mere tract of alluvial soil, stone and brick are alike difficult to obtain, and the novel experiment, novel at least as far as a cathedral is concerned, is to be tried of building with concrete, which has been used in the Colony for some official buildings with success. To a competent architect such a church will afford abundant facilities for decoration.

Bishop Tozer has been obliged, by ill-health, to resign the Diocese of Jamaica after a very brief tenure. He is succeeded by Dr. Nuttall, long a clergyman in the island, who, since the troubles of disestablishment descended upon them, has done more than any

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other man to bind the clergy and laity together. He was consecrated in S. Paul's Cathedral on the Festival of SS. Simon and Jude, and left England on November 2.

AUSTRALASIA.—Two Australian Bishops, those of Melbourne and Perth, are bent on the building of suitable cathedrals, and each is engaged in building the spiritual temple with much energy and success. To few men is it given to make such an impression as Dr. Moorhouse has made; the diocese responds to his fearless speech and to his untiring zeal. Bishop Parry has to deal with a population much smaller in number, and with a country whose resources are limited and its capabilities small; yet he is providing a home for all time for the theological faculty, and therewith for the adequate training of a colonial-born priesthood, and at the other extreme of his episcopal duty is gathering the remnants of the despised Aborigines into Christian homes and bringing them under Christian influence. The Bishop of Tasmania, after sixteen years' absence, has paid a visit to England, and laid us under many obligations by the plain language and relentless logic with which he has exposed the tactics of the Church Association and its patrons and allies. Bishop Selwyn has paid a visit to Fiji, which will probably lead to the establishment of a bishopric in that our most recent colony. It is no part of Bishop Selwyn's charge, neither can he undertake its supervision, as each voyage would involve a beat to windward of 1,000 miles in the *Southern Cross;* but his visit of inspection was very valuable, inspiring as it did the little Church with fresh hopes, and giving to the authorities at home much trustworthy information. As in Canada so in New Zealand the Deceased Wife's Sister question has been the subject of discussion, both in the Legislature and in the Synods. In the Lower House or House of Representatives, which sits at Auckland, four Maori members took part in the discussion. One, who seems to be a sort of Maori Home Ruler, rejoiced in the bill as a reversion to the old Maori custom and an emancipation from the fetters of the Church; but the other three speakers opposed it, *because they were Maoris*, and because it tended to draw them back to the ancient customs, which they had seen to be bad. Here we have the Christian consciences of Maoris revolting from a policy which Sir Thomas Chambers annually advocates at S. Stephen's.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Many and heavy have been the trials of this so long tried province. War with the various nations whom the Church was winning to the truth, broke out in many centres, and will infallibly throw back the work of the Church for many a year. We cannot but notice how the policy of Sir Bartle Frere has met with sympathy and censure in almost equal proportions from good men whose hearts are wholly set on the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ. The Bishop of Grahamstown and Dean Green of Maritzburg have strongly expressed themselves on one side, and other authorities are known to feel quite as strongly on the other side, though they have not so publicly made known their views.

The mere pecuniary loss to the Missionaries is in many cases a loss of everything which they possessed. S. Mark's Mission Station,

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founded so long ago as Bishop Armstrong's Episcopate, has been destroyed, and other Missions have shared the same fate. The Christian Kafirs have been loyal, and many have been killed because they were Christians. The chiefs have shown many tokens of good will to the Missionaries, who have received warnings of danger, and sometimes apologies and explanations that the chiefs could not keep their people from fighting. The Stations which have been destroyed were burned down, not from animosity to the Missionaries, but to prevent them becoming strongholds of the military. But the situation is grave indeed, and the end no man can predict: all the natives in the upper part of Kaffraria, from the Kei to the Umzinkulu River, are in arms against the Government.

Archdeacon Mackenzie, who is no novice in African missionary work, was consecrated Bishop of Zululand in Cape Town Cathedral on S. Andrew's Day, and we hope that he will be allowed to do the work of an evangelist in Zululand without interference on the part of that chosen specimen of British commerce and civilization, Mr. John Dunn. Five Prelates joined in the consecration, the Bishop of St. John's and the Bishop of St. Helena being absent: the former in England in search of health, which we are glad to think has been restored, the latter in his island diocese and in feeble health. The Provincial Synod met at Capetown at the same time, but no details have yet reached us. The Bishop of Pretoria can hardly have reached his home before the Boers had risen, occupied Pretoria and other towns, and compelled the English, among whom would be the Bishop's family, to take refuge in the barracks, which were hastily fortified. But whatever the trials of South Africa, they are insignificant beside the picture of the province painted by Dr. Colenso, who, regarding himself as the only lawful Bishop in the land, has felt bound to go to Grahamstown, where the Dean and the lawyers have opened the cathedral to him, and to give Confirmation to a few persons whom Dean Williams presented. A whole province of Churchfolk, and Dr. Colenso their only lawful Father in God! To this depth happily the Church of South Africa has not yet fallen. The arrogance of the deposed Bishop is likely to work out its own Nemesis; many of those who have held by him because he was 'the Queen's Bishop,' and who in no degree sympathized with his errors, are now ashamed of him, and by a strange coincidence, on Sunday, October 17, the very day on which he obtruded himself on the congregation in Grahamstown Cathedral, two of the ten clergymen who had held his licence renounced his authority, and were received into the peace and communion of the Church.

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

The Old Catholic body has now existed as a distinct communion for ten years, and during this time it has grown from the fourteen men, who met at Nuremberg to protest against the latest Papal innovation on the Catholic faith, to a Church consisting of two Bishops, one hundred and twenty priests, and upwards of one hundred thousand enrolled lay members, with adherents more or less closely attached,

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amounting to about three times that number. Probably the amount of success achieved has disappointed both friends and foes. The greatest progress has been made in the countries of Germany and Switzerland, while small contingents of the main body are found in Austria and France. The movement began in Germany under the direction of the greatest theologian on the continent, Dr. Döllinger; almost contemporaneously it sprang up and flourished in Switzerland; in Austria obstacles were designedly thrown in its way from political considerations, while in France it was for the same reason practically *défendu* until two years ago.

During the past year Old Catholicism in Germany has not made itself conspicuous. It has its Bishop, its fifty working priests, and its 45,000 or 50,000 laymen, and it goes quietly on its way, as though it were satisfied with what it has already effected. From the beginning, indeed, the movement has had too much of an academical character in that country. Its teachers seem to say: 'Here is the truth. Scripture, Theology, History, Logic alike prove it. We have demonstrated it. There is no doubt about it. Believe us or not as you like. It will be the worse for you if you refuse, but we cannot think of forcing you.' If all the world were learned academicians, this would be a reasonable, if not a very zealous, course to pursue. But seeing that men and women are what they are, ignorant, impressionable, led by feeling rather than by deliberate judgment, it is a fatal mistake which must be corrected in the future unless German Old Catholicism is to die of inanition. Melanchthon and Contarini do not move the world like Luther and Caraffa. If Bishop Reinkens and his coadjutors were to address the people by a number of missionary preachers, while at the same time they continue to address the intellect of the educated classes, as at present, with their own pens, there would be greater progress in Germany than the last few years has shown.

The Old Catholic Congress, which was held at Baden-Baden, was a success. It was remarked by an American presbyter, who watched it closely, that a church which was represented by such men as Reinkens, Von Schulte, and Michelis, however small it might be, could not be crushed by the bulk and weight of its opponents, but might be trusted to manage its own affairs wisely, so as to triumph in the end. At the meeting of the delegates at the congress a motion was unanimously accepted that the Liturgy should be universally used in the German tongue, and the following five theses were adopted: 1. Between faith in the fundamental truths of Christianity and Natural Science no contradiction can exist. 2. The independence of National Churches is quite in harmony with the Universal character of the Church. 3. It is a mischievous error held by many Protestants that the Ultramontane Roman Church may be regarded as a conservative ally. 4. The aim set before the empire demands that it should contend with the Vatican system. 5. All negociations with Rome and its organs on questions affecting state legislation and authority are to be condemned, for they tend to the dissolution of the State.

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The Swiss Old Catholic, or, as it is usually called, Christian Catholic Church, has had a year of great trials, which it has risen manfully to meet. According to ancient law and custom in many parts of Switzerland the parish priests have been, and are now, elected by their parishioners. In five of the cantons they have to be elected every six years. In 1873 Pius IX. forbad the Papal clergy to offer themselves for election, and he forbad the laity to elect them. The result was that in parishes where there were both Roman and Old Catholics, the latter elected a curé, who became the priest of the parish. The time for the re-election of the parish priests having come round, and Leo XIII. having removed the prohibition of his predecessor, Roman Catholic curés have been in many places substituted for their Old Catholic predecessors, the State putting in possession of the temporalities whoever received the greatest number of votes, whether Roman or Old Catholics. At Porrentruy M. Deramey was beaten by his Ultramontane rival, has lost his income, but is allowed the joint use of the parish church. When the Roman Catholic curés were dispossessed six years ago, Mgr. Lachat, their Bishop, undertook their maintenance and the expenses of their congregations by means of funds derived from Peter's Pence and other Roman sources. Bishop Herzog had no such resource. What was he to do? He at once instituted a fund for the support of minorities, and appealed to the English and American Churches for brotherly help to the amount of 600*l.* per annum. From England he has received during this past year 100*l.* What may have been the result in this respect of his visit to the American Convention we are not aware, but we believe that it has not been very great. The list of English contributions is still kept open. If Bishop Herzog can gradually educate his people to maintain their own clergy without having recourse to the State, he will have gained a great point.

The sixth Synod of the Swiss Church was held last year at Geneva. Bishop Herzog's address at the opening service in the Church of Notre Dame served as a manifesto of the doctrine of the church over which he presided, and was described by the Bishop of Meath, who was present on the occasion, as a noble address, dealing admirably with the questions of liberty and unity in the Church, the one Mediatorship between God and man, the one sacrifice once for all offered, and Holy Scripture the basis of all belief. At the Synod which followed, the Prayer-Book prepared for the Christian Catholic Church by the Bishop in the vernacular was adopted, and the ordinary business for the year was transacted.

Bishop Herzog's visit to America has been a great success in drawing closer the bonds which unite the Swiss and the Anglican Churches. He officiated in his episcopal vestments at the opening of the General Convention, and he took part freely with American Bishops and presbyters in celebrating the Holy Communion.

In Austria there is little to report of Old Catholics beyond the fact that they have not pressed their proposals of having a Bishop

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consecrated for themselves, feeling probably that four or five congregations are not sufficient to require his ministrations.

In France the existence of Old Catholicism depends too much upon the life and energy of one man. Père Hyacinthe is the first orator of the continent, as Döllinger is the first theologian, and Von Schulte the first canonist; but he is only one man. He has not yet shown that he possesses the most necessary qualification of a leader in a national movement, that of gathering colleagues, comrades and followers around himself, to share his hopes and partake in his toils. If he has not this kingly power he can be no more than a pioneer of reform; if he has it, the time has come for him to exert it. His experiment has now lasted two years. Two years ago he opened a church in the Rue Rochechouart, Paris, having first placed himself under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Episcopate, exercised by the Bishops of Moray and Edinburgh as the organs of a committee taking authority from the Lambeth Conference. During these two years he has maintained a regular service, sometimes single-handed, sometimes with the help of assistant priests, and he has formed a small body of communicants, and collected a large body of auditors. But as yet there is no appearance of a national movement, or of the movement of any very considerable portion of the nation in the direction in which he points. This is much to be regretted, as the middle ground occupied by him appears to be the only possible standing place for Frenchmen who are at once averse to Ultramontanism and to infidelity. He has now commenced a series of lectures to be delivered in the chief cities of France, which it is to be hoped will make his principles more widely known and elicit a response throughout the country. His tenancy of the building used as a church in the Rue Rochechouart ceased on December 31. In the course of the summer he delivered four eloquent lectures in London, on the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a committee of English Churchmen has been appointed with the purpose of providing funds for his temporary maintenance, until he shall have had time to gather round him supporters capable of meeting the financial difficulties with which a young enterprise is beset, and of providing him with a church. The piety and simplicity of aim of Père Hyacinthe and his firm hold of the Catholic faith are unquestionable.

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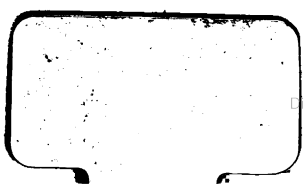
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